GUIDE TO THE NS29 YOKUTS FILE

[This file contains sixteen sources, all in English. The major sources are 1: Gayton, which is the standard ethnography of the group, containing material on every major aspect of the culture; and 3: Latta, which is a general work written by a dedicated amateur who has had a life-long interest in the Yokuts. 2: Kroeber is a general summary article on Yokuts culture. There are five other works by Gayton in the Yokuts file. 4: Gayton details the environmental background; 5: Gayton is an analysis of their pottery making; 6: Gayton analyzes the institutions of chieftainship and shamanism; 11: Gayton is a study of an early Spanish source; and 16: Gayton and Newman is a study of mythology and style.

7: Powers is an excellent early general account. 8: Kroeber is a general analysis of the language. 9: Gifford is a study of the moiety organization. 10: Beals & Hester describes the economy of those Yokuts groups living in the vicinity of Tulare Lake. 12: Cook is a detailed historical reconstruction of Yokuts population and settlement. 13: Riddell is a brief account of a rattlesnake ceremony; 14: Hatch is a study of the music of a Yokuts group, and 15: Kroeber is a brief analysis of Yokuts names.

In general, this file is well-suited for cross-cultural purposes. It contains a good deal of material on most aspects of Yokuts culture, the only

GUIDE TO THE NS29 YOKUTS FILE

areas relatively slighted being human biology and psychology. There were no special marking decisions made for this file.--Analyst]

Processed in 1961

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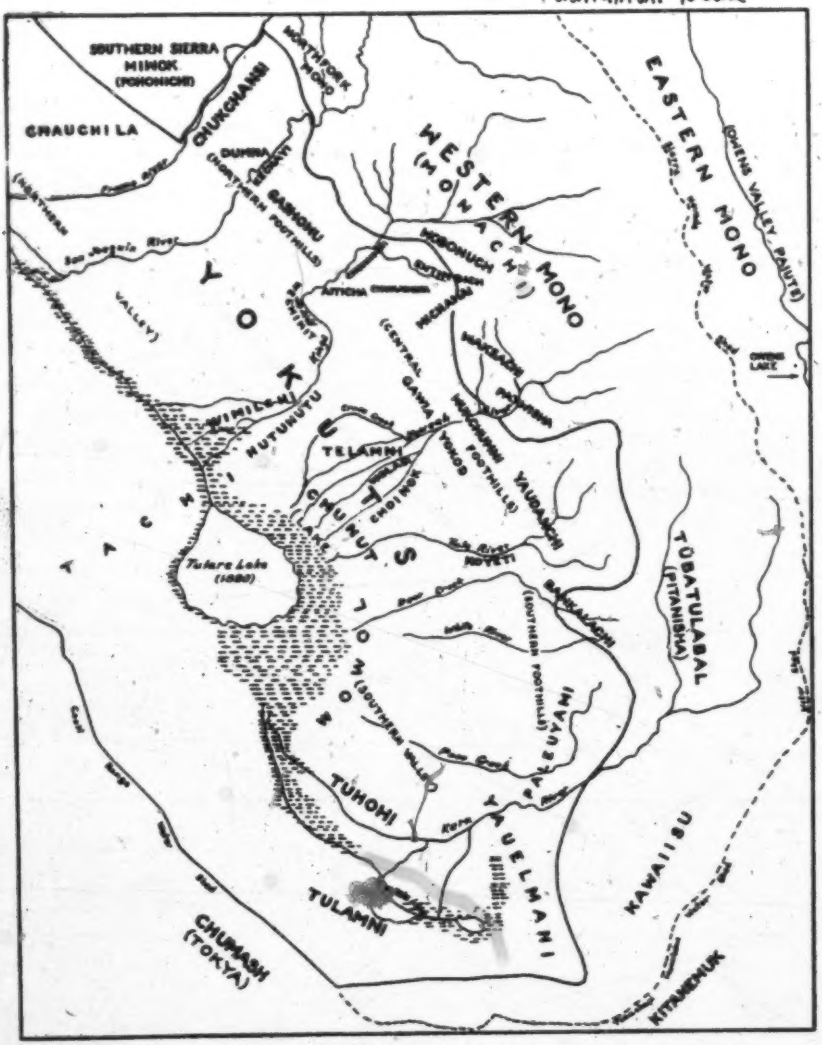
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[FACING P. 1] Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22



Map 1. Tokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants and that of their parents and even grandparents, 131 for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old 177 people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
131 peoples experienced the dismay previously
177 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
131 up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
177 terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them. Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
648 manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1]Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp
609 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
436 the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lamš,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyɛt was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´´i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

1: Gayton E-4 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 8]

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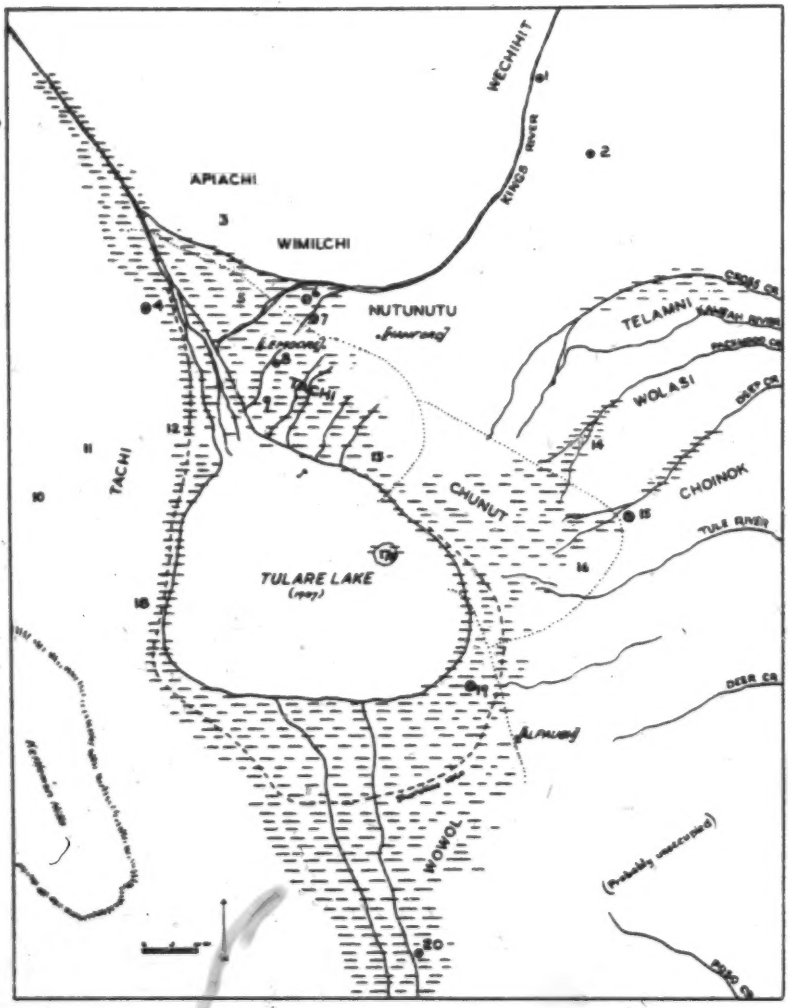

Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

[484] Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɛn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

Y [361] Y [164]

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɛl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y [439]

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɛt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T [141]

The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T 101 131

The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɛn, where there was a deep little river."

Y 103 131

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101 131 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefinite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

[P. 56a] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y
101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a
Y powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat-
[223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with
439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the
Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden
437 baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y Very little that is definite can be
M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood
M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
[105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona´ci by the
648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokelyuwič and nutuwič were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokelyu´wič. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dikao and da´tu idikao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
[769] mony. Even then the grouping was not followed when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, <u>not</u> another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

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[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 143 b]

Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's 439 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hoše´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hoše´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.
103

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 153 a] Dumna

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 131 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkıt [622] (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokı´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmın and Salo´knıč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera [illegible] the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 361 A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

DUMNA

403 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´'omt:lao; 11, ya´p:k'nao; 12, y:mšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, t:ne´lao; 16, kočo´yu; 17, ti'če´niu; 18, hogo´n:lao; 19, hutu´n:lao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamx:´nšiu; 24, pax:´kčiu; 25, šo´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´t:lao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nep:nwa´šu; 33, šiš:´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the
101 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
114 their name at that time was used to cover
648 native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomk:t, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomk:t and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

---

[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɩs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´kɔ), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɩ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɩn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu´i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɩč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɩč: got liquor

koko´hɩp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Cheinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Tenutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die." and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the ac-
[778] companiment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 Concerning the range of Chukchansi terri-
131 tory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village
103 site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[649] [77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.N. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

● 101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č´ič´ani: Quartz Mountain
131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
131 Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 186] straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
222 three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 213 b] Western Mono NS25

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

Y M 101 131

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we ´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče ´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka ´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü ´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a ´nt·mp·č]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu ´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a ´pusowi·´·tunü´´üm: Toll House
huro ´g·čnü´´üm: southeast of last
yui ´ninü´´üm: south of last

Y M 773 103 131

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o ´ču
Michahai: pa ´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu ´mi; dai ´apnu ´ža
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češ· ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa ´o; čita ´tu
Entimbich: kečai ´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada ´winao; sit· minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa ´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y M 101

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

Y
M
101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y
M
192 A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

M
Y
361 The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

221
M
Y
[487]

M
Y
[887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati'' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

M
Y
[484]

[155] Ibid., 588.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

Tribal organization, 474; habitat, 475; classification, 477; tribes of the Buena Vista group of the foothill division, 478; of the Poso Creek group, 479; of the Tule-Kaweah group, 479; of the Kings River group, 480; of the northern foothill group, 481; of the southern group of the valley division, 482; of the northern valley group, 484; speech and topography, 486; designations of the stock, 488; Yokuts and other California population, 488.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 619 The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to 101 197 the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

101 Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

[pp. 1-473 not processed]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132]

101 131 133

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation [101] Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 221] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ¾; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CLASSIFICATION.

The classification of the Yokuts tribes must be made, like that of other Indians, and those of California in particular, on the basis of language. In spite of the number of the tribes, this it not difficult; for the dialects fall clearly into two great divisions, which coincide with the two topographic regions held by the stock: the valley proper and the foothills of the southern Sierra Nevada. Only in the extreme south were there three tribes speaking idioms of the foothill type but dwelling in the plains between Tulare Lake and the Tehachapi region. These three dialects, closely similar to one another, are easily the most divergent of all Yokuts forms of speech, and thus argue an unusual and peculiar history for the little remote group of people whose idiom was derived from that of the mountains while their habitat was in the valley. 101 197

The valley dialects are the most uniform, in fact remarkably similar to one another. A Yokuts from Stockton must have been able to understand considerable of the talk of one from Bakersfield—a condition utterly unparalleled for any like distance elsewhere in California; for although the Northern Paiute and Mono afford a technical exception, they are mostly east of the Sierra Nevada and hence in the Great Basin outside the natural limits of California. The Yokuts Valley dialects seem to be classifiable into two groups, a northern along the San Joaquin and a southern from Kings River south; but the former is very little known, and it is possible that fuller information regarding it might shift the line of demarcation.

The foothill dialects, though hardly more numerous and spoken over a very much smaller area, are far more diversified. This might be anticipated from the topography of their territory. Their variety may, however, also be due to the historical fortunes of the foothill tribes. The farther south one progresses along the lower Sierra, the more deviations does one encounter from the type of Yokuts speech which is numerically preponderant and therefore justly to be considered the normal and presumably original form. Now the Yokuts as a whole constitute the southernmost branch of the great Penutian family, which, so to speak, radiates in five directions from the region of the entrance of the Sacramento and San Joaquin into the head of San Francisco Bay; in other words from the lowest and central point of the Great Valley of California. That the foothill dialects of Yokuts become more and more specialized the farther they are situated from this center of influence and possibly of origin is certainly significant; though whether it is significant of successive migrations from the north, of longer contact with Shoshonean and Chumash aliens, or merely of ever reduced intercourse with kinsmen, must as yet be left to conjecture.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 197 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 131 [103] The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting [103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[94] The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged [103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 115 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, be recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshon- 101
ean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 131
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, [103]
appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 197]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221]
ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

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131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi. Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tinliu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchoinni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or
[103] Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the
[103] Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Alticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Aplau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

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101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau, 103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River 131 was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Woilo ("planting place," "sowing [177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there [582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'luta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshului, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechabet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowal*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more [501] intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

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101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close association between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.

103 The Tachi, Tadji, or Dachi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi,
131 Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Walna, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Waiu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehamniu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *tawdj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* alomst like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers." 101 103 131

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes. [197]

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

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101 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholovomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who
103 retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on comparison with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern
131 valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least

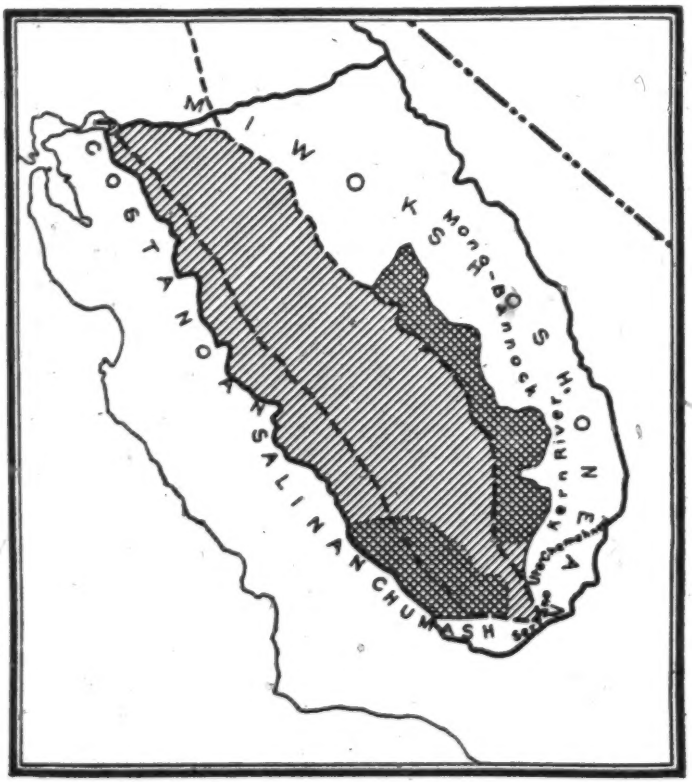

FIG. 43.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their
131 speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

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of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

161 Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
177 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

161 too small for an estimate of the original block. The remnant may be 2 per cent or 5. It does not help to answer the question.

This uncertainty weakens one of the potentially strongest lines of 101 evidence that might bear on the problem of the ancient population 161 of California. The Yokuts held a full tenth, possibly an eighth, of the area of the State. If we knew their numbers, a simple multiplication, corrected by an allowance for productivity of the soil under native exploitation, would yield a total that would be of value for controlling estimates derived by other methods. Groups of narrower range or numbers do not justify the application of such procedure; conditions are too unrepresentative. The Yurok, for instance, owned barely one-half of 1 per cent of the area of California, the Chemehuevi perhaps 5 per cent: ratios that, with what is known of their numbers, would give in the one case well over half a million and in the other much less than 50,000 for the State.

161 However, the almost lost opportunity may be essayed. Say 18,000 Yokuts in a ninth of California: 162,000 Indians once in the State. Or, taking the highest possible figures, 25,000 in a tenth, gives 250,000 as a maximum limit.

Then comes the correction. There undoubtedly were areas more densely populated than the average of the Yokuts habitat: the Santa Barbara Islands, stretches of the shore fronting them, certain valleys in the coast region, the district of the lower Klamath. There were probably as many Pomo on Clear Lake as Yokuts on much larger Tulare Lake. But these areas of concentration were small. It was apparently precisely the fact of their confinement that brought about the density. The additions to be made to the total on account of distinctly heavier population are therefore not very great in the aggregate.

The deductions to be made for a sinking of the Yokuts ratio in less favorable regions are more considerable. A full third of the State is thorough desert, substantially desert, high mountains, bare lava flow, or dense timber. In all these environments the population was of the slenderest. Generally such regions were not even inhabited except in oasislike spots; and that the maps in the present and other volumes show continuous territories rather than these significant oases is not because the entire areas have been thought to be inhabited, but because ignorance of precise conditions of habitation has rendered other delineation impracticable for most of the State. Everything east of the Sierra, its entire upper portion, a solid three-fourths of southern California, most of the northeastern angle of the State, and a number of tracts in the coast ranges, belong to these thinly populated regions, which loom broadly enough to bring down by at least a fourth any total computed from the rate prevailing in more favored regions.

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CHAPTER 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 493; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

101 131 The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

584 Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

2:Kroeber

101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

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Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

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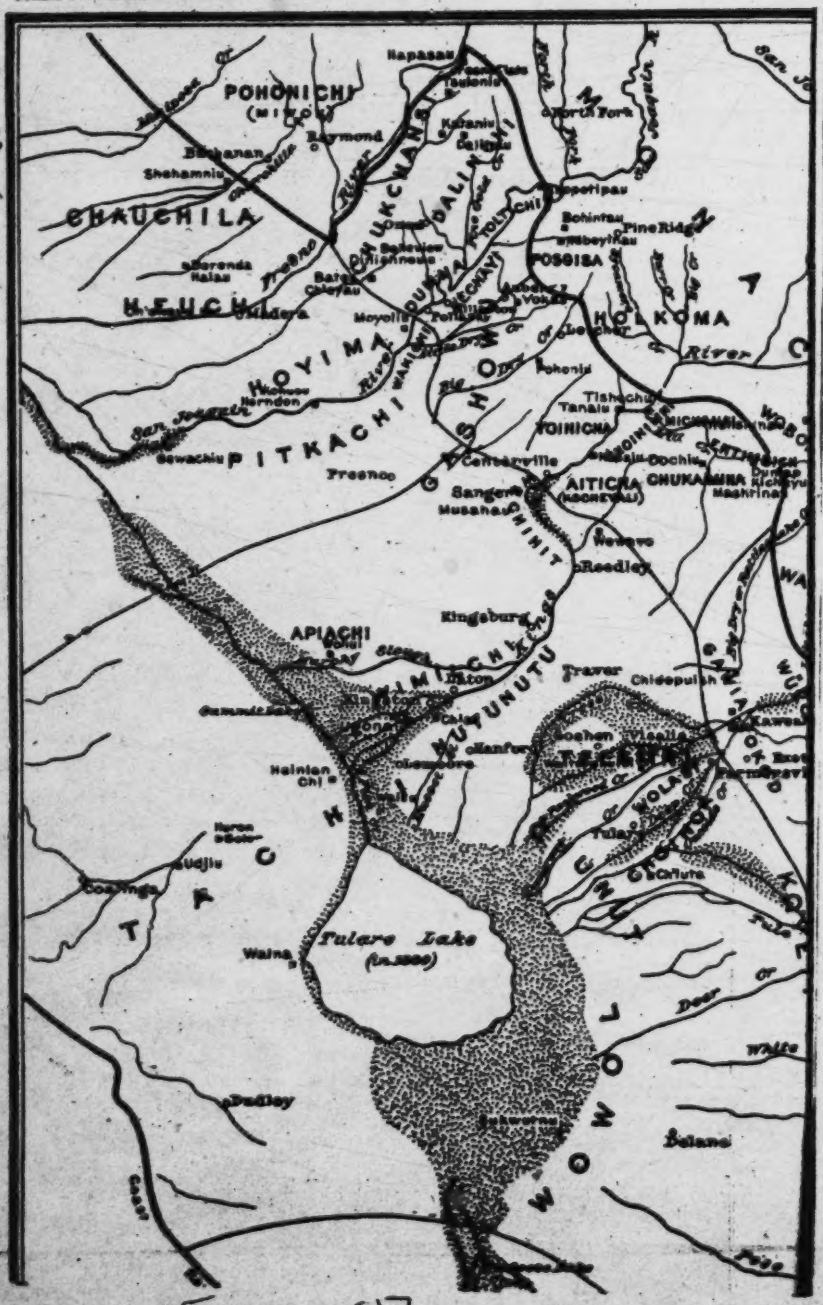
POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
Raymond
Bohanan
Shehamnis
CHAUCHILA
Sherenda
Halau
Bateau
Chowchilla
Madera
HOYIMA
PITKACHI
Hornton
Herndon
Sewachiu
Fresno
Moyoiln
Tollhouse
Kapasan
Toulonia
Kutanin
Dalinji
Tepetipas
Bohinta
Pine Ridge
POSOISA
HOLKOMA
Lemoore
Pohonichi
Tishochin
Tanaiu
TOINICHA
Coalinga
Dochiu
Centerville
AITICHA
(MOOSEVALLI)
CHUKAMNA
Sanger
Musana
Reedley
Kingsburg
APIACHI
Dinuba
Traver
Chicopuish
Kawea
Visalia
Tulare
Lemoore
Hanford
Hanford
Udjis
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Waina
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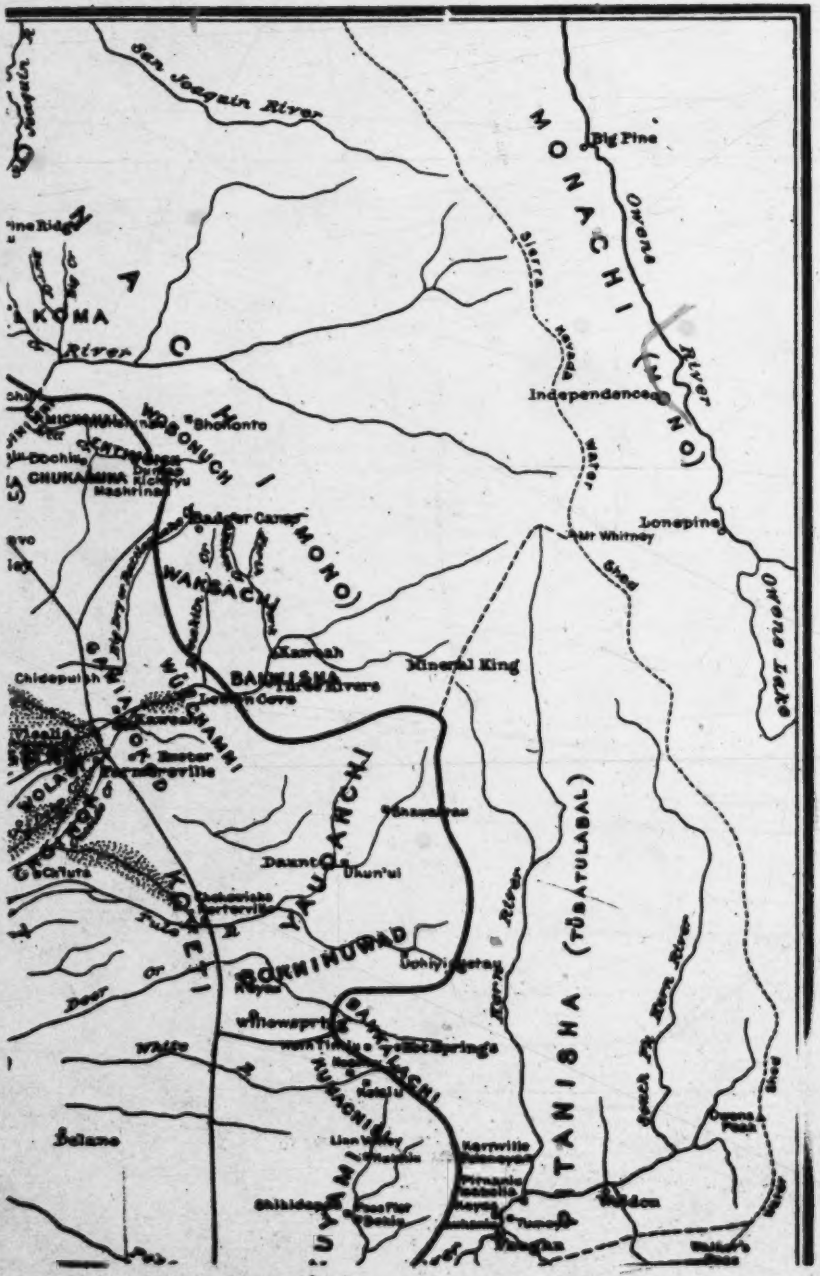
San Joaquin River
Big Pine
MONACHI
Owens River
Sierra Nevada
Independence
Lone Pine
Mt. Whitney
Owens Lake
KOMA
River
CHUKAMNA
Shoshonto
WOBONUCH
MONO)
WAKSACHI
Kaweah
Mineral King
BANWISHA
Lemon Cove
WUCHAMNI
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Farmersville
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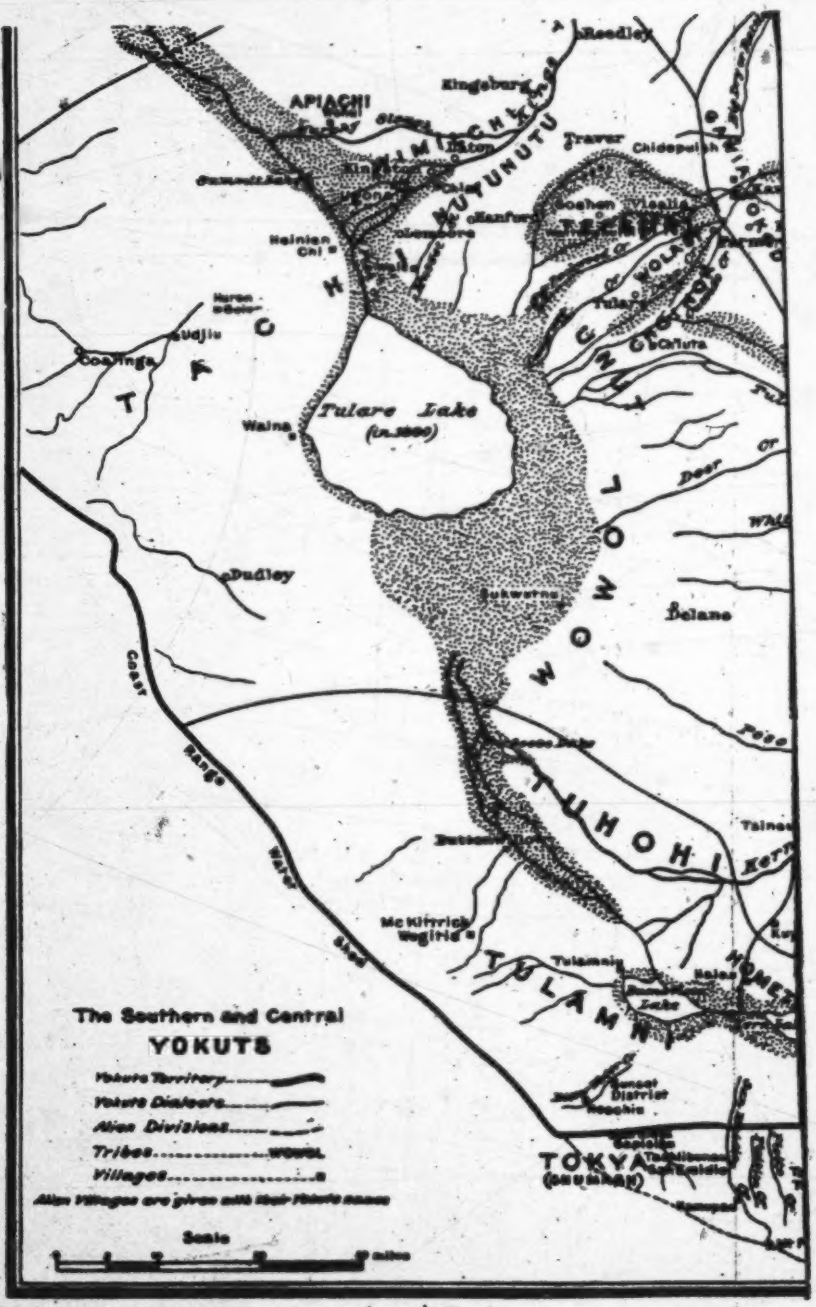

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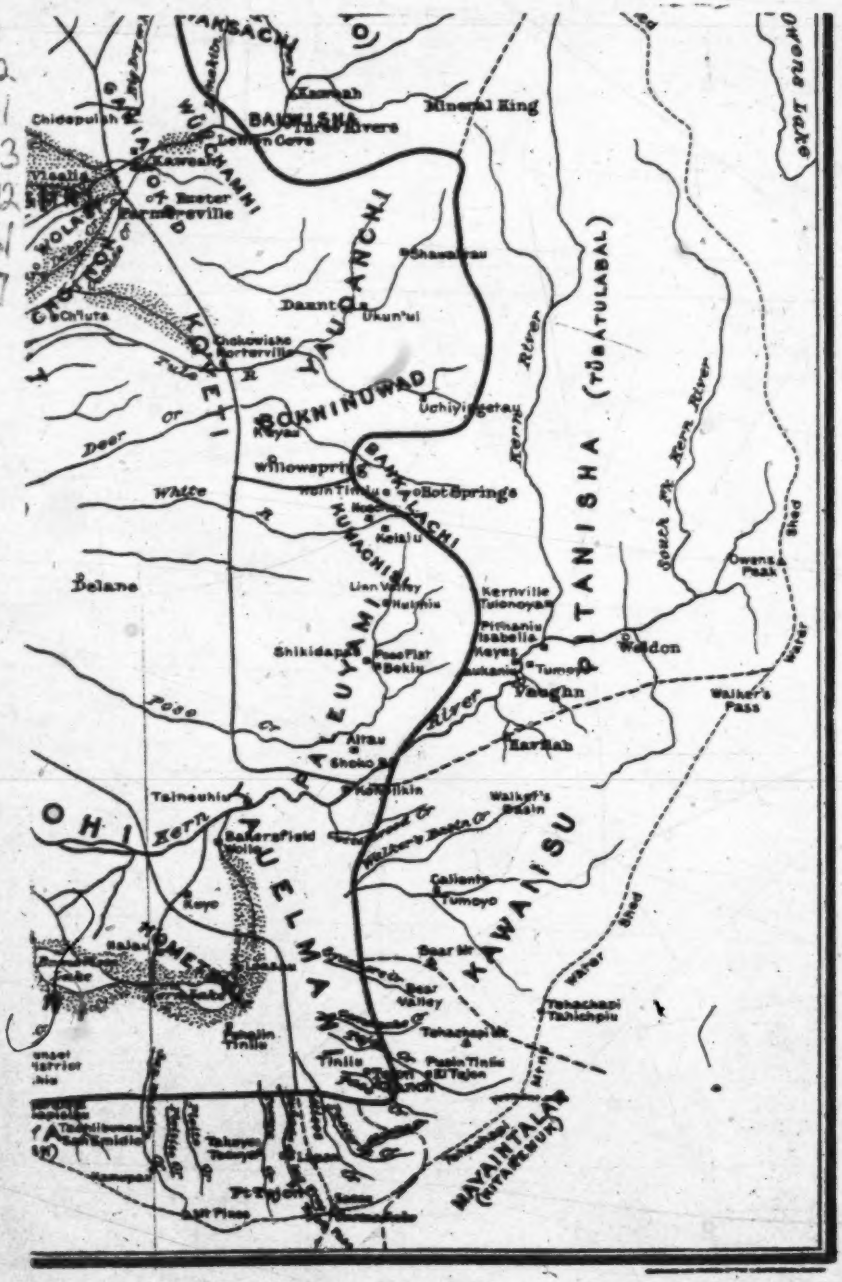

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FOREWORD

101 131 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt [161] on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local [619] tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most [262] bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. [197] Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of 142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and 181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley.

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation.

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks.

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale.

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

101 Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San
131 Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

[161] These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less
101 than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

[619] There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

114 The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 177 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are 172 quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re- 361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley. 172 361

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people. 101 [297] [648]

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States. 101 131

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages. 101 131 619 103 361

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east. [181]

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*.
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu*.

361 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
[226] *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

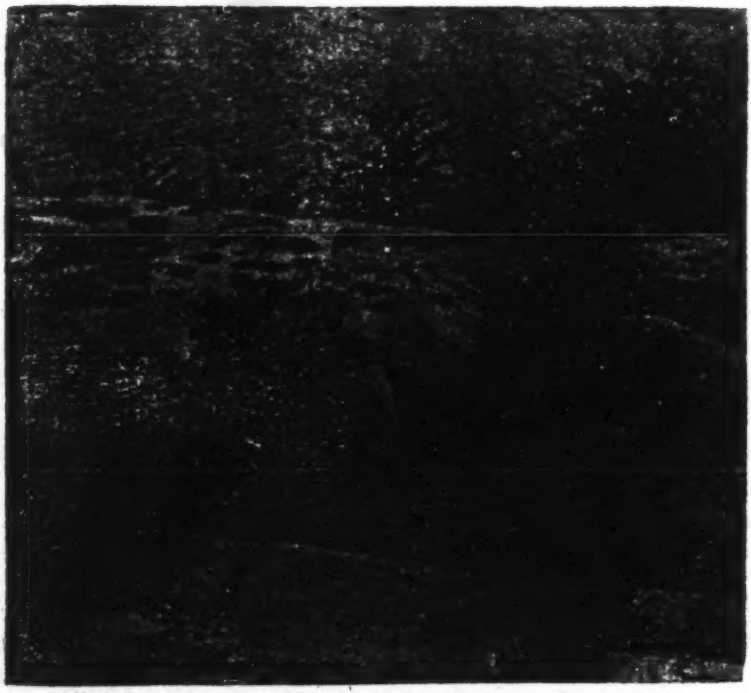
Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



[45] 101 103 131 619 361

Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auburry roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*.
103 Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land,
131 was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings
on the north slope were known by the same name and were
619 thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.
361 North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

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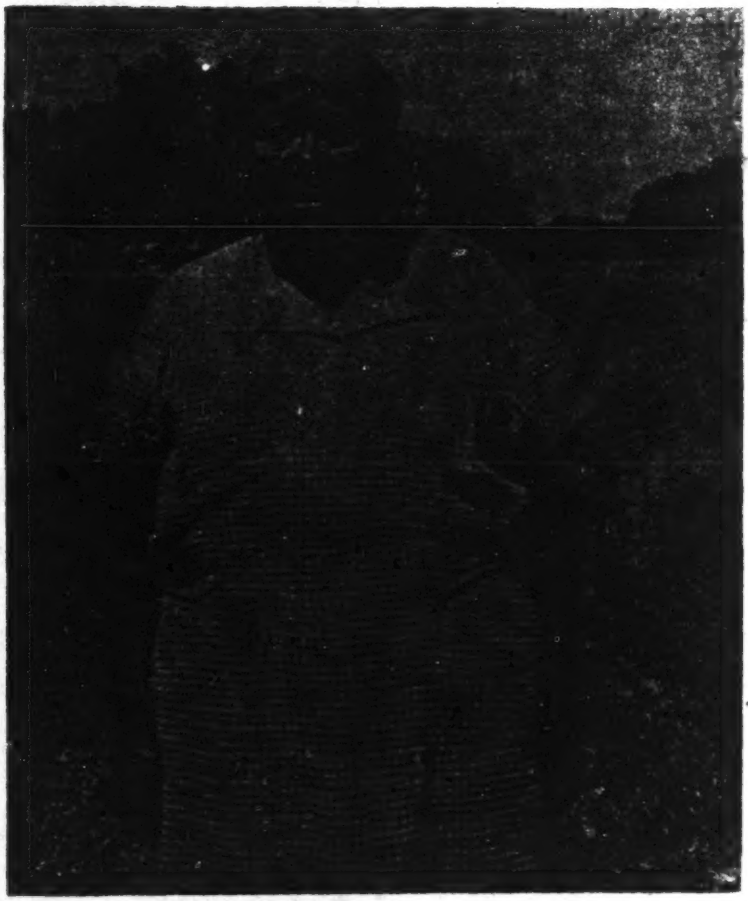

Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunutu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu* (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

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The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

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MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud*. Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido*, meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow*. Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha*. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw*, Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu*, meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow*. *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

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is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

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101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
619 *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
361 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823] MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

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MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*. 361

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

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101 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concern-
ing this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kah-watch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

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Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in 131
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 361
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses 159
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 648
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 797
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old.

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

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159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian
103 to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

"We stay there one week and have dance for dead people.
[648] Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

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direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim*." 175

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission." [251]

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages. 101 103

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

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101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

101 When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
103 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
648 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, "'*Oh-rays-teem'-bah,*" meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

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were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.] 175 127

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo - - - - .

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name. 114 127

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend. 127

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up 101

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101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of Tipton.

101 From there to the present town of Porterville the channel
103 of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village
131 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on
361 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

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were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named *Ahsaw*. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

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101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There was once a village there having the same name. Between the forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

103 131 361

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

Soksouh (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

[776 532]

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of Kawiparpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

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101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sikетepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

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Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101 103 131 361

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi.*

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli.* Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu.* At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

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184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

101 Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
619 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

101 These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
181 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
184 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

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"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [491]

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101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 184 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

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"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152 522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [161] [648]

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101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
[361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[6 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beanti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 131 619 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 131 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok* (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life [171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

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from the deltas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers north to Trinity River were the Wintun. Extending along the western Sierra foothills from the Miwok to the Pit River drainage basin were the *Maidu* (My'-doo). 101 13

To the southwest, south, and southeast of the Yokuts were foreign blood and language groups of primitive peoples. The *Salinan* group occupied the territory directly to the southwest of the Yokuts, including the valley of the Salinas River. Practically nothing is known of them. It is doubtful if a single full-blood individual has been living since about 1890. The name, *Cholame,* is a Salinan word and is now applied to a locality which was once in their territory, which extended south to a point near the north end of the Carrizo Plains.

South of the Salinan were the *Canaliño,* who undoubtedly occupied the Carrizo Plains as far north as the Painted Rock and Soda Lake. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of Canaliño descendants at the Indian settlement in Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

Cuyama Valley was held by the Canaliño. The word *Cuyama,* taken from their language, is said to mean Clam Shell. [103]

The only known name of a Canaliño tribe bordering on the Yokuts is that of the *Tokya,* who extended from a point west of Paleta to the eastern limits of the Canaliño. Upper San Emigdio, Tecuya, Grapevine, and Pastoria Creeks are reported as having been in Tokya territory. In the Canaliño language Rancho Viejo Creek, just east of Grapevine Canyon, was called *Kwat'-lah-tah Quab'-la-quad.* Sapateria Creek was *Kahshe Nashahmo,* meaning The People There Save Things.

The name of San Emigdio Creek, and the Indian Village there was *Lashlepun* (Lash'-le-poon). The name means Cut Through, because the creek there cuts deeply through the mountains.

The *Shoshonean* Indians of Tejon Canyon called Grapevine Canyon *Shehveng Gahchah Upeh,* which means exactly the same as the white man's name for the place. The Canaliño Indians called Grapevine Canyon *Mut-tahp'-cho Whel-leh'-we,* which means Cottonwood Trees.

The eastern limits of the Canaliño across the southern boundary of Yokuts territory are not definitely established. The rugged terrain between the Cuyama and Antelope valleys shows little evidence of primitive occupation. Somewhere in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Tubatulabal NS22

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this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans.*

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk.* When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, "*Ah kik-ke tah nim*", meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu.* The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe,* which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe.* Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse.* At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe.* Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch.*

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu.* This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo.* Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu,* after which modern Tehachapi was named.

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North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi.* As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yeh,* of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Tubatulabal NS22

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on the west side of Poso Creek and was in *Paleuyami* territory. Hot Springs, on Deer Creek, was always called *Kahtil Ilkow* (Hot Springs).

Back of the Bankalachi, and extending north to present Mineral King, were the *Pitanisha*, of which the Bankalachi were a subdivision.

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On the Kaweah River, surrounding present Camp Potwisha and extending east into Sequoia National Park where the *Balwishi*, or *Pahd'-wishi*. Hospital Rock was known by the Pahdwishi as *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under, Moro Rock, the great granite dome which stands out so impressively above Hospital Rock, was known as *Wah'-ah Yah'-kow*, or High Rock. Castle Rocks on the south side of Kaweah River, opposite Moro Rock, in Pahdwishi territory, were named *Lungnotim*. The mountain known as Homer's nose, in the high Sierra south of Castle Rocks was named *Topousha*, meaning Leaning Rock.

The high, sharp peak northwest of the old North Tharp home, and also in Pahdwishi territory, was called *Ducuntow*. On the south bank of the Kaweah River, just south of Ducuntow was a village named *Hawtyunyu*. About two miles up the little valley southeast of the North Tharp home was the village of *Yumuhtow*.

The Pahdwishi had at the bridge just below the present Three Rivers store a seasonal camping site which was called *Chopow*. The high hills across the river north of Chopaw were called *Nawhauntow*, meaning Bear Place, because a bear once killed an Indian there. Just across the road about eighty yards east of the Camp Howdy store was a salt spring called *Tushow*. The Indians obtained salt by boiling down this water. Sawtooth Peak, back of Mineral King, was called *Kah-did'-it*. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shim*. Yucca Point, just above Ash Mountain checking station, was called *Kawidow*, meaning Yucca Place. The red paintings at Hospital Rock were called *Hawyu*, meaning Red.

North of the Pahdwishi were the *Wuksache*. They occupied upper Rattlesnake Creek and the territory around present Badger. The mountain east of Ash Springs, in Wuksachi land, was called *Weke*. Bear Mountain, south and west of Badger, and the long ridge which runs southwest from it were called *Chawhawmin*. At Stokes Mountain, south of old Aukland, there are several Wuksachi landmarks. A short distance below the old Stokely Stokes ranch home was the village of *Tungnow*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The small gap through which the road passes north of the Stokes ranch house was named *Wahwunow*. Eshom Valley, in Wuksachi territory, was named *Chetatu* (Che-taht'-oo), or Clover Place.

Above Dunlap and opposite the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits) Yokuts were the *Wobonuch*.

On upper Sycamore and Big Creeks, north of Kings River and above the Choinimne Yokuts were the *Holkoma*.

On Pine Ridge were the *Posgisa*.

These last five tribes, Posgisa, Holkoma, Wobonuch, Wuksachi, and Pahdwishi were known collectively as *Monaches*. All of these tribes east of the Yokuts and extending south to the Canaliño are classified as *Shoshoneans*.

Readers who are interested in knowing more about these Yokuts relatives and neighbors should refer to Bulletin 78, Bureau of American Ethnology, by A. L. Kroeber and titled *Handbook of the Indians of California*.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

● 101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is 101
necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It 124
appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people."

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from [103]
that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat."

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its*, the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as 101
did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 131

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.
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Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private
624 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was
576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that
796 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used
574 and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

101 The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

224 The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik,* long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit,* chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

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[End Map (A)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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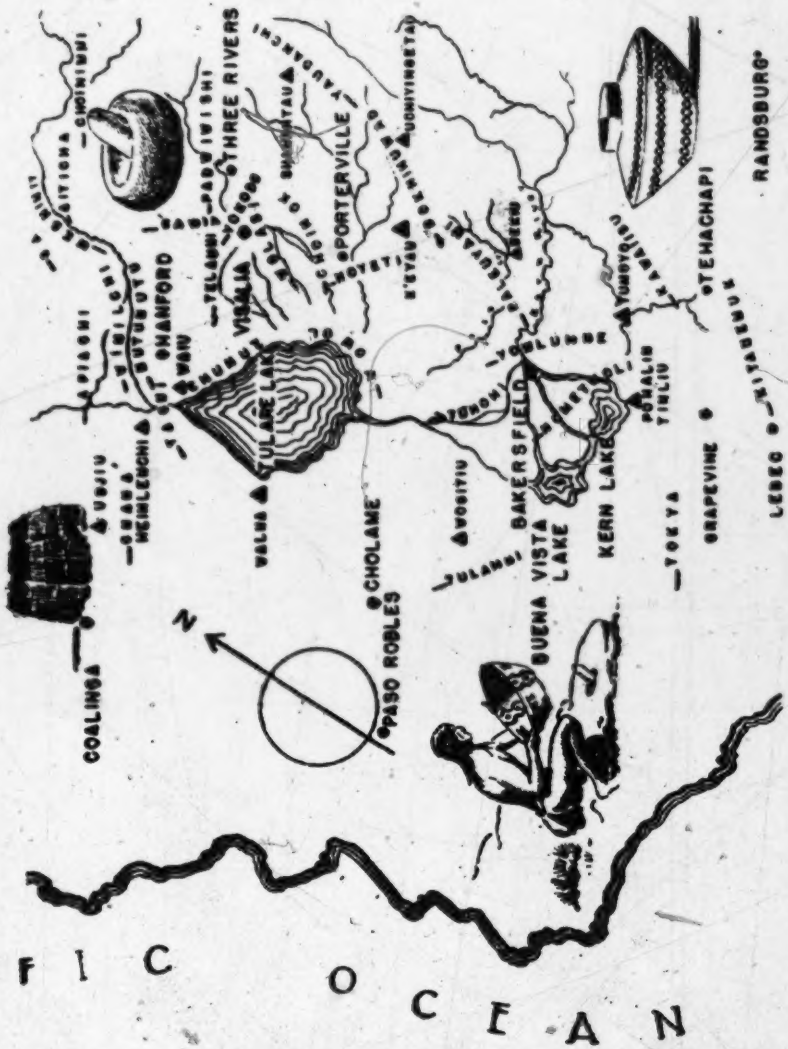

[End Map (B)]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
114 and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
805 with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
132 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225; 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expres-[515] sions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayer-[777] ful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected
122 during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western
[101] Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxta-
121 position of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have
171 been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts
[642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the
[616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a ranchería near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group 115
but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the 121
customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely [114]
gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yandanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

 [pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those 592 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described, with the same hissing *hek!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep. [775]

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral *plume or other ornament to* the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only 10

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 one old man who was able to give me, through a Spanish interpreter, his numerals, but nothing more. Following are the ten numerals:

[802 192]

One.	kil′-leh.	Six.	tukh′-tu.
Two.	cho-yo′-chi.	Seven.	po-ko′-i-chin-tin′-li.
Three.	u-yat′-si.	Eight.	pus′-in-tin′-li.
Four.	chu′-i-chau.	Nine.	hōs′-che.
Five.	loap′-chin-tin′-li.	Ten.	chi′-wa.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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[P. 168 not Processed]

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family. 101 131 197*

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed, [619]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes [101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [768 in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the 551] universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word 193 denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

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For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokots. Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular. 101 193

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory. 101

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yowechani, who inhabited the foothill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication. 101 121 121

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DIALECTIC DIVISIONS.

As stated at the opening of this paper, the Yokuts dialects were numerous, each small tribe, of which there were about forty, possessing a dialect distinct, in at least some words, from all others. At the same time the differentiation of even the most diverse dialects was not very great. Barring two small specialized groups comprising together not more than three or four dialects, all the dialects were more or less intelligible to one another. Structurally they are very uniform, and even lexically they differ more conspicuously by the use of different stems to express the same idea than by serious modifications of the same stem. Altogether the dialects, including the two specialized groups just mentioned, fall quitely clearly into two divisions, of which the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani that have been described are typical grammatical representatives. These two divisions have been called the Foot-hill and Valley divisions. 197*

The relation of these two divisions to the topography of the Yokuts territory is, when particularly considered, quite striking. As has been stated, the Yokuts occupied the entire southern half of the San Joaquin-Tulare Valley, besides almost all the adjacent foot-hills. They did not reach high into the mountains, which were held everywhere by Shoshoneans and, in the south, by Chumash. The present Tule river reservation, which is situated on original Yokuts territory, is farther up in the mountains than almost any other habitat of even the Foot-hill tribes, a circumstance due probably to the presence in the Tule river region of a well marked secondary range of the Sierra Nevada, which served as a natural dividing line between the two stocks. Within the Yokuts family the dialectic distinction between the inhabitants of the plains and those of the foot-hills is equally sharp. Not only that adjacent tribes living respectively in the valley and in the hills spoke differently, but, with only two exceptions, all valley tribes everywhere belonged to one division, and all foot-hill tribes to another. These two exceptions were, first, at the extreme northern end of the Yokuts territory, on the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers, where dialects belonging to the Valley division, but forming a well-marked subdivision, were spoken in 101 197* 657 197*

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 the foot-hills as well as on the plains.[1] Second, at the extreme south of the Yokuts territory, two similar and much specialized Foot-hill dialects were spoken about Buena Vista and Kern lakes. While these lakes are in the great Tulare plain, and the tribes inhabiting their shores were separated from the other tribes of the [133] Foot-hill division by the Valley tribes on Kern river and Tulare lake, yet the two lakes are comparatively close to the mountains that shut off the Tulare basin on the south; and, as these mountains, while forming part of the Coast Range, are also connected with the southern Sierra Nevada into one long continuous system swung about in a semi-circle, the habitat of this isolated lake group is not so diverse from that of the remainder of the Foot-hill division as at first appears.

*197 In connection with the sharp differentiation of dialects spoken in the valley and in the foot-hills, it is to be observed that almost 133 throughout the Yokuts territory, at least from the San Joaquin southward, the distinction is equally sharp topographically. The foot-hills end abruptly, in some cases quite boldly, at the edge of the plain, and a few yards, sometimes a single step, bring one clearly from one zone into the other. North of the San Joaquin river the physiography is usually quite different, as the foot-hills slope almost imperceptibly into the valley in a long peneplain. This is the character of the country among the northern Yokuts tribes that live in the foot-hills but speak Valley dialects. It is also the character of the country among the Miwok, the stock adjoining the Yokuts on the north, and it appears that in this family, although its range is much higher into the mountains than that of the Yokuts, there is no such marked division into Foot-hill and Valley dialects as exists in the latter.

VALLEY DIVISION.

*197 The Valley division consists of two groups, a northern, and a principal one occupying most of the valley proper.

[1] The Northern group of dialects, while showing some unity and a number of stems peculiar to itself, appears to have consisted of two sub-groups, one comprising the tribes living in the plains, the other those in the hills. The dialects of the plains sub-group were the nearer to those of the southern Valley tribes. Thus even in this Northern group, which on the whole belongs distinctively to the Valley division, the distinction between Valley and Foot-hill dialects is to some degree maintained.

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The Northern group comprised the tribes living directly on the San Joaquin and on the streams to the north, the Fresno and the Chowchilla. From this group material is extant from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, Dumna, and Chauchila dialects. The dialects of the adjacent Dalinchi, Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Wakichi, and perhaps Toltichi, also belonged to this group. 197* 101

The main Valley group extended over the territory from lower Kings river to lower Kern river, that is to say, the land bordering on these streams as well as on the lower courses of Tule and Kaweah rivers and the smaller neighboring streams, as also on Tulare Lake. This was the largest group of Yokuts dialects, and formed linguistically a close unit. It included Yauelmani, Wechikhit, Nutunutu, Tachi, Chunut, Wowolasi, and Choinok, from which there is material, besides Wimilchi, Apinchi, Telamni, Wowowali, Koyeti, Truhohayi, and probably others, all or most of which are extinct.

The Chulamni, or Cholovone, occupying a detached territory in the vicinity of Stockton on the eastern bank of the lower San Joaquin river considerably to the north of all the remaining Yokuts tribes, also spoke a dialect belonging to the Valley division. Its affinities are very markedly with Chauchila, the northernmost dialect of the Valley division, and which, while most closely allied to the Northern dialects in the foot-hills, such as Chukchansi, shows so many special affinities to the main Valley group as to make it nearly a transition between the two.

FOOT-HILL DIVISION.

The Foot-hill division occupied a smaller area than the Valley division, and the number of tribes included in it was smaller. The number of its subdivisions is however greater, and these subdivisions differ considerably more from one another. The Northern and Valley dialects of the Valley division are practically identical in structure and in phonetics, the differences being lexical. Among the four Foot-hill groups, however, there are grammatical and phonetic differences, besides lexical divergences considerably greater than those existing in the Valley division. The four foot-hill groups were spoken respectively on Kings

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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river, on Tule and Kaweah rivers, on Poso creek, and at Buena Vista and Kern lakes.

The Kings River group is the northernmost of the Foot-hill division, and in every way closest to the Valley division. It is, for instance, phonetically entirely similar to the Valley dialects. Structurally it also agrees with the Valley dialects in certain respects, although other features, and these apparently more numerous and distinctive ones, ally it with the adjacent Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. Lexically, also, it shows many affinities with both the groups of the Valley division, but the body of its words it has in common with the other Foot-hill groups. The Chukaimina, Michahai, Aitieha, and Choinimni, as well as probably one or two other tribes living on the immediate Kings river drainage, such as the Toikhichi and Kocheyali, from whom no material has been secured, formed this group. The Gashowu of Dry creek, the next stream to the north of Kings river, between it and the San Joaquin, also belonged to this group, although their dialect shows a number of special affinities with the adjacent Northern group.

The Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division comprised a small number of tribes: the Yaudanchi, Wükchamni, and possibly two or three others, such as the Gawia, Yokod, and Bokninuwad. In this group there appear for the first time the sounds ö and ü and the other impure vowels that have been encountered in Yaudanchi; also ñ, which may have been an original sound of the language lost in the greater number of other dialects; while l is changed to d. Lexically this group is more different than its northern neighbor, the Kings River group, from the Valley division, and the same is true of its grammatical features. Thus, while "his" in all Valley dialects is "amin," it is "imin" in the Kings River group, but "an" in the Tule-Kaweah group. This group is the central one in the Foot-hill division, and linguistically also intermediate between the less specialized Kings River group and the more specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, and may be regarded as typical of the Foot-hill division. Accordingly Yaudanchi, which belongs to this group, and Yauelmani, which forms part of the principal Valley subdivision, are typically representative, although they are geo-

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graphically almost in contiguity, of the two main branches of the Yokuts family. 197* 101

A much specialized group of the Foot-hill division comprised the Paleuyami of Poso creek, and possibly one or two neighboring dialects, such as Kumachisi. This small dialectic group does not show the ö and ü and impure vowels of the Tule-Kaweah group, nor has it changed l to d, although it uses ñ. Its greatest divergence is lexical. It possesses many stems peculiar to itself, and where the stems which it uses are those of other dialects, they are usually phonetically altered in Paleuyami, the vowels being particularly modified. The pronouns are as divergent as those of any Yokuts group; the verbal forms resemble those of Yaudanchi. While the distinctness of this dialectic group is considerable, it clearly forms part of the Foot-hill division.

A fourth Foot-hill group, a small body on the plains around Buena Vista and Kern lakes, seems to have consisted of only two tribes, the Tulamni, and another the proper name of which appears to have been entirely forgotten and which is therefore designated by the term Khonetwoli, meaning simply southerners, applied to it by its Yauelmani and other neighbors. This small Buena Vista Lake group is lexically still more distinctive than the Poso Creek group, especially in the number of its stems peculiar to itself. Both phonetically and structurally, however, it appears to be about as close to the remaining Foot-hill groups, especially the Tule-Kaweah, as the Poso Creek group. Like the Tule-Kaweah dialects it possesses ö and ü and ñ.

RELATIONS OF DIALECTIC GROUPS.

As can be seen, grammar, lexical content, and phonetics usually present about similar degrees of distinctiveness in these several dialectic groups, so that a natural classification presents no complexities. Such a classification is illustrated in the following three diagrams. The first of these, figure 226, indicates the degree of difference or similarity between dialectic groups by the relative linear distances between the figures representing these groups. This graphic method is of course more or less imperfect while confined to a representation in two dimensions. As 197*

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the |2| social organization of the Indians of South Central California. 616 The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties |1| exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County 616 in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited |0| are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts |2| stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

9: Gifford E-5 (1913.-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the
121 San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 The principal facts concerning social organization among the
171 tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows.

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception
551 of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi,
171 Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on *Miwok moieties*. *The characteristic features are, first, the* possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
● 101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
●[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[12a] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
+161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

*161 which seems to be confirmed by Derby for the Kaweah River also, this means 1,200 persons for the five 107 tribes. Gayton and Latta, however, find 15 names for the Wukchumni, which would indicate a population of 2,250. Such a figure is highly unlikely. It is probable that earlier times are referred to by the informants or that there is confusion among tribal affinities. Alternatively, the Wukchumni villages may have followed the style of the hill-dwelling Mono and have been very much smaller than has been indicated by Derby for the valley-inhabiting Yokuts. Since we cannot resolve the difficulty with the data at hand, it is better to accept the practically unanimous opinion of contemporary white observers that the population below Lemon Cove did not exceed 1,200 in 1851. To these must be added the 600 Mono previously discussed, making a total for the Kaweah River as a whole of 1,800 persons.

*161 If the two river basins are considered jointly, the method of area comparisons as applied to the Mono, estimates by government officials, accounts by early pioneers, and the village lists secured from modern informants all apparently agree that the population of the region reached several thousand as late as 1850 and 1851. We may therefore accept the total of 6,800, or 5,000 on the Kings and 1,800 on the Kaweah.

KINGS-KAWEAH 6,800

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

The shores of Tulare Lake (see maps 1 and 2, area 2) were aboriginally inhabited by three tribes, the Tachi, [101] Wowol, and Chunut. In close proximity on the northeast were the Nutunutu, but since the latter have been included with the Kaweah River tribal group, they must be omitted from consideration here. Savage allocated 1,000 Indians to Tulare Lake (Dixon, MS, 1875). McLean said there were 1,000 Indians "on the lakes" in 1853, 500 of which were "Notontos," leaving 500 for the "Taches" and "Tontaches" (Merriam collection). The most reliable account is that of Derby (1852). However, Derby in his terminology confused the Tachi with the Chunut, in which mistake he has been followed by Merriam (under title "Indians of the Tache Lake Region in 1850," MS). Derby makes it clear in his account that he found the village of Sintache (population 100) at the northern side of the then nearly dry Lake Tontache, that is to say on the southern shore of the big Lake Tache (Tulare). These were probably Chunut. There was also a small rancheria which he called Tinte-Tache at the south side of the same lake, i.e., Tontache (population 50). These are likely to have been Wowol. The tribe known to ethnographers as the Tachi were north of the big lake (i.e., Lake Tache or Tulare). Their chief told Derby that they had 800 people and that their principal rancheria was northwest of the lake (population 300). Since Derby also applies the name of Tinte-Tache to the northwest village, it is clear that there were two rancherias of this name included in his account.

Kroeber and Gayton mention a total of 8 villages for the Tachi. If one of these had 300 people, as Derby states, then the average population of the other seven was approximately 70. This agrees with Derby's two southern rancherias of 50 and 100 persons respectively. For the Chunut Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta all mention the village of Chumtau. Kroeber mentions one other,

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 40B]

*161 Miketsiu. This would indicate a population of nearly 150. For the Wowol the ethnographers give three villages, or an implied population of, say, 220. The total for the lakes would then reach 1,170, or very close to the general contemporary estimate of 1,000. The figure 1,100 may be accepted as a compromise.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 1,100

TULE RIVER, KERN RIVER, AND THE BUENAVISTA BASIN

*161 The remaining Yokuts territory is large in area but
●101 relatively small in population. It includes the water-
131 sheds of the Tule and Kern rivers together with those of the small creeks between (Deer, White, and Poso creeks) and Buenavista Basin south of Bakersfield (see maps 1 and 2, areas 1F and 1G). The tribes placed by Kroeber in the region are the Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Bankalachi (Shoshonean), Paleuyami, Yauelmani, Hometwoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni.

*161 G. W. Barbour (1852), in a letter dated July 28, 1851, said that the area bounded by Buenavista Lake, Tule River, and Paint Creek contained a population of about 2,000. Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) said there were 1,700 on the Kern River and Barbour (1853) stated that, for treaty-making purposes in 1851, 1,700 congregated at Paint Creek below Tule River. The villages listed by Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta for the various tribes are as follows: Bokninuwad 2, Hometwoli 3, Koyeti 8, Kumachisi 6, Paleuyami 7, Tuhohi 1, Tulamni 3, Yaudanchi 8, and Yauelmani 7. The total is 45. The village size indicated by Derby for the Tulare Lake Basin and adjacent valley territory is 60 or 70; that for the hill regions is undoubtedly smaller. If we take 40 persons as the average village population, the aggregate for the region would be 1,800 and if we take 50 persons, it is 2,250. We cannot be far in error in setting the population at Barbour's value, 2,000.

TULE-KERN-BUENAVISTA 2,000

On the basis of gross estimates and semicomprehensive counts for the entire region the population for the San Joaquin Valley and neighboring foothills in 1851 was tentatively set at 8,600 (p. 34). The detailed consideration of the seven subdivisions of the entire region, as above, leads to an estimate of 19,000, as set forth in the following recapitulation.

Stanislaus-Tuolumne	2,000
Merced-Mariposa-Chowchilla	2,500
Cosumnes-Mokelumne-Calaveras	1,000
Fresno-San Joaquin	3,800
Kings-Kaweah	8,800
Tulare Lake Basin	1,100
Tule-Kern-Buenavista	2,000
Total	19,000

It is believed that this total is more reliable than that previously given for several reasons. In the first place, it is derived from a careful consideration of all available sources in detail. In the second place, the preliminary estimate was weighted heavily by the reports of government officials, who saw principally those Indians with whom they were able to make treaties or whom

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 42 B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once sup- [133] ported uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 6.500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

131 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below *161 the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained [101] three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod, the largest group being the Wukchamni.

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 600 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendra segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eaguea with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eaguea and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 2,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

*161 between the years 1806 and 1816. We may then apply the correction factor of 2 and get 600 as the most probable number in 1806. Such a value is also consistent with the status of the Choinok as an independent tribal entity of the Kaweah basin, although it does not take into account any reduction in population prior to the expedition of Moraga. There was doubtless such a reduction, but since we have no direct evidence bearing upon the matter it will be better to let the figure 600 stand.

The total for the Kaweah delta group (Telamni, Wolasi, Choinok) is 3,800. This is indeed surprising but the figure perhaps is corroborated by the statement of the Franciscan President for the California missions, Father Payeras—made in support of the establishment of new missions in the valley—that the Telame district alone contained 4,000 unconverted heathen.

[101] The middle Kaweah above Visalia was inhabited by the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. The Gawia are represented in Moraga's account by Eaguea (300 inhabitants) and the Yokod by Cohochs (100 inhabitants). The Wukchamni were by far the most numerous and for an excellent account of them we are indebted to Estudillo. This officer, in addition to being a competent field commander, appears to have been a scholar and a gentleman. His report on the Wukchamni village of Chischa is unquestionably the most complete and accurate left us by any of the Spanish explorers and as such is worth discussing in detail.

Estudillo was the first white man to see Chischa. On this point he is very explicit:

> . . . su capitan joasps, ni su gente jamas havian visto tropa, siendo esta la primera vez q. havilan llegado alli, pues hace mucho tiempo paso por abajo (este fue D. Gabriel Moraga en el reconocimiento q. hizo en 1806) y solo noticia tubo por sus amigos de Telame . . .

Consequently, allowing for possible communicable disease, Chischa was in its aboriginal state when Estudillo saw it.

Chischa was 5 leagues east of Telame and 3 leagues *161 from Choinocko. This places the village, according to 361 the maps of Kroeber and of Gayton, at or just above Lemon Cove in the territory ascribed by these ethnographers to the Wukchamni. Estudillo measured off the dimensions of the village by pacing. The shape was semilunar, crescentic or approximately that of the sector of a circle. The short side ("por su frente") was 624 varas long and the long side ("por la espalda") was 756 varas. A figure plotted on coördinate paper to scale shows that the area was 80,000 square varas. On the assumption that the Spanish vara equaled a yard, and that an average city block measures 300 feet on a side, the village of Chischa would have covered eight city blocks.

*161 Estudillo caused the Indians living in the village to form a line before the town, with the men in a single file and the women and children massed in front of them. He counted the men and found that there were exactly 437 warriors ("jovenes de arma") and "como 600 mugeres y ninos." According to the translation made for Merriam (MS in his collection):

> Then I went opposite where the invited guests were lodged, and as they all, men and women and boys and girls were presented to me in a confused

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.49B]

THE KINGS RIVER

*16 The next region to be considered is the basin of the
● 10 Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be
13 divided into three sectors. The first comprises the delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

*16 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of
[22] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber,
[36] Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta); Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugóna (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at
[36] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In order to catch the horses for food other horses were
262 essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
[25] preserved, according to general practice, it was sufficient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
● [10] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
[31] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
*161 important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.68A]

*16 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherías," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 5 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, [36] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concerning tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*16 648 In the later documents there is little if any reference to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*16 [101] From the citations above it appears probable that the Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the

12: Cook
101, 102, 131

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of Positions of Map Facing p. 74.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

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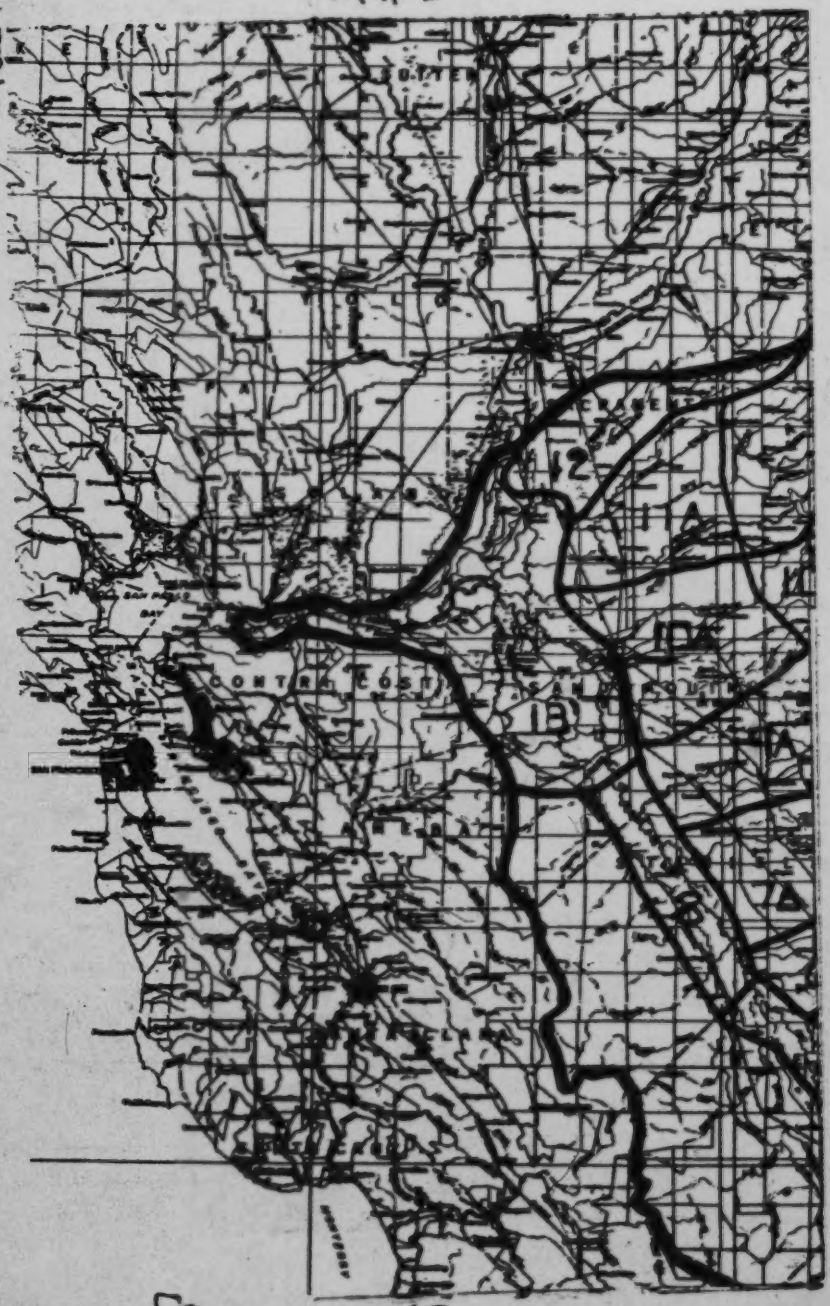

[Facing p. 74(A)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

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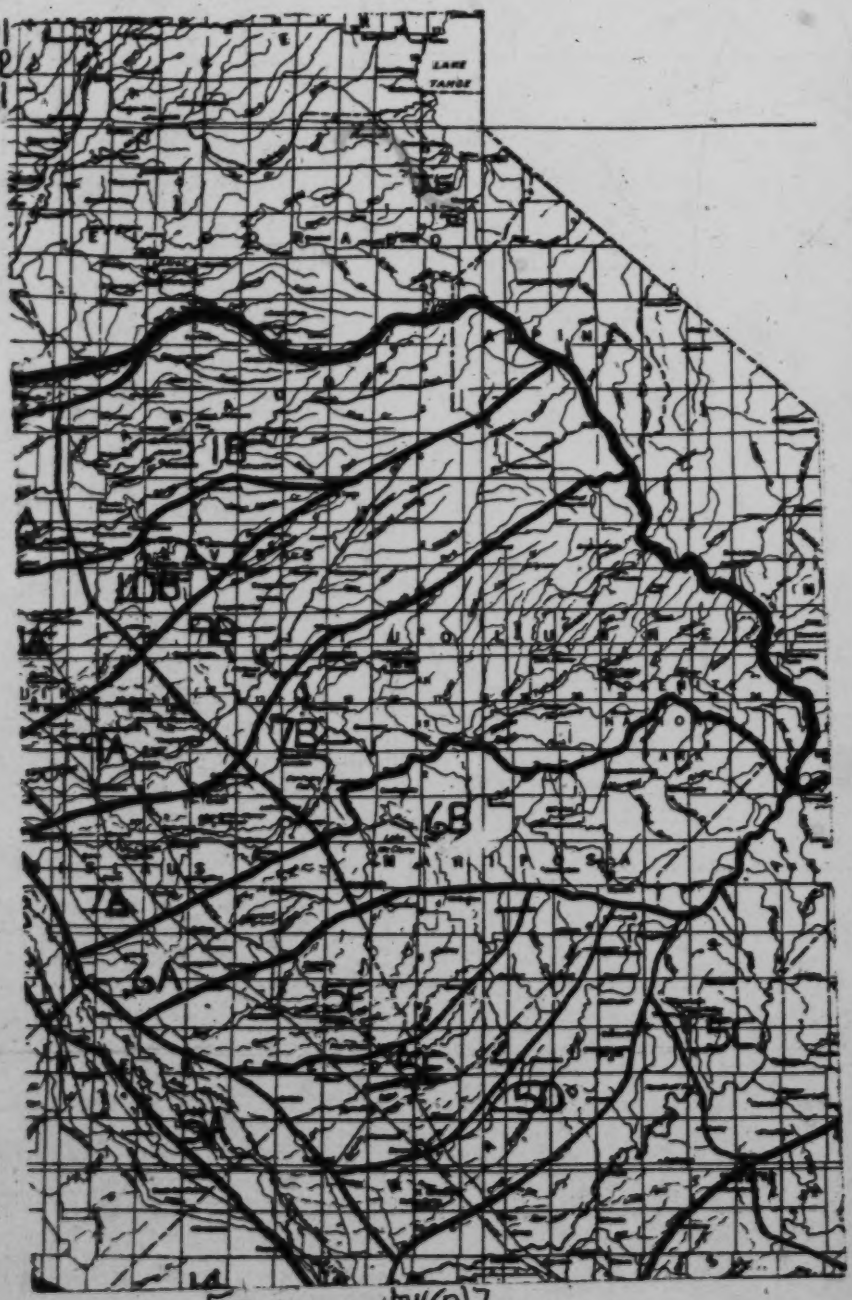
102
131



[Facing p. 74(B)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

●101
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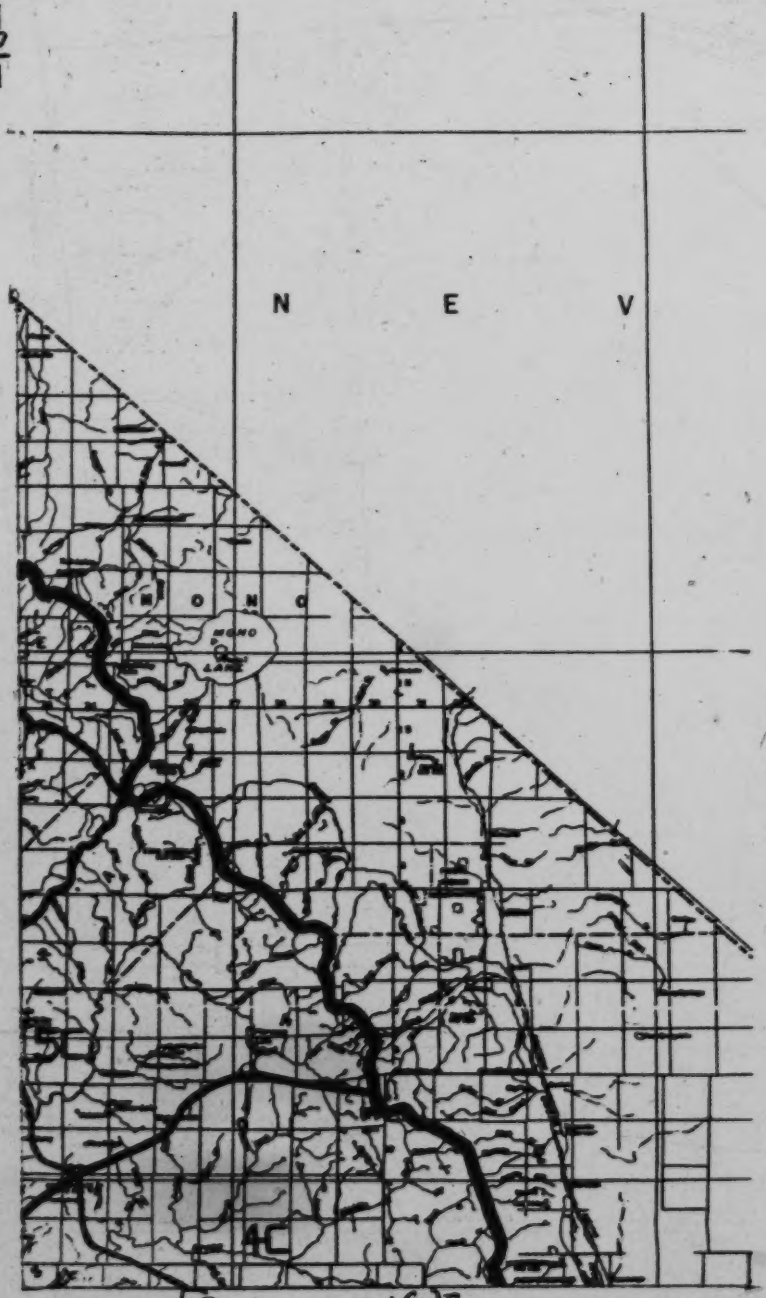

[facing p. 74(C)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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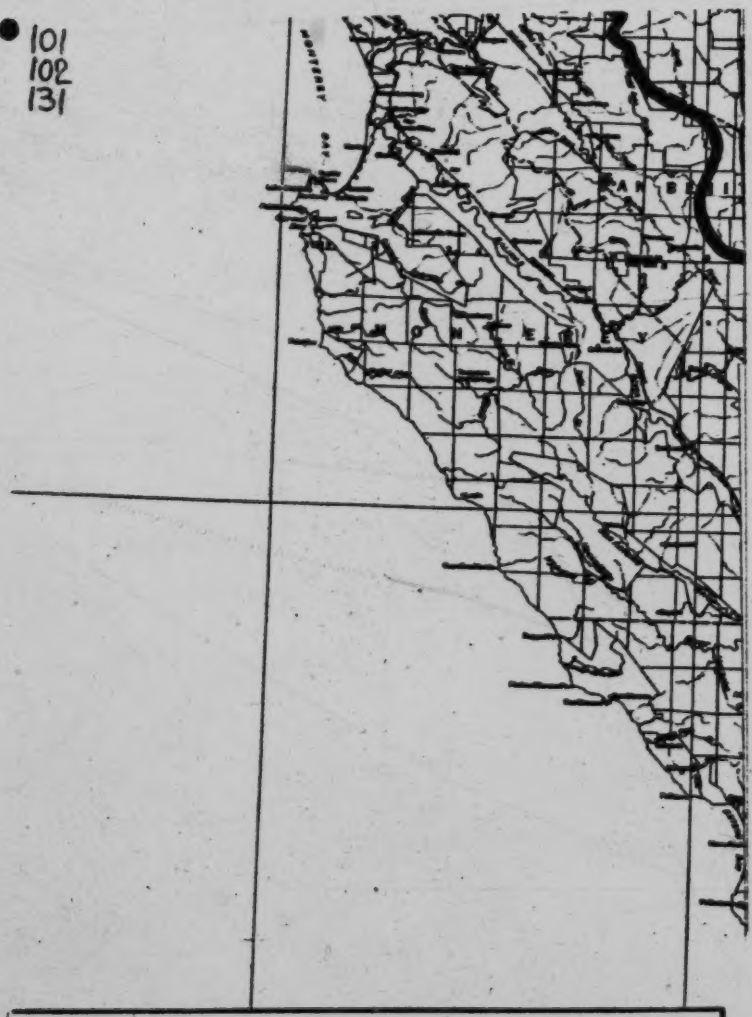


Map 1. This map covers the entire area under discussion, extending from the Cosumnes River to the Tehachapi. The smaller divisions, denoted by numbers and letters, represent the habitat areas considered in detail in the text. The succeeding maps, drawn to larger scale, show these same areas with the tribal divisions entered as far as possible.

0 5 10 20 30

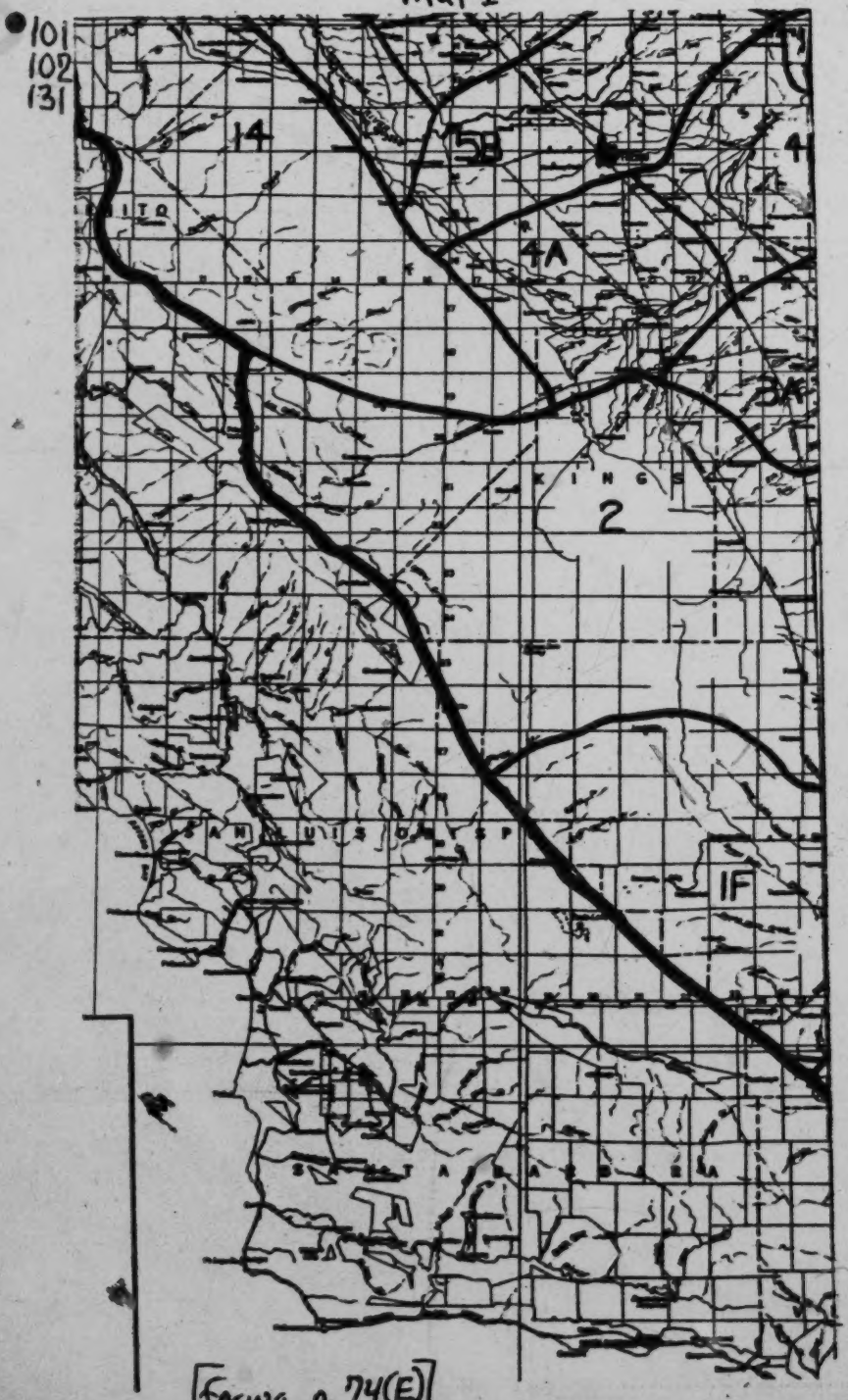
MILES

To accompany Cook, "Aboriginal Population of San Joaquin Valley," Univ. of Calif. Publ., Anthro. Rec. Vol. 16, No. 2.

[Facing p. 74(D)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

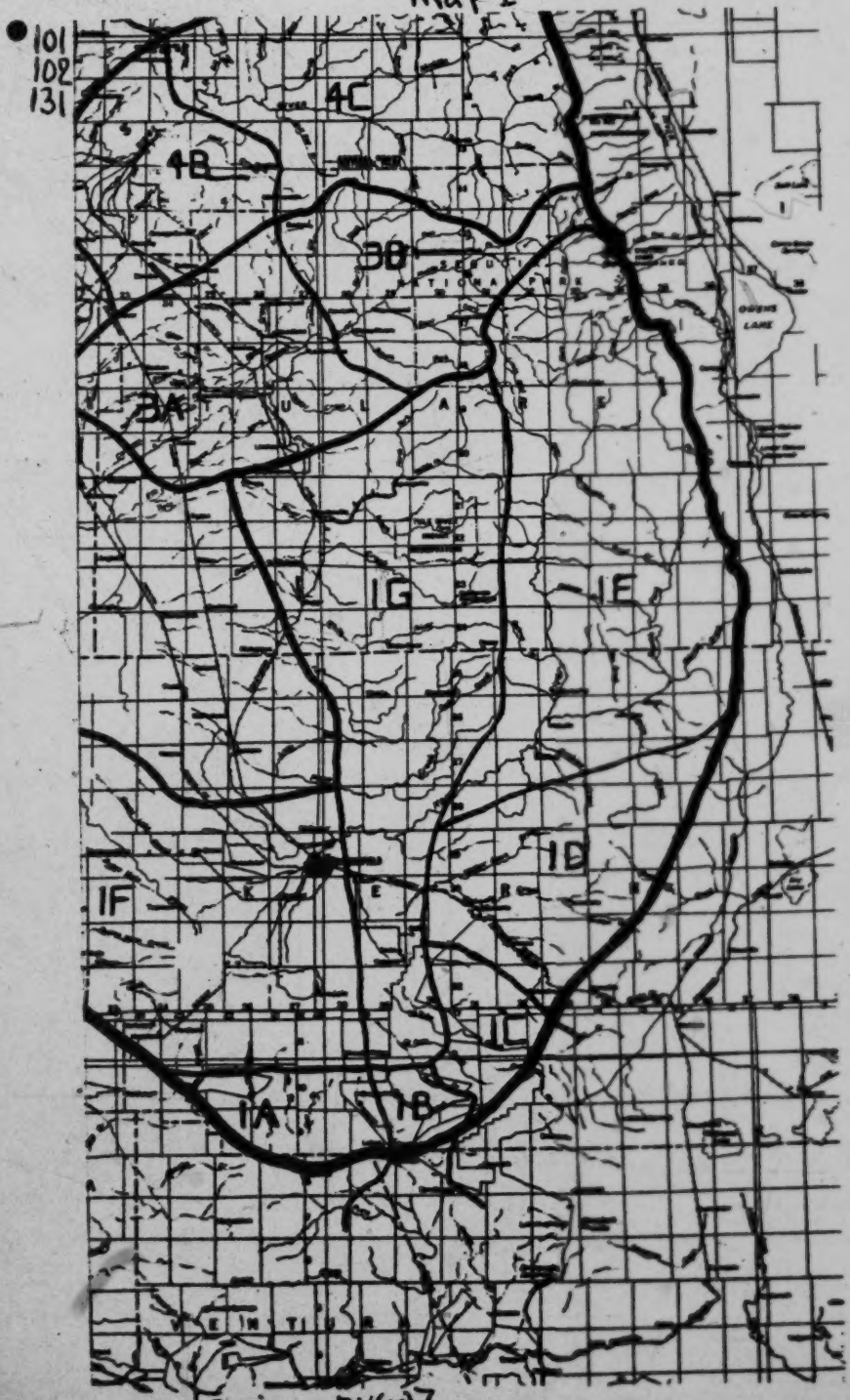
Map 1



[facing p. 74(E)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1



[facing p. 74(F)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[p. 75]

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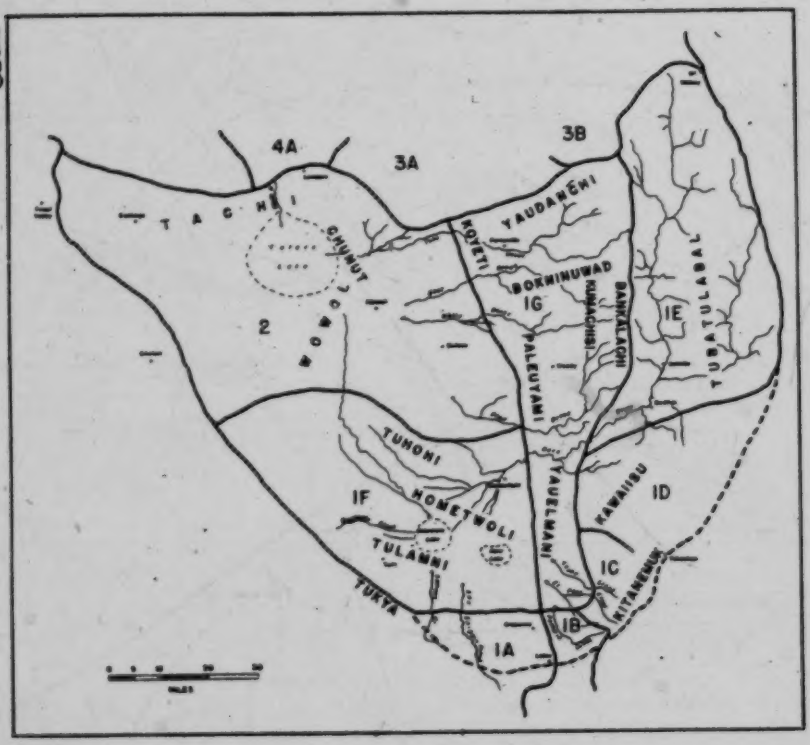
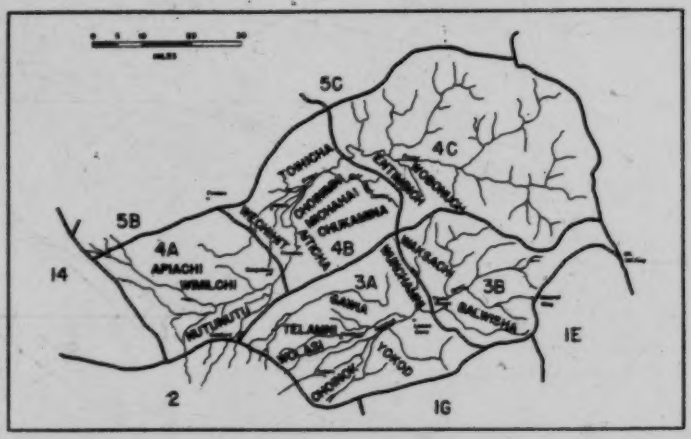


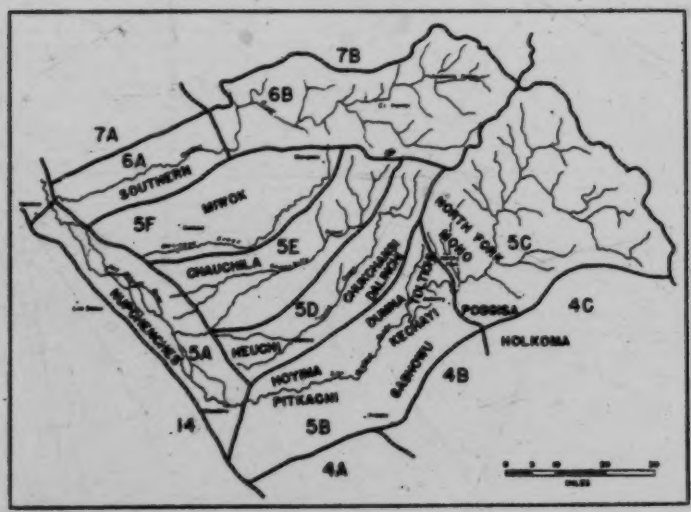
Map 2. Habitat areas 1A-3: the southern Yokuts and peripheral tribes.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25
[P.76]

WMY 101 133



Map 3. Habitat areas 3A-4C: the basins of the Kaweah and Kings rivers, including the Yokuts and part of the Mono.



Map 4. Habitat areas 5A-5D: the Yokuts, part of the Mono, and the Southern Miwok.

:12: Cook :S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
[P.77]
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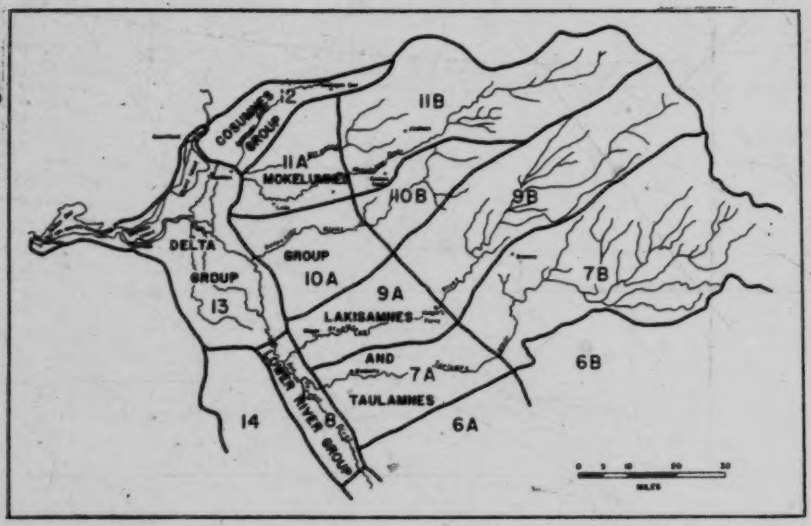

Map 5. Habitat areas 7A-14: the Northern Yokuts, Central and Northern Miwok.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

[p. 78]
[pp. 79-80 blank]

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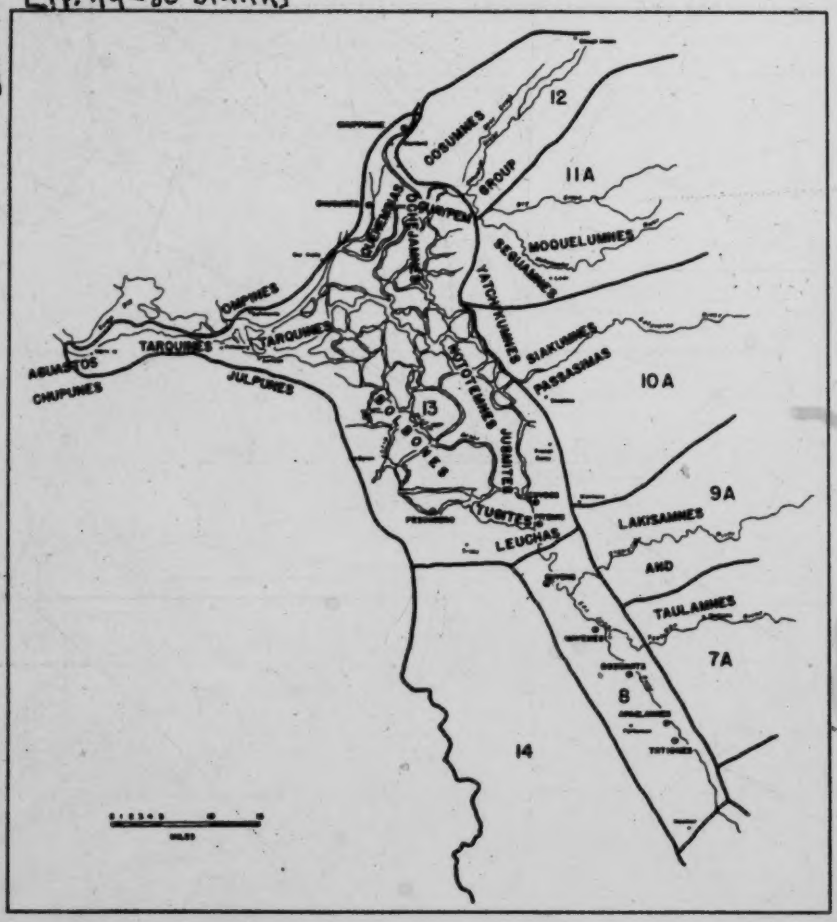

Map 6. The Lower San Joaquin River and Delta areas (particularly areas 8 and 13).

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 131 161 197

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

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Map I. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

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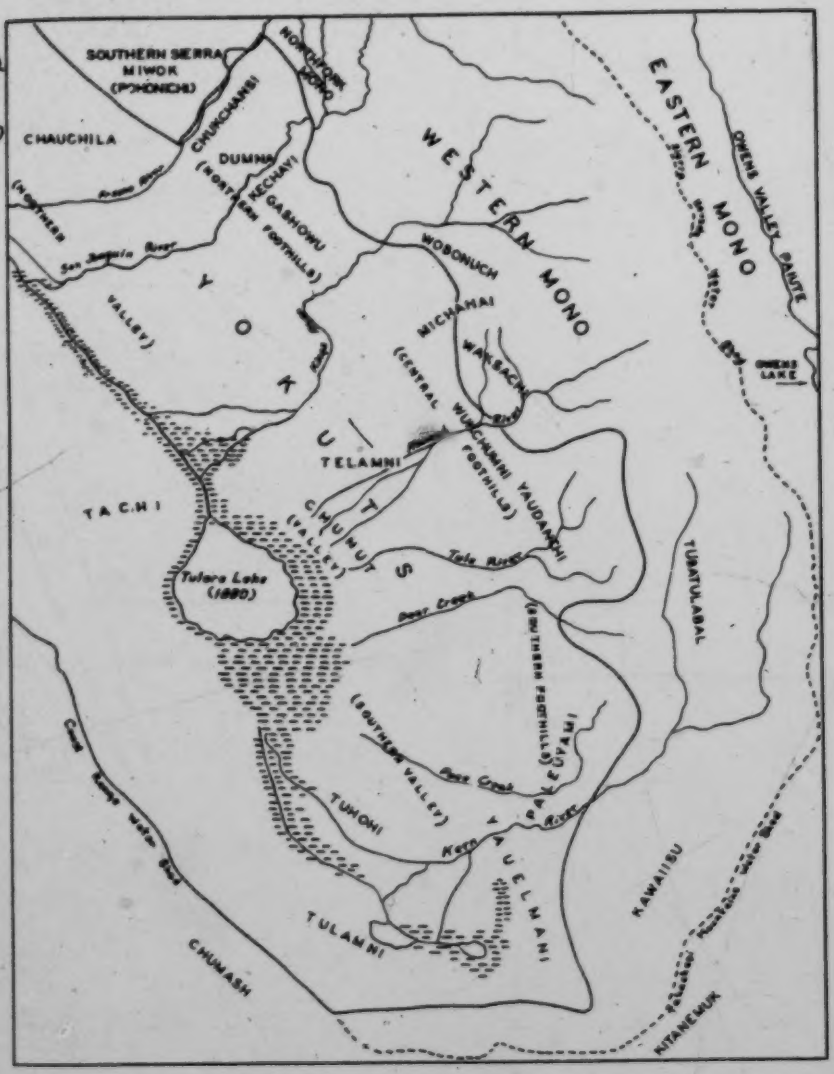

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]

2:Kroeber

101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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312
361
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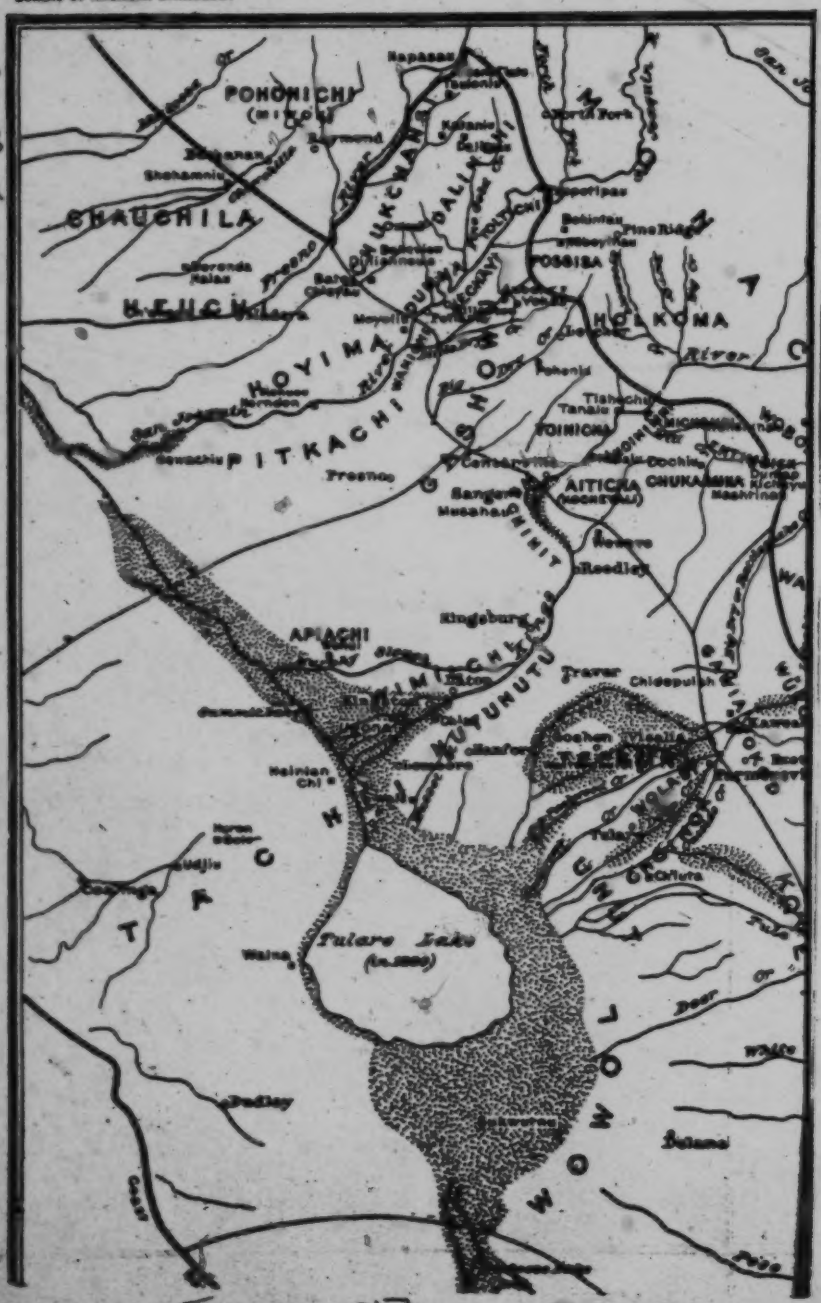

[p. 526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5. (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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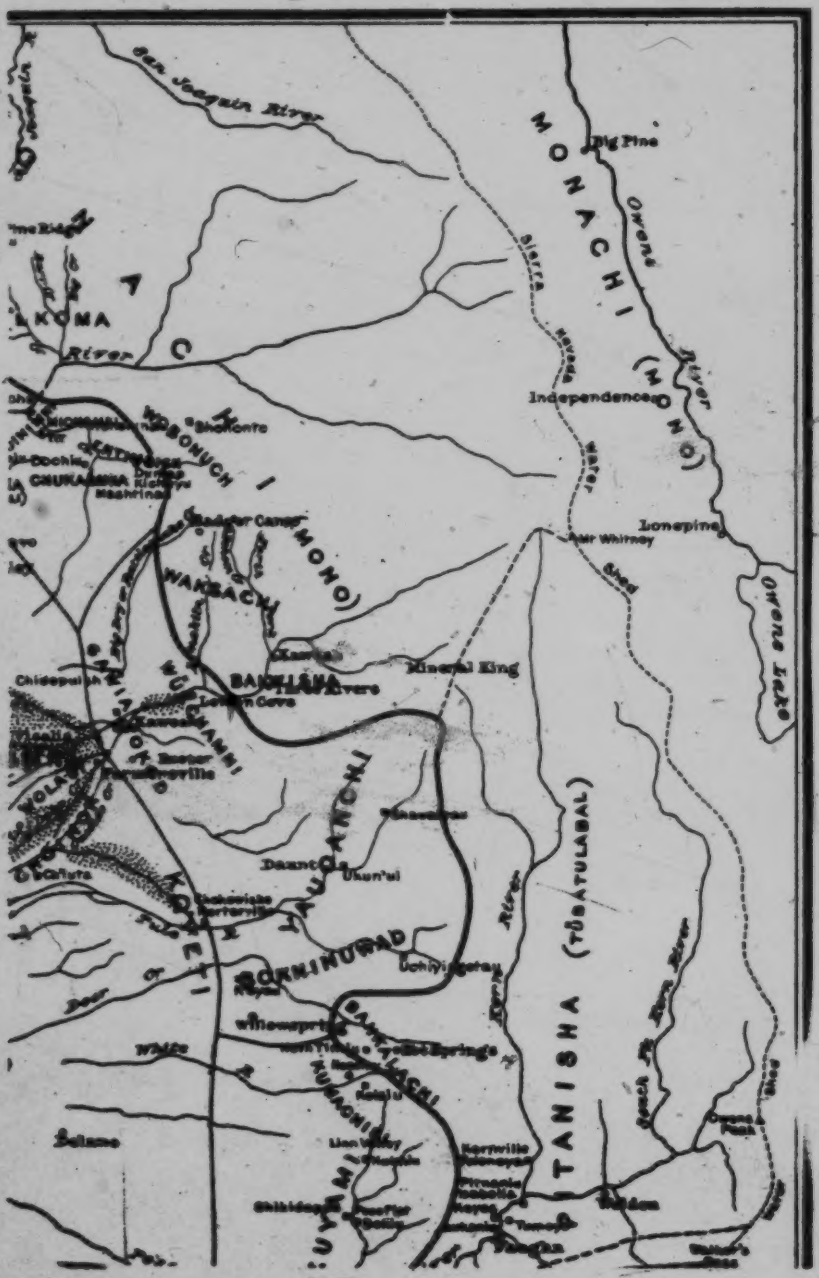
102
131
133
312
361
197



[p. 526-I(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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133
312
361
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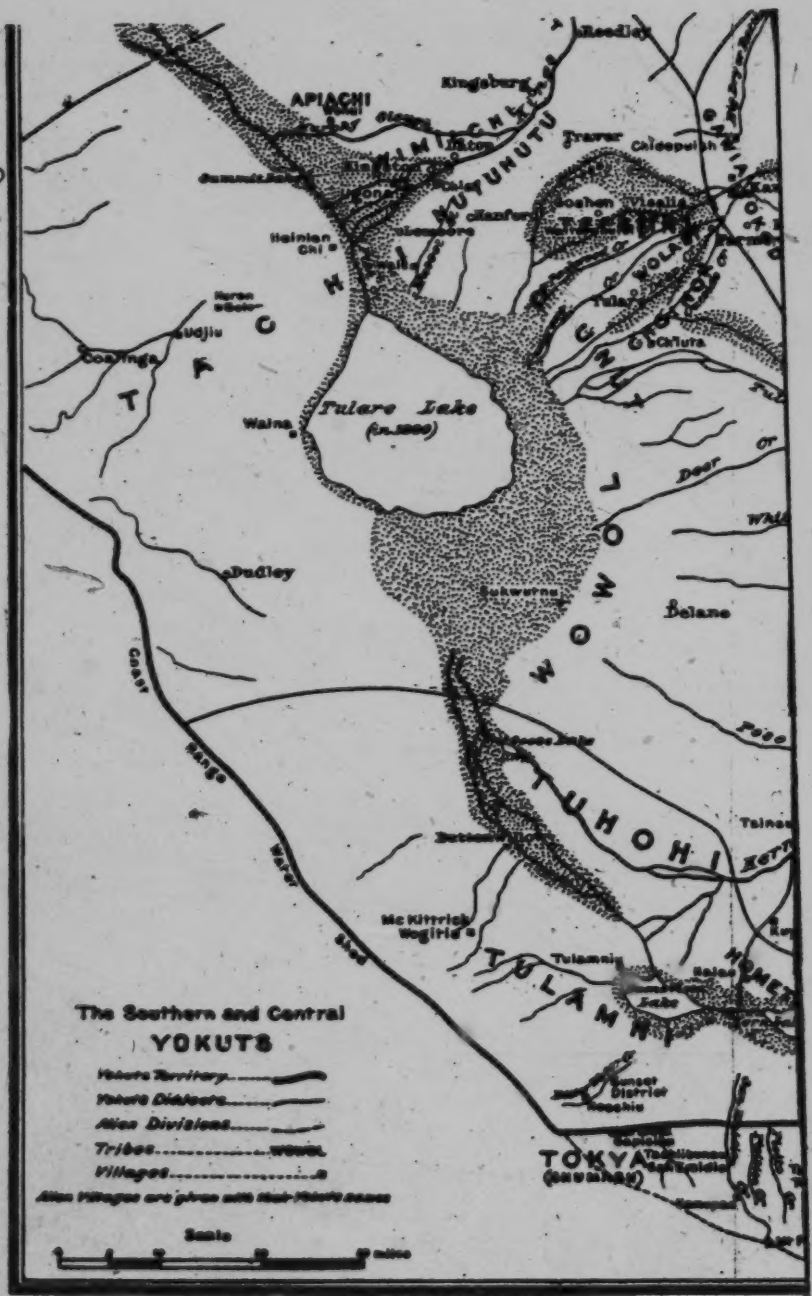

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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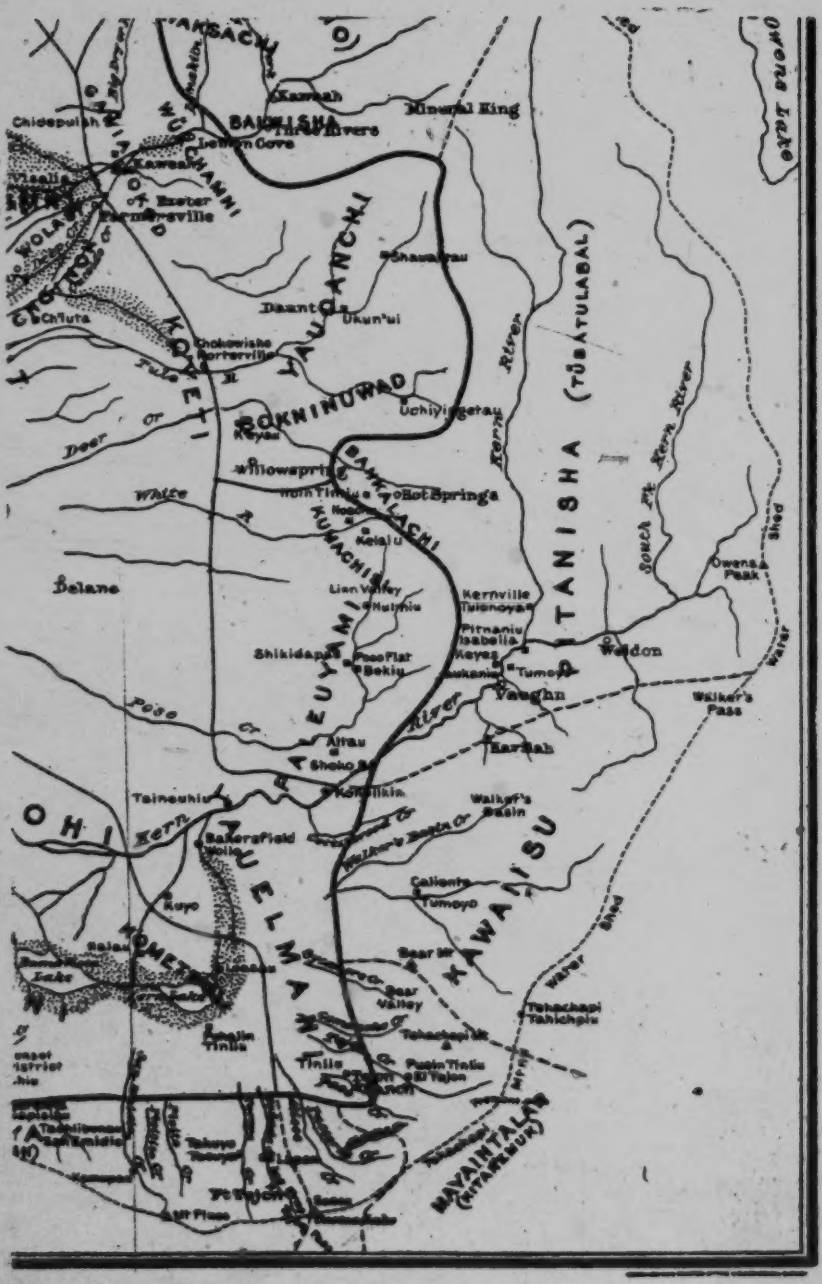

[p. 526-I(D)]

12: Cook
101, 102, 131

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of Positions of Map Facing p. 74.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

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102
131

[Facing p. 74(A)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

101
102
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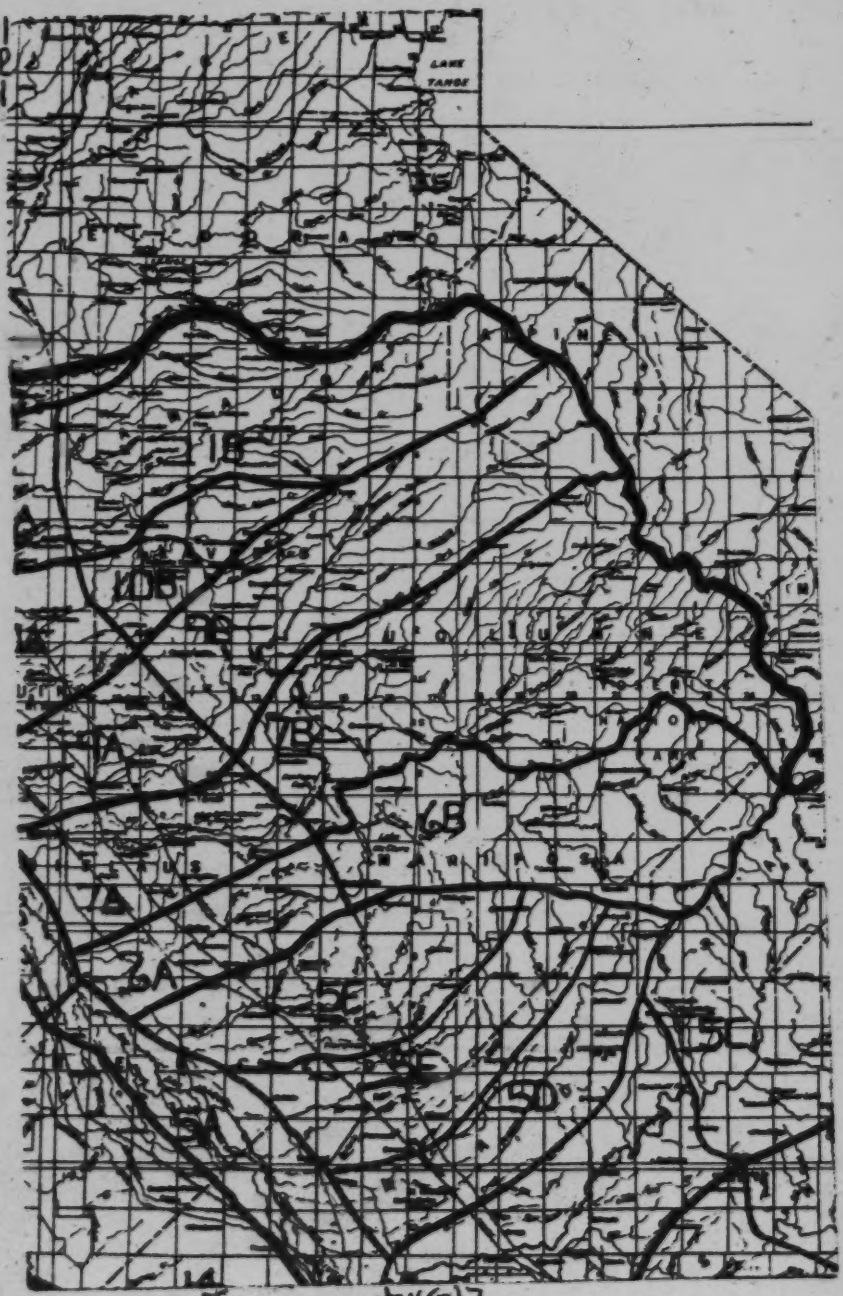

[Facing p. 74(B)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map I

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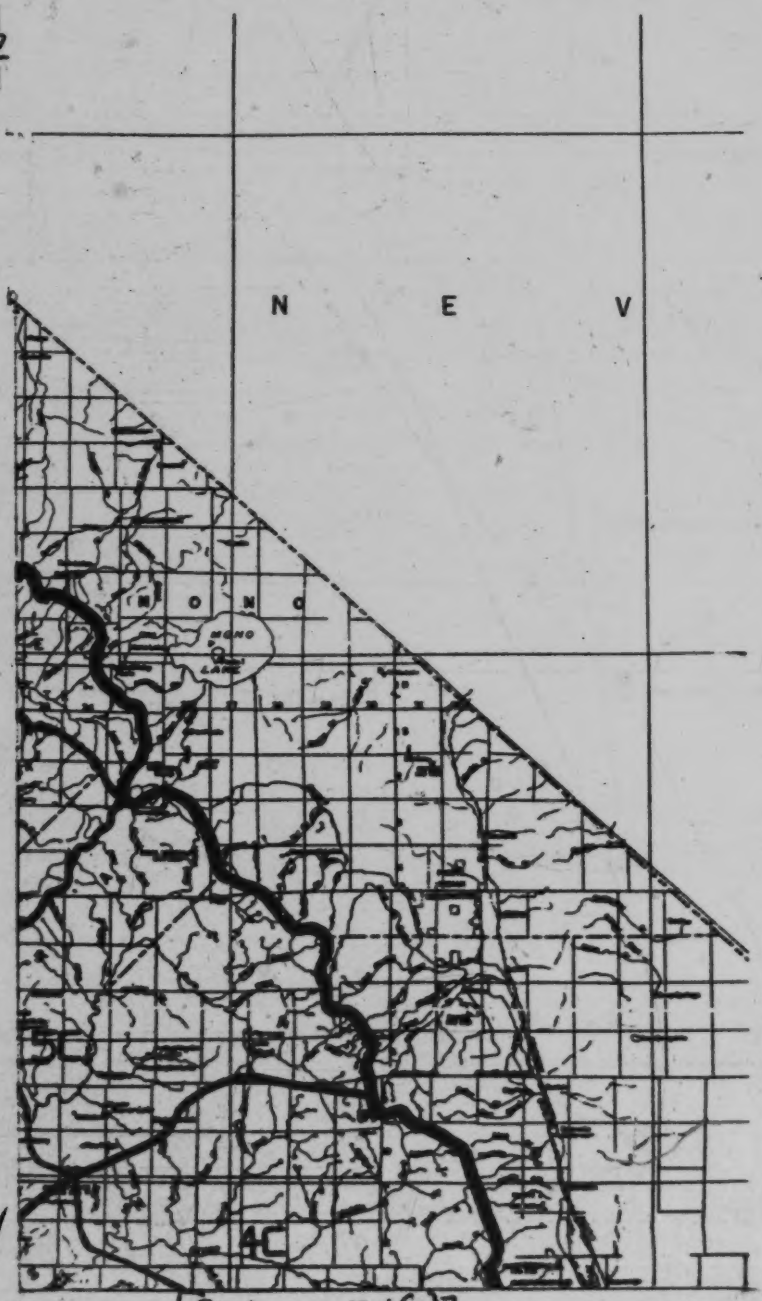

[facing p. 74(C)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Map 1. This map covers the entire area under discussion, extending from the Cosumnes River to the Tehachapi. The smaller divisions, denoted by numbers and letters, represent the habitat areas considered in detail in the text. The succeeding maps, drawn to larger scale, show these same areas with the tribal divisions entered as far as possible.

0 5 10 20 30

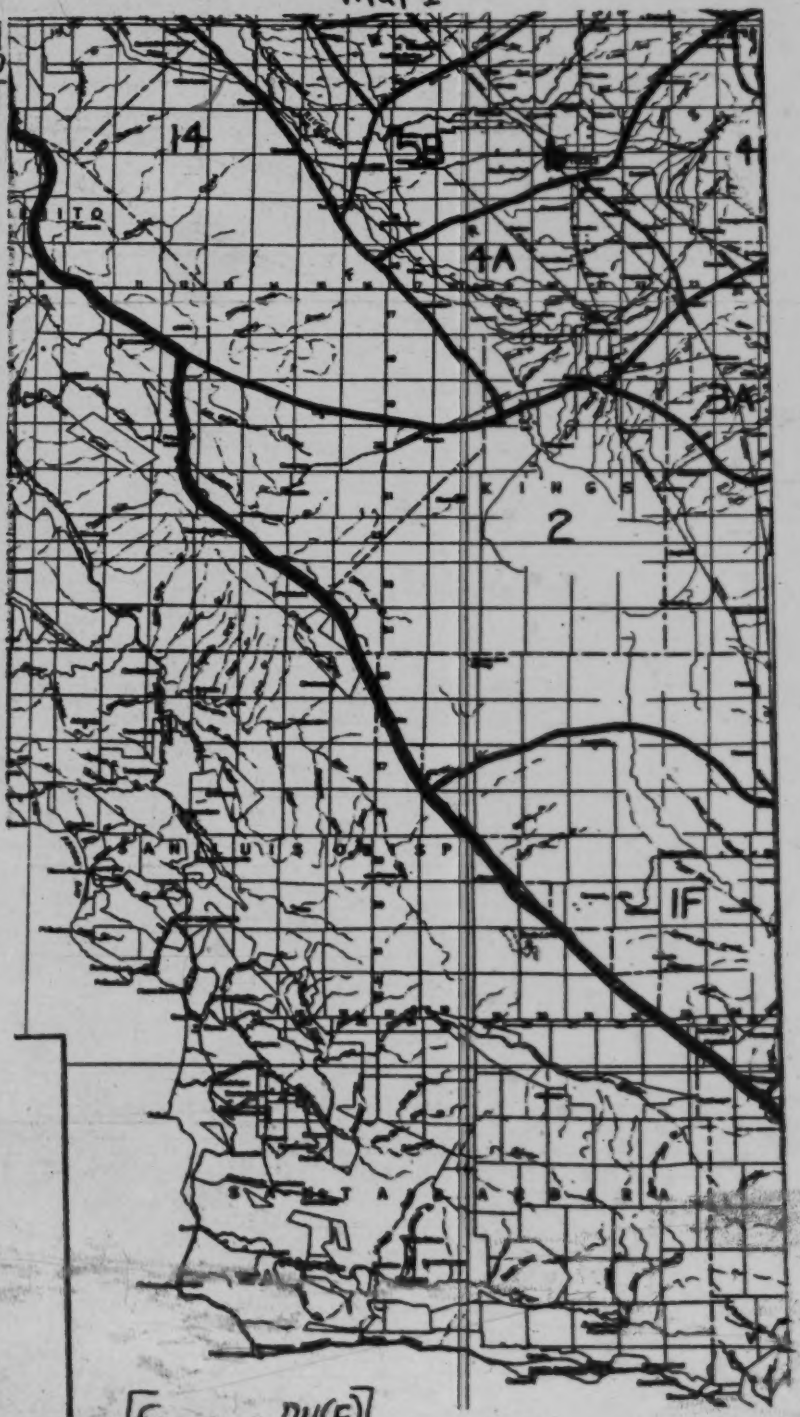
MILES

To accompany Cook, "Aboriginal Population of San Joaquin Valley," Univ. of Calif. Publ., Anthro. Rec. Vol. 16, No. 2.

[Facing p. 74(D)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

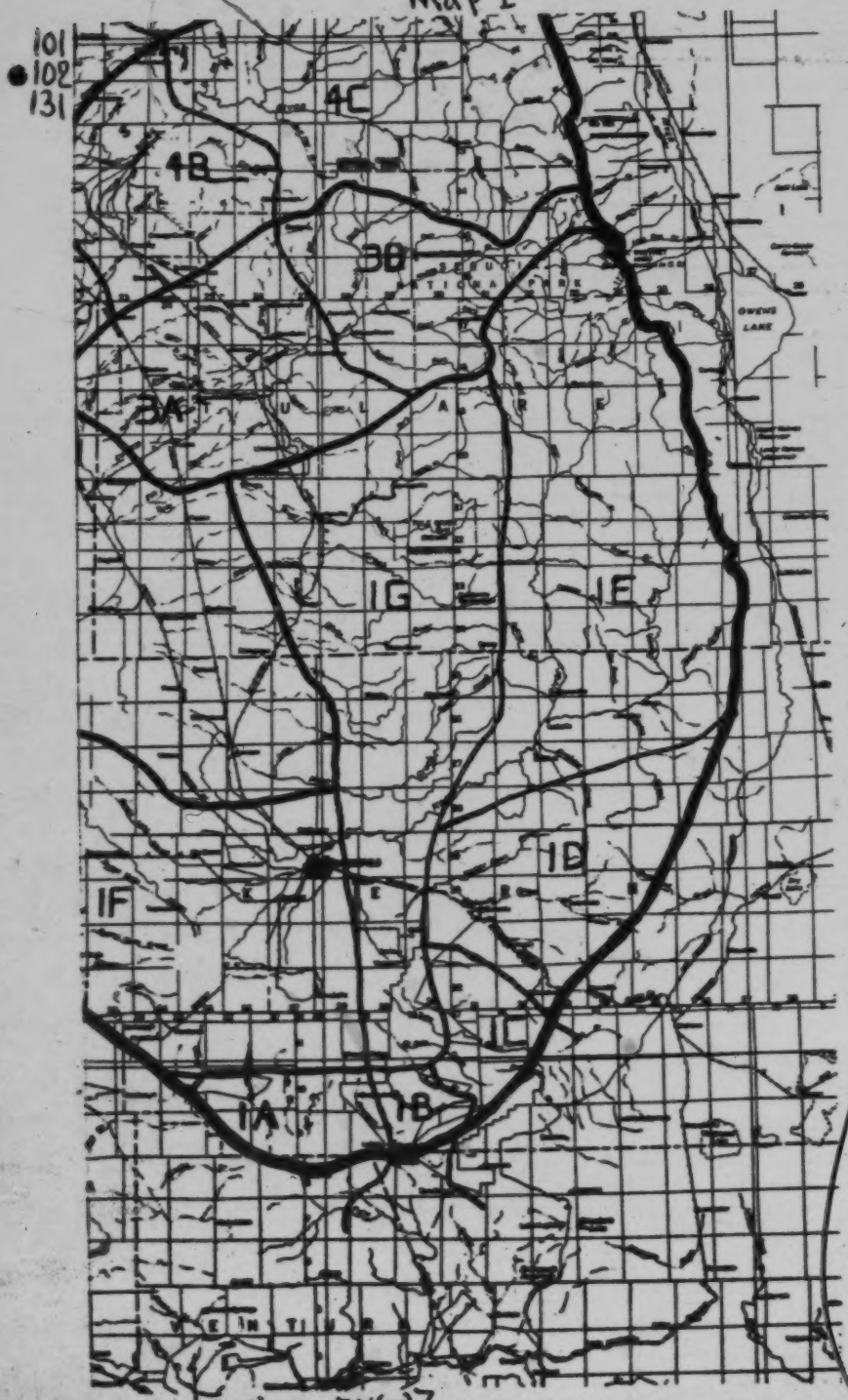
Map 1



[Facing p. 74(E)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1



[facing p. 74(F)]

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Map 1. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

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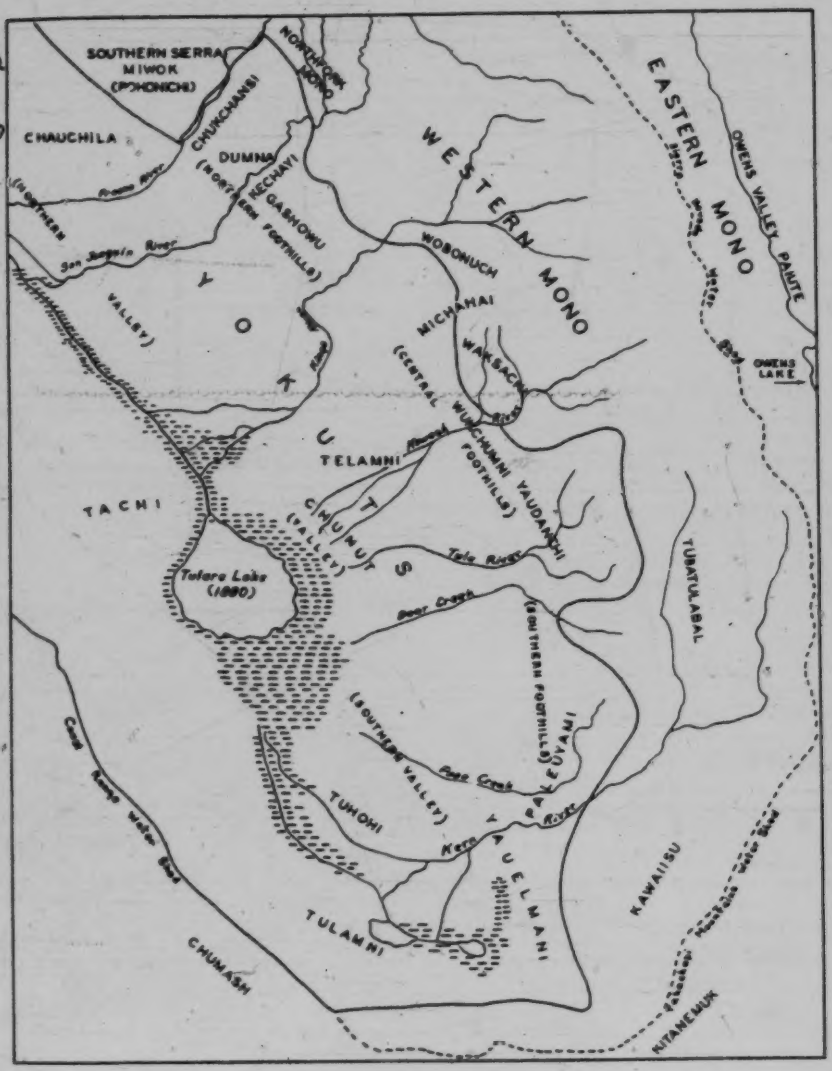

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugone
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [201] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

---

[26]Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27]Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 58] Wukchumni

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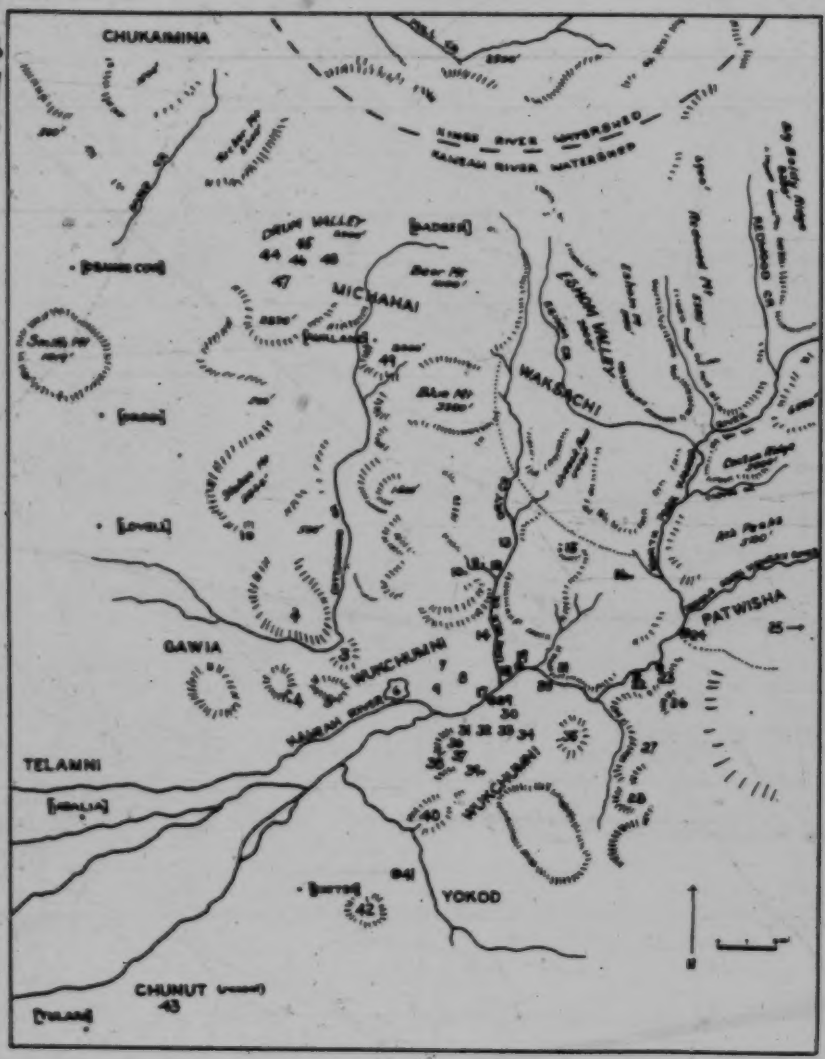

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to
[281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Wakachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye ''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda 'o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi 'ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida 'pw:š
4. poanai 'yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta 'o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa ''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai ''yuhao
8. čaše 'ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau 'ču
10. topo 'no: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai ''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa 'o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo 'kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču 'm: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya 'gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo 'nyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi 'yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono ': a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu 'mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño 'našu
21. čoiši 'šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi 'šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukya 'o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu 'nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

103 24. patwi´ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns [143]
25. bai´o´ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama´o: a sharp peak
27. usta´nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta´o
29. ho´ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi´yo
31. šaiw:ta´o
32. dai´a´pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai´apnu´ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada´o
35. pupuna´o
36. kuč:npida´o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanh:nta´o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. muču´npida´o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye´du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču´mnyu
41. yoko´l: Yokod village
42. čaha´šana´o
43. čun:ta´o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna´pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača´mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa´una´o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi´š:nyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačik:na´o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. čoho´mina´o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čaš:´ša (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris [Morse?] Ranch; duda´dyu, Arthur Ragle's [?] place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi´li, Stokes Flat [?]; dono´ñwiyu; čai´´oč; pupu´na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onomatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

342 The Central Foothill culture included
343 structures of both mountain and valley types. The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

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[143] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[P. 133b] Wukchumni Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·'tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[265] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
● 103

1. tolsi'hao (Michahai)
2. takša'myu (Michahai)
3. buči'h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o'to
5. bo'kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto'no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[265] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley
161 9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. to´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´´o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po´o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Mašt:nao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, šo´´ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (šo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, [789] the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɩn, southerners. The [illegible] kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and [illegible] on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɩn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɩn (up); atɩ´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɩ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɩč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them waša´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal
131 locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´čbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɛt
[622] (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɛ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokiá, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ iču´i (Joijoi)[77] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɛ and Salo´knɛč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´taču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 A long list of place names was given but
361 only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[77] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

DUMNA

103 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´´omt:lao; 11, ya´p:k'nao; 12, y:mšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, t:ne´lao; 16, kočo´yu; 17, ti'če´niu; 18, hogo´n:lao; 19, hutu´n:lao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamx:´nšiu; 24, pax:´kčiu; 25, šo´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´t:lao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nep:nwa´šu; 33, šiš:´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the
101 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
114 their name at that time was used to cover
648 native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomk:t, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomk:t and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Xechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɨ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 ●103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu´i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai´ai´ɨč: got liquor

koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die," and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the ac-
[778] companiment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101
131 Concerning the range of Chukchansi terri-
tory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold
Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site,
the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village
●103 site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[649] [77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.N. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi.

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[301 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
● 103 tain was there
č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 213 b] Western Mono N525

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

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The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we ˇčihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče ´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka ˇšuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü ´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a ´nt:mp:č]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu ´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a ´pusowi ´´:tunü ´´üm: Toll House
huro ´g:čnü ´´üm: southeast of last
yui ´ninü ´´üm: south of last

Y
M
773
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131

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places B.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o ´ču
Michahai: pa ´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu ´mi; dai ´apnu ´ža
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češe ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa ´o; čita ´tu
Entimbich: kečai ´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada ´winao; sit: ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa ´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y
M
101

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens. Y W [854]

S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.) Y W 423

The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E). W Y 103 131 361

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinetsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwe´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. taveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

W
Y
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22. na´´an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´´owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata´wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´´iu: Badger
31. kiču´´u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo´o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´´: Stokes Mountain

Y
W
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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´ᵘwijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Paᵘwijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

Y
W
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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´´owets), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Canon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

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101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place."
[103] From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshon- 101
ean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 131
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103] in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191 197] as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103] Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221] ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

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131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi. Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniin ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
● [103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or
[103] Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

[103] Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Alticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna; which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Apiau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

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101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
131 was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tinliu ("at the hole") on Pasc Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tinlinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Wollo ("planting place," "sowing
[177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
[582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'iuta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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 131 101 103 [423]

missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshulul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechahet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowal*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more [501] intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

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101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close association between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.

103 The Tachi, Tadji, or Dachi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi, 131 Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Walna, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Waiu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehamniu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *taudj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* alomst like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers." 101 103 131

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easternera. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes. [197]

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholo-
●103 vomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who
131 retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on comparison with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least

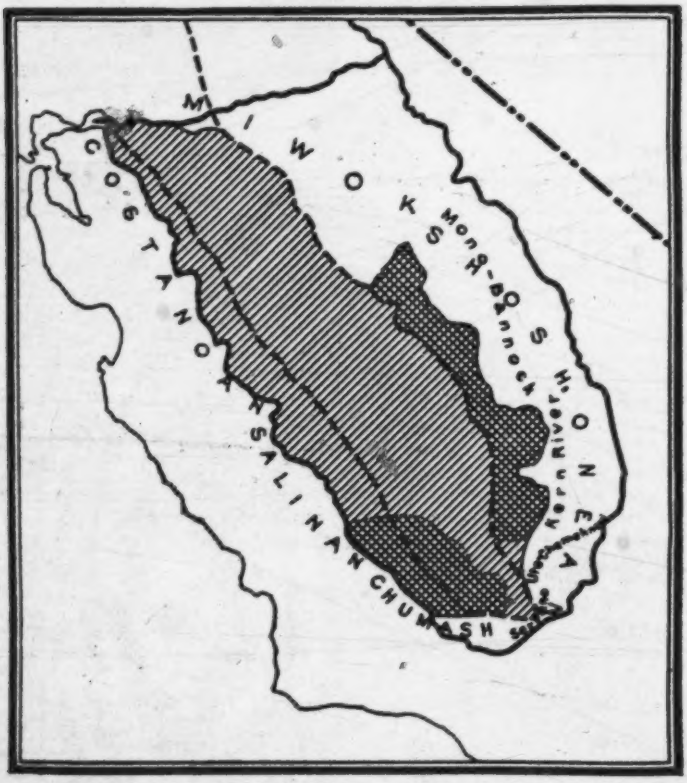

FIG. 43.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their
131 speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living 177 Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are 172 quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re- 361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

10 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
●103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*.
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu*.
36 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
[226] *Tikshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*. Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land, was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings on the north slope were known by the same name and were thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunutu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long
131 ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-
619 oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu*
103 (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just
36 southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-kimeen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw
[622] Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
619 *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
361 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823] MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*. 361

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

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The Yokuts made pilgrim-
ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending and waterproofing their equipment. The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settlement which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several different derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

"When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

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Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 131
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home 361
villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses 159
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 648
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 797
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old.

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

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159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian
103 to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

[648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

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direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim*." 175

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission." [251]

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages. 101 103

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

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101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

101 When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
103 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
648 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, *"Oh-rays-teem'-bah,"* meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

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the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of Tipton.

From there to the present town of Porterville the channel of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

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were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named *Ahsaw*. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

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101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There
103 was once a village there having the same name. Between the
131 forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which
361 was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

[776 *Soksouh* (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural
532] spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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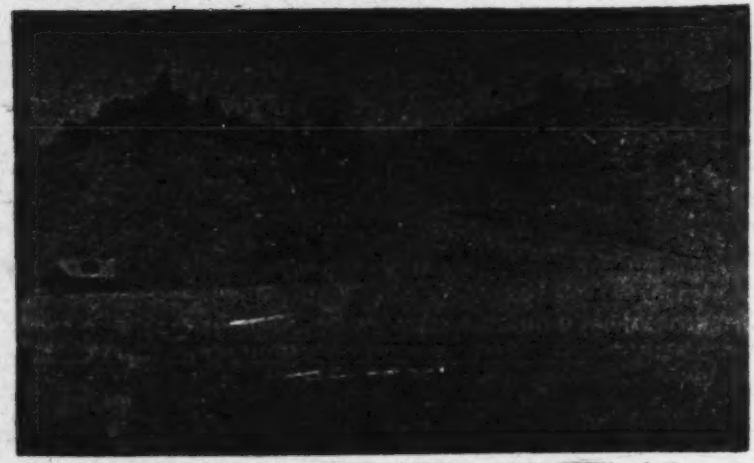

Site of the old Indian village of Kawipewpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

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and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytuplul.*

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu.* Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh,* meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknow.*

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami.* In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu.* At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu.* Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

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101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sik-etepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

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Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe.

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu.

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the

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from the deltas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers north to Trinity River were the Wintun. Extending along the western Sierra foothills from the Miwok to the Pit River drainage basin were the *Maidu* (My'-doo). 101 13

To the southwest, south, and southeast of the Yokuts were foreign blood and language groups of primitive peoples. The *Salinan* group occupied the territory directly to the southwest of the Yokuts, including the valley of the Salinas River. Practically nothing is known of them. It is doubtful if a single full-blood individual has been living since about 1890. The name, *Cholame,* is a Salinan word and is now applied to a locality which was once in their territory, which extended south to a point near the north end of the Carrizo Plains.

South of the Salinan were the *Canaliño,* who undoubtedly occupied the Carrizo Plains as far north as the Painted Rock and Soda Lake. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of Canaliño descendants at the Indian settlement in Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

Cuyama Valley was held by the Canaliño. The word *Cuyama,* taken from their language, is said to mean Clam Shell. [103]

The only known name of a Canaliño tribe bordering on the Yokuts is that of the *Tokya,* who extended from a point west of Paleta to the eastern limits of the Canaliño. Upper San Emigdio, Tecuya, Grapevine, and Pastoria Creeks are reported as having been in Tokya territory. In the Canaliño language Rancho Viejo Creek, just east of Grapevine Canyon, was called *Kwat'-lah-tah Quab'-la-quad.* Sapateria Creek was *Kahshe Nashahmo,* meaning The People There Save Things.

The name of San Emigdio Creek, and the Indian Village there was *Lashlepun* (Lash'-le-poon). The name means Cut Through, because the creek there cuts deeply through the mountains.

The *Shoshonean* Indians of Tejon Canyon called Grapevine Canyon *Shehveng Gahchah Upeh,* which means exactly the same as the white man's name for the place. The Canaliño Indians called Grapevine Canyon *Mut-tahp'-cho Whel-leh'-we,* which means Cottonwood Trees.

The eastern limits of the Canaliño across the southern boundary of Yokuts territory are not definitely established. The rugged terrain between the Cuyama and Antelope valleys shows little evidence of primitive occupation. Somewhere in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the 103 Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinchiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F 172 streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people." 101 124

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat." [103]

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its*, the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 101 131

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made [261]
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers 302
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and 484
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round [317]
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of 323
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite,
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

101 The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village
[103] was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

224 The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it is safe to substitute an "l" whenever a "d" appears in the following Wukchumne words. 197

The San Joaquin Valley was called *Chaw-daw'-no*. The Wukchumnes recognized the great central valley as a geographical unit and spoke of various valley landmarks as being "*Wah kayo Chaw-daw'-no* (Away down the valley)". Tulare Lake was known as *Pi-ah'-se*. Some tribes are said to have simply called the lake *Mi'-ak Ill'-ik*, or Big Water. 103

Along the Kaweah River all of the prominent landmarks were named. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shin*. Yucca Point was called *Kah'-wid*. Yokohl Creek bore the name of *Yo-kod'-o*.

The great granite bluff on the Sierra skyline known to us as Homer's Nose was called *Top-aw'-shuh*, or leaning place. Sawtooth Peak was *Kah-did'-it*. A more complete list of Wukchumne place names is given elsewhere in this volume.

The following list of names will give some idea of the extent of the Yokuts vocabulary and of their close contact with every feature of the landscape, as well as with the native plants, birds, and animals. 192

Blue jay	*Trah-ush'-nah*
Black bird	*Chouk*
Buckeye	*Top'-pong*
Blackberry	*Mah'-min*
Breakfast	*Wah-ah'-dua*
Badger	*Tuh'-now*
Bee	*Hi'-neh*
Bumble Bee	*So-way-way'-keh*
Bear	*Mo-ho'-o*
Coyote	*Ki'-yu*
Cottonwood	*Dah'-pah*
Crow	*Ah-duh'-wut*
Chamese	*Co'-toon*
Cherry	*Shup*
Chipmunk	*Che'-we'-yeh*
Chaparral	*Tah-dow'-ud*
Cottontail	*Tay'-yoo*
Cedar tree	*Chow-uh'-puk*
Cat-tail	*Tro'-wuh*
Castle Rock	*Lung-no'-tim*
Cone, pine	*Chung-o'-kish*
Duck	*Hi-eh'-neh*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik*, long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu,* and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake.* I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

[103 361] Just a few months before I was born my father and mother lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we). 159 756 769

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley. [103]

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek. [103]

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpiknis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We [535]

[text continues on p. 249]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 769 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

159 342 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake, my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

[103]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-nour*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went 361
back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahduwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

159 One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
224 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with
165 the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it.* I
● 103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
361

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tulés. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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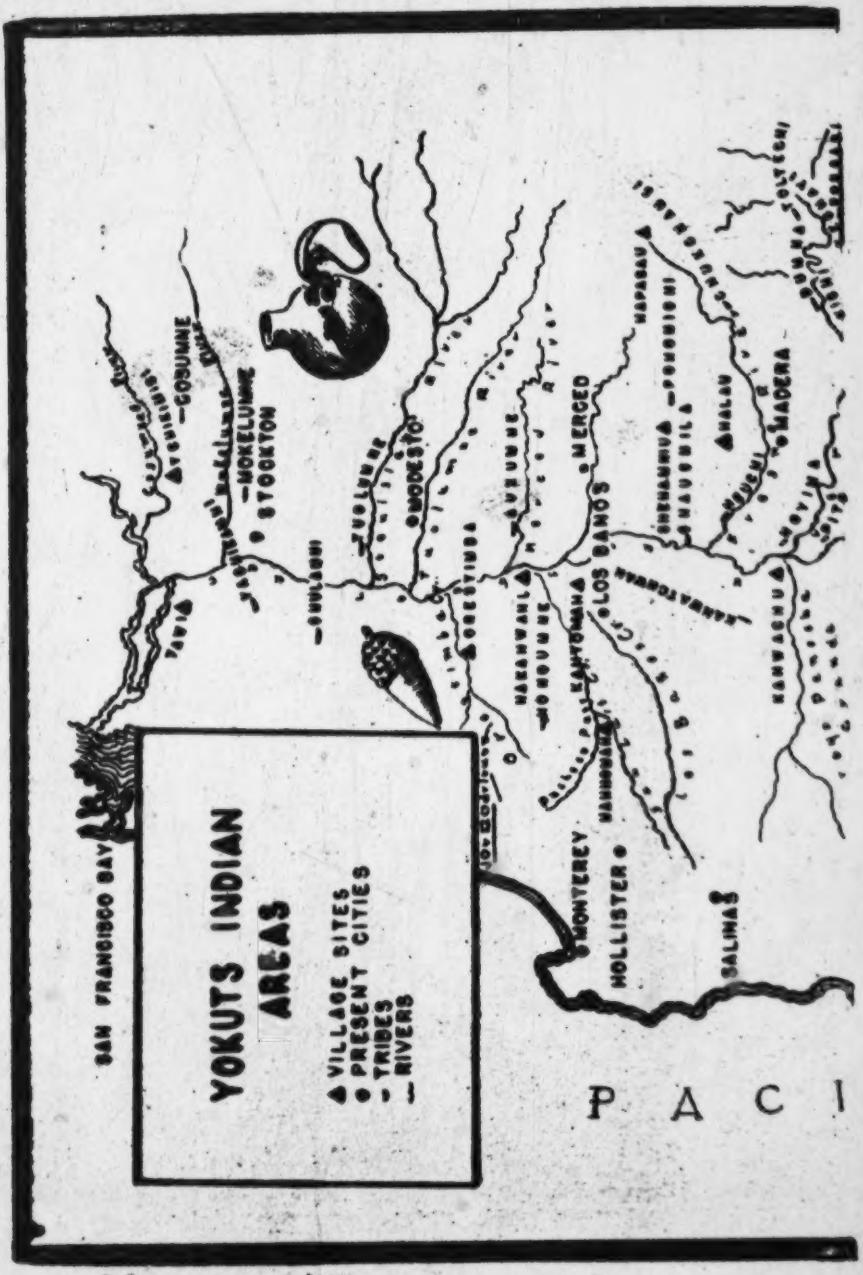

[End Map(A)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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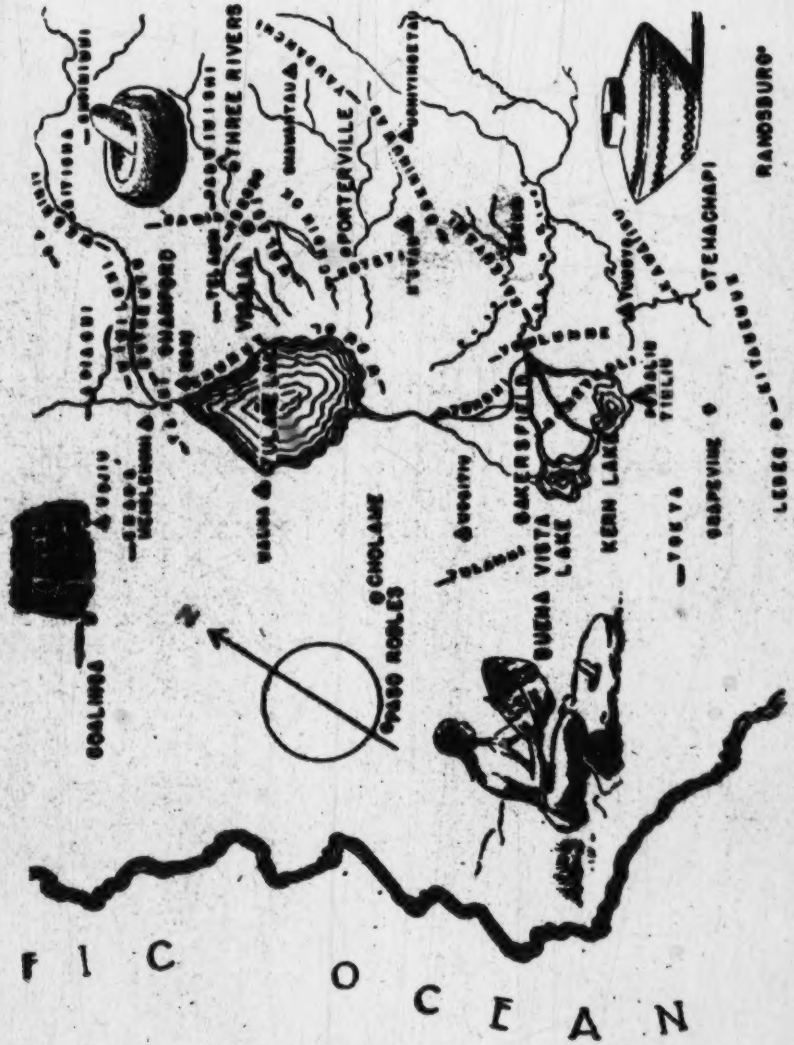

[End Map (B)]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yo Kuts NS29

smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights. T 131 101 T

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi. 133 T [101 131] T

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan. T 103 Y 103

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishin are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

T Y 103 of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

T 161 The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

Y T 177 The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by T this much larger nation.

285 Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the south-
323 ern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree
276 yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pot-
342 tery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of T dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

343 It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what
515 may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled
501 tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.
T 764 The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

T 616 In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous
776 moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There
231 are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, T and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited [773] by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, T the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

171 In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold,
606 or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law
177 taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately asso-
[55] ciated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the T Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation
171 has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The desig-
601 nation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and
177

[P. vi]

PHONETIC KEY

●104

a, e, i, o, u	as in Spanish
e	as in met
ɨ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German könig
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
g	as in gig
ⁱ	superior vowel, whispered
j	as in jig
ñ	as in sing (nasalization)
š	as in share
č	as in church
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration as in hand
ʼ	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
´	accented syllable

[p.142 e]

PHONETIC KEY

104

a, e, i, o, u	as in Spanish
ɛ	as in met
ɪ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German schön
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
ᵢ	raised vowel, whispered
g	as in gig
j	as in jig
ñ	as in sing
š	as in share
č	as in church
r̥	trilled r
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration, as in hand
'	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
´	accented syllable

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono 128 culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The original data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same [192] sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds. 104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	c: as in English shout
i: as in English pique	ñ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	te: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	': glottal stop
ai: as in English thy	

Other letters have sounds as in English.

NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Yachi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɛ̄ lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid rounded front vowel
ə̄ higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "cut". Typewritten "?" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; '(as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; p̣, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; , (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveoler ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

136
did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east. [439]

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12] 136 172

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products. [321] 439 [436]

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple. 105 [262]

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi- 105 184

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 231 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 756 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merrian and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

1: Gayton, Anna H. Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography (Vol. 1, Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts; Vol. 2, Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948.

Pp. Vol. 1, viii, 1-141, 1 plate, 14 text figures, 4 maps, bibliography
Vol. 2, viii, 158 (143-301), 1 plate, 5 text figures, 5 maps, bibliography

[Omitted from the Files: pp. 254-290, dealing with Western Mono.]

Yale: Nk10 .+C24. 10

[This source was compiled by the author, a well known anthropologist, during field trips made during the years 1925-1930, as well as from the field notes of Mrs. A. Rogers (in reference to the Chukchansi), and other published materials on the Yokuts and Western Mono. The material is well organized and precise in its presentation of Yokut and Western Mono ethnography. A major point of emphasis in this source is on special ceremonies, shamans, curing and the obtaining of shamanistic powers. Data pertaining to the Mourning Ceremony have been placed in category 769. Information on the transitional Yokuts-Western Mono groups have been marked both for Yokuts NS29 and Western Mono NS25. . Analyst]

Field date: 1925-1930
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

2: Kroeber, Alfred L. Handbook of the Indians of California. Berkeley: California Book Company Ltd., 1953.

Pp. xviii, 973; foreword; preface; 17 tables; 83 illustrations; 78 text figures

HRAF copy

[Only pp. 474-543 of this source have been processed]

[The Yokut section of Kroeber's Handbook deals primarily with geography, social institutions, religious cults and material culture. The information is concise as would be expected in a work of this nature. Illustrations of material culture items are included.

This book was originally published in 1925, as Bulletin No. 78 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1918
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

3: Latta, Frank Forrest. Handbook of Yokuts Indians. Oildale, California: Bear State Books, 1949

Pp. xiii, 287; 51 photographs; end map (inside cover)

Yale: C63.162

[This source is a general ethnography of the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, California. Much of the information collected by the author for this book was obtained from aged native informants who remembered the old customs and traditions no longer in existence. The following subjects are covered; tribal geography, the Yowlumne, trade, dress and communication; houses and housekeeping, foodstuffs, games, hunting and fishing, basketry, artistry, language and names, stories and ceremonies, and Indian statements (a collection of biographies from various informants). Most of the photographs reproduced in this source are of poor quality primarily because of their age.

The author, an amateur ethnologist, is now the Director of the Kern County Museum at Bakersfield, California, where he taught school from 1915-1945. He became interested in the history of his home area at an early age, and as a result has collected a great many documents, photographs, and

3: Latta, Frank Forrest.

statements of early pioneers and Indian informants pertinent to his historical interests. --Analyst]

Field date: 1923-1948
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Educator-5
Processed in 1960

4: Gayton, Anna H. Culture-Environment Integration. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 2, pp. 252-268. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946.

HRAF copy

[This paper deals with the relationship of cultural and environmental integration in Yokut and Western Mono society. In describing this relationship, Gayton indicates how the environment functions as a cultural stabilizer in the society, and may even act as an active cultural integrator. In the process of working out her hypothesis the author presents much additional ethnographic information on the Yokuts and Western Mono, especially in regard to their annual cycles of work and leisure, trade relationships, beliefs about the earth and universe, chronolgy, mythology and customs and beliefs associated with animals.

The author is a professional anthropologist from the University of California.--Analyst]

Field date: 1925-1930
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

5: Gayton, Anna H. Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 239-255. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929.

Yale: C52.07.24

[This source is devoted to a study of the methods and techniques of pottery-making by the Yokuts and Western Mono Indians of California, which are treated as being essentially identical in nature within these two groups. The information in this paper was obtained by the writer during a field trip made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925-1927. In addition to the data collected on this field trip, the author has also incorporated information on the stylistic differentiation of Yokut and Western Mono pottery as obtained from thirty-four museum specimens. In general, this source deals with methods of pottery making (coiling and shaping), methods of making clay pipes, shapes and uses of wares, and the distribution of pottery-making in the San Joaquin valley.

The author of this article, Anna H. Gayton, was at the time of publication a professional anthropologist on the staff of the University of California. --Analyst]

Field date: 1925-1927
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

6: Gayton, Anna H. Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 24, No. 8, pp. 361-420. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.

Yale: C52.07.24

[The material for this source was collected by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during various field trips made between the years 1925-1928.

In this study the writer's primary concern is with the powers and social functions of chiefs and shamans. The author supplies much additional information regarding the social statuses of chiefs and shamans, their interrelationships, their political and religious affiliations and duties, and mythological origins. Information on tribal organization, minor officials, and sorcery is also included. An excellent summary of the material with the conclusions derived thereof may be found on pp. 407-417. Gayton treats the Yokuts and Western Mono as identical in political structure. --Analyst]

Field date: 1925-1928
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

7: Powers, Stephen. Tribes of California. Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. 3, pp. 369-392. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877.

Yale: Se8.O23.3

[The material for this source comprises chapter 35 of Powers' Tribes of California, and is, in general, a relatively brief ethnographic sketch of Yokuts culture as it existed in the 1870's. The author was a professional journalist, although one of the most outstanding authorities on the California Indians of his time. Some of the aspects of Yokut culture given special attention by the author are: chieftainship; Yokuts prophets and magicians; weapons; foods; gambling; medical practices; disposal of the dead; and ceremonials, particularly the cyclic mourning ceremonies for the dead. --Analyst]

Field date: 1871-1876
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Journalist-5
Processed in 1960

8: Kroeber, Alfred L. The Yokuts Language of South Central California. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 2, pp. 165-172, 308-377. Berkeley: The University Press, 1907.

Yale: C 52. O7. 2

/This source deals primarily with the linguistic relations between the various subgroups constituting the Yokuts, and to a lesser degree with the linguistic affiliations between the Yokuts language and that of neighboring tribal groups– Wintun, Maidu, Pomo, Yuki, Washo, Costano, and Miwok. The work was first undertaken by the author in 1900 for the California Academy of Sciences, and later completed under the sponsorship of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California, between the years 1902-1904.

Parts I and II of this paper dealing with the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani dialects respectively, (pp. 173-307), have not been processed for this source because of the highly specialized nature of the linguistic material contained therein. Part III of

8: Kroeber, Alfred L.

this source deals briefly with various other dialects of the Yokuts language, and includes many representative examples of short texts. A number of linguistic comparisons and summaries are presented in this section, especially in the last few pages of the work entitled "Status of Yokuts Among the Languages of California." --Analyst/

Field Date: 1900-1904
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

9: Gifford, Edward Winslow. Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 11, pp. 291-296. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916.

Yale: C52.07 11

[The following study is the result of preliminary investigations made by the author in his study of the geographical limits of moiety organization among the California Indians. Tribes used to compile the results of this study were the Chukchansi, Gashowu and Tachi Yokuts, and the North Fork, Inyo and Bridgeport Mono, as well as the Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. --Analyst]

Field date: 1913-1916
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

10: Beals, Ralph L. and Joseph A. Hester, Jr. A Lacustrine Economy in California. In Miscellanea Paul Rivet Octogenario Dicata, Vol. I, pp. 211-217. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México for XXXI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, 1958.

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[This is a study in the ecology of the Tachi Yokuts north and west of Tulare Lake, whose culture was significantly influenced by the immediate lake and desert environment. The authors give a brief but adequate description of this environment, indicate how it affected the Tachi material culture and how the latter differs from the culture of the surrounding Yokuts groups. Finally, the authors discuss the social organization and conclude that the differences in material culture derived from the environment are not paralleled to any significant extent by differences in the social organization. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4, 5
Processed in 1960

11: Gayton, Anna H. Estudillo Among the Yokuts: 1819. In R. H. Lowie, ed., Essays in Anthropology presented to A. L. Kroeber, pp. 67-85. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936.

Yale: Nk12. 936e

[The material for this source was obtained from the diary of Lieutenant José María Estudillo, commandant of a party of Spaniards who in the year 1819 penetrated into the San Joaquin valley of California on a missionizing expedition. Through the efforts of the author, a copy of this diary was obtained from the Bancroft Library at the University of California and translated into English.

Although this source is limited in terms of ethnographic data, it does present a general picture of the region as it existed in the early days of the 19th century; a picture which in many cases has undergone numerous changes since the time of the writing. It is interesting to note, however, that while Estudillo's data are somewhat meager in quantity, they were not lacking in quality, for much of his original data was verified through the works of later ethnologists, dealing with the same native cultures. Ethnographic data given in these pages pertain to intertribal relations, diet, hunting, mourning ceremonies and feasts and hospitality. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Analyst: John Beierle
Processed in 1960

12: Cook, Sherburne F. The Aboriginal Population of the San Joaquin Valley, California. University of California Anthropological Records, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 31-80. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955.

5 maps

Yale: Nk10 +C24 16/2

[This source is an extremely detailed analysis of historical documents and ethnographic reports pertaining to the San Joaquin Valley, which are examined with a view towards making an accurate estimate of the original population. The author concerns himself with two periods, ca. 1810-1820 and ca. 1850-1860. The estimates for the later period depend generally on ethnographic records and census reports by the first United States settlers in the valley. The estimates for the earlier period depend almost entirely on manuscript records left by Mexican and Spanish ecclesiastics and laymen, all of which are in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. The author uses a variety of methods to reconstruct the past

12: Cook, Sherburne F.

history of the valley and finally arrives at an estimate for the earlier period two to four times as great as any previous estimate. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Demographer-4
Processed in 1960

13: Riddell, Francis A. Notes on Yokuts Weather Shamanism and the Rattlesnake Ceremony. The Masterkey, Vol. 29, pp. 94-98. Los Angeles Southwest Museum, May-June, 1955.

1 plate

Yale: C52 320m 29

[This source describes a rainmaking and rattlesnake ceremony witnessed by a half-Mexican half-Yokuts informant when he was a boy. It also includes a short paragraph on his grandmother's contact with missions in California. The author, an ethnologist, did fieldwork among the Yokuts.--Analyst]

Field date: 1949
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

14: Hatch, James. Tachi Yokuts Music. The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 19, pp. 47-55. Berkeley: University of California, Fall, 1958.

Yale: Nk10. 3 + K92D.19

[This article is primarily concerned with the stylistic modifications of Tachi music and songs since they were first recorded by A. L. Kroeber in 1904 on cylinders, later in 1940 by Mrs. Margaret Cummin on disks, and finally by the author himself in 1957. In the process of his analysis the author gives some interesting characterizations of the Tachi singers, as well as ethnographic notes on the origin and types of songs sung by these performers. In summary the author points out that while the Tachi have come in contact with many other peoples of dissimilar linguistic affiliations, their songs and music, as a whole, have retained their distinctiveness, despite their dissociation from the original ceremonies for which they were intended, and despite syllabic changes in the language itself.

The actual musical transcriptions which follow the text of this article have not been processed for this file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1957
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1960

15: Kroeber, Alfred L. Yokuts Names. Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 19, pp. 142-143. Boston and New York: Published for the American Folk-Lore Society by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906.

Yale: Nkg10 J82 v.19-20

[This article describes the Yokuts' practice of giving two names to an individual and relates this to the taboo on speaking the names of deceased persons who have served as namesakes. A list of some names for men and women is also given. --Analyst]

Field date: 1900-1906
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

16: Gayton, Anna H. and Stanley S. Newman. Yokuts and Western Mono Myths. Anthropological Records, Vol. 5, pp. i-viii, 1-110. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1940.

Yale: Nk10 +C24 5.

[Only pp. i-viii, 1-15 have been processed.]

[Only Part I, General Considerations, has been processed for the files. Those parts not processed include new myth material, abstracts of and comparative notes on previously collected myths, an appendix of tribal provenience of abstracted myths, bibliography, and index of catch words. The part processed first presents one myth as a representative type of Yokuts literature. The style is then discussed by the authors, first in its aspects which are the result of or at least reflect the limitations of the language. Then, the narrative style is analyzed to illustrate conventional presentation by the Yokuts. Finally, the cultural position of the Yokuts among other California tribes, as indicated in their mythology, is presented. Although the principal subjects discussed are linguistics, literature and mythology, some cultural material is included. --Analyst]

Field date: 1930-1931 Evaluation: Linguists-5
Analyst: George R. Bedell Processed in 1961

Gayton, Anna H. Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization. American Anthropologist, Vol. 47, pp. 409-426. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1945.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II.47

[This source is a theoretical interpretation of Yokuts and Western Mono social organization based on the author's fieldwork. Since the material contained in this study is based on data supplied in the author's basic ethnography of these groups (see 1: Gayton, this file), this source has not been processed for the Yokuts file. --Analyst]

NR13 Northern Paiute
NS29 Yokuts

Kroeber, Alfred L. Recent Ethnic Spreads. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 47, pp. 259-281. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959.

Yale: C52 07 47: 3

/This source is an evaluation of ethnic spreads within recent times, based principally on the literature. Yokuts and Northern Paiute are two of the groups considered. Since the material is secondary and interpretative, this source has not been processed. -- Analyst/

I: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1942 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 137b]

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM-B	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
PM-P	Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Papers.
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Reports.
YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology.

Armstrong, Margaret
1915. Field Book of Western Wild Flowers. New York.

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1933. Miwok Material Culture. PMM-B 2.

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1942. Simply Strung on a Single Strand. Masterkey 16:175-176.

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1935. Wintu Ethnography. UC-PAAE 36:1-148.

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1937. A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California. Transl. by Herbert Ingram Priestley. Berkeley.

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1930a. The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California. UC-PAAE 28:57-82.
1930b. Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans. UC-PAAE 24:361-420.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1939) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 137 c]

113 Gayton, A.H. (cont.)
1935a. Areal Affiliations of California Folktales. AA 37:582-599.
1935b. The Orpheus Myth in North America. JAFL 48:263-291.
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1922. Californian Kinship Terminologies. UC-PAAE 18:1-286.
1923. Western Mono Myths. JAFL 36: 301-367.
1932. The Northfork Mono. UC-PAAE 31:15-66.

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1926. The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley. UC-PAAE 23:1-122.

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1940. Animal Ceremonialism in Central California in the Light of Archaeology. AA 42:587-603.

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1937. Navajo Pottery Manufacture. University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series 2.
1938. The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navajo. YU-PA 18.

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1902. Anthropological Studies in California. USNM-R 1900:155-187.

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1923. The Trees of California. Berkeley.
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1932. Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute. UC-PAAE 31:67-210.

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1907b. Shoshonean Dialects of California. UC-PAAE 4:65-166.
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1929. Uncle Jeff's Story. Tulare, Calif.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 138a]

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Latta, F.F. (cont.)
1936. California Indian Folklore. Shafter, Calif.

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1930. The Ba´-tim´-bitch, a Shoshonean Tribe. AA 32:495-499.

Merrill, Ruth Earl
1923. Plants Used in Basketry by the California Indians. UC-PAAE 20:213-242.

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1937. Paviotso Polyandry. AA 39:366-368.

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1877. Tribes of California. CNAE 3.

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1939. Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America. Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, 3, Los Angeles.

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1944. Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths. JAFL 57:190-207.

Spier, Leslie
1930. Klamath Ethnography. UC-PAAE 30:1-338.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 138b]

113 Steward, Julian H.
1929. Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States. UC-PAAE 24: 47-238.
1938. Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups. BAE-B 120.

Stewart, Omer C.
1937. Northern Paiute Polyandry. AA 39:368-369.

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1929. Aboriginal Society in Southern California. UC-PAAE 26:1-358.

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1941. Navaho Pottery Making. PM-P 17.

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1938. Tübatulabal Ethnography. UC-AR 2:1-90.

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1941. Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California. BAE-B 130.

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1889. Charmstones or "Plummets" from California. SI-AR 1886:296-305.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 291 b]

●113 **Abbreviations**

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
UC-AR	University of California Publications: Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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1930a. The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California. UC-PAAE 28:57-82.
1930b. Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans. UC-PAAE 24:361-420.
1935. The Orpheus Myth in North America. JAFL 48:263-291.
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1940. Yokuts and Western Mono Myths. UC-AR 5:1-110.

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1916. Miwok Moieties. UC-PAAE 12: 139-194.
1918. Clans and Moieties in Southern California. UC-PAAE 14:155-220.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 291 C]

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10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the Yokuts to develop very similar social systems within two different environments. In subsequent papers we hope to show that alternative systematiaations are also possible for groups with the same basic ecological adaptations. 182 221

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13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

[552]

799 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Yaohi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɛ̱ lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid rounded front vowel
ë higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "cut". Typewritten "?" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE

[P. iii]

114 The ethnographic data presented herein were collected for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, on a number of field trips during the years 1925 to 1928; [122] in 1929 and 1930 the work was additionally aided by a fellowship of the National Research Council.

Some of the material then gathered has been published in separate studies, namely, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making (1929), The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California (1930), Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans (1930), and with Stanley S. Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths (1940). Unpublished but accessible data on the use of jimsonweed by the Yokuts and Western Mono are embodied in "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" (Thesis, University of California Library, 1928).

The only original material now remaining in the author's hands are twenty-five or more genealogies and a file of several hundred personal names; these will be combined in a future publication since this already lengthy ethnography could not support addenda.

A valuable addition to my own records is the material on the Chukchansi collected by Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) in 1938. On her marriage she generously gave me her field notes to incorporate with my own on Yokuts culture. Mrs. Rogers' material is the result of but two weeks' stay at Coarse Gold, and its richness, for so brief a contact, is a tribute both to her abilities as a budding ethnographer and to the Yokuts as facile informants. A regrettable accident prevented Mrs. Rogers from continuing her work for the length of time she had planned. The myths she recorded will appear in a separate paper by Rogers and Gayton, "Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths (in press).[1]

The basic picture of Yokuts culture as drawn by Dr. A.L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California has remained unchanged by later ethnographic data from the San Joaquin Valley. Rather, the picture has been filled out, the composition has gained balance, and the colors have been heightened by more intimate knowledge of the life depicted. Perspective has been added and depth increased. By means of Dr. Kroeber's initial publications, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Indian Myths of South Central California, and the ethnographic sketch in his Handbook, a cultural orientation was already provided when I began my field investigations.

I have drawn upon Kroeber's early work and upon Mr. F.F. Latta's little book, Uncle Jeff's

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[1]Since published; see Bibliography.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE
[P. iii-b]

114 Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

114 A more thorough knowledge of the Western Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the foothills was exigent to a broader understand-
121 ing of Yokuts culture and therefore, after working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews
121 and consequently fairly full accounts were got of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

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[2]Since published; see Bibliography.

[3]The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4]JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5]Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

PREFACE
[P. iva]

121 pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the

[Text continues top of P. ivb---Analyst]

Postscript

114 Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

000 The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono

[Text continues bottom of P. IVb, ----Analyst]

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heŝwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

1: Gayton E-S (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.---Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [354] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.---Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, II, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

103 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. čę´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´'omt:lao; 11, ya´p:k'nao; 12, y:mšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, t:ne´lao; 16, kočo´yu; 17, ti'če´niu; 18, hogo´n:lao; 19, hutu´n:lao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te´ninao; 23, čamx:´nšiu; 24, pax:´kčiu; 25, šo´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono´no; 28, ča´t:lao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nep:nwa´šu; 33, šiš:´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

● 114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the
101 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
114 their name at that time was used to cover
native groups which lived on the Fresno and
648 San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomk:t, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomk:t and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28]Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29]B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30]Bunnell, 140-141.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick.
[103] (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwal. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the t is almost like English tr) are
[194] extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitoi, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapsi	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
te, tepe	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hoache.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 101
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream 131
about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103]
in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [141
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 147]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yaudchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawadi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221]
ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture
226 of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor en-
171 vironment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

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FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
[619] on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[262] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
[197] the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

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114 their native culture still survived, in practice or in memory, than now. Yet Latta's wealth of precise facts again and again makes me aware of how much I missed that I might have recorded.

Latta's volume should be a source of pride to the patriotism of the San Joaquin Valley and a basis for its local history, as it surely is a contribution toward the general, comparative study of the cultures of the races of mankind.

A. L. Kroeber

March 29, 1948

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PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 115 124

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114 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have
115 been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first
124 white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

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CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

101 Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San
Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the
131 upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

[161] These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite
numerous, there probably being within their territory no less
101 than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts*, Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi*, pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch*, but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

[619] There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

114 The greater part of the information available concerning
the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

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were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.] 175 127

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo----.

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name. 114 127

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend. 127

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up 101

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Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101 103 131 361

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California*, by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

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[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the princi- [142] pal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

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abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Wisatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

who do not possess an amount of information concerning these same plants and flowers equal to that which was once possessed by an intelligent ten year old Indian child.

824

The story was once told to me by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, noted authority on California Indians, that he obtained the name of a third and unknown species of manzanita from a *Miwok* Indian woman in the Sierra foothills below the Yosemite Valley. Two species of manzanita had already been studied for years and Dr. Merriam was attempting to find how far into the mountains the low-land manzanita grew. As both species were well known to the Indians, it saved much time to gather this information from them. He came to a little hut near a stream and asked the Indian woman who lived there how much further up the stream the low-land manzanita grew and whether the up-land tree extended down as far as her house. She hesitated a second, looked him in the eye, and answered, "They all *three* grow right here."

824
114

Dr. Merriam was sure that he had been misunderstood. While he was trying to explain to the Indian woman what was meant, she spoke two words to her eight year old daughter, who immediately left, and returned in less than one minute with three branches of manzanita. These the Indian woman took, and by means of the flower and leaf, pointed out to this noted scientist that they were from three different species of manzanita. He was dumbfounded. The means of identification used by the woman was that used by scientists and she had clearly identified a third species of manzanita. This noted man was kind enough to name this third species *Miwokiana*, after the tribal name of the Indian woman who first identified it.

Continuing in the vicinity for several days, Dr. Merriam became impressed with the amount of information possessed by the little eight year old girl. He found after continued questioning that she was able to identify more than 300 plants, birds, and animals common within a few miles of the cabin where she was born and was then living. Her mother knew more than 500 varieties.

Both the mother and daughter knew not only the names of the plants, but also where they grew, when they ripened, and whether the plant had any food or medicinal value. If it was of any value they knew what it was good for, how and when to harvest it, how to prepare and administer it. They could also

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

824 identify it among all other plants. If it was poisonous they
114 knew that, and were careful not to mix it with other plants being gathered. This knowledge extended to the birds, animals and even to the surrounding rocks. This meant that for each thing identified the mother and daughter knew approximately ten related facts. The number of facts furnished to this noted scientist numbered many thousand. Of added interest is the fact that the data furnished by the daughter checked accurately with that furnished by the mother, a record never attained by white school teachers in formal education. What educated person belonging to the "superior" white race has an equal store of information about his immediate surroundings?

192 In the belief that the names of the various wild flowers
824 and plants common in the San Joaquin valley will be of interest to readers, the following list is appended:

Amaranth, California	*Choi-ni choi-ni*
Brodiaea, Purple Harvest	*Ho-lo'-wih*
Brodiaea, twining	*Kang-wah wid-dah*
Baby Blue Eyes	*Ah-du'-trun shesh-ch*
Bush, Button	*Cu'-chuy*
Brickellia	*Kaw-wats-ah'-puh*
Bush, Silk Tassel	*Shin-way*
Bamboo or cane	*Kod-kid*
Columbine	*Dum-tin'-un in-dip'-its*
Calycanthus occidentalis	*You-mut*
Daisy, Yellow	*Chaw-wung*
Ericameria	*Chaw-dud'-pot*
Fern, Great Chain	*Mun-no'-kits*
Fern, Maiden Hair	*Le-wit'-tah*
Flax, blue	*Kah-wah*
Fern, California Golden	*Yaw-kow'-ho*
Houses, Chinese	*Tawk-haw'-daw*
Honey Suckle, wild	*Ti-you la-ou*
Harebell-Satinbell	*Tah-pu'-you*
Lotus, Hill	*Shah-dum'-its*
Lily, Leopard	*Yah-am'-yuh*
Mustard	*Tro-mud*
Mistle Toe	*Taw-do*
Milkweed	*Chet-tik*
Milkweed, woolly	*Che-tik*
Milkweed, narrow leaf	*Shock*
Monkey flower	*Chow-ahcw'-dah*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the T*ulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CULTURE-ENVIRONMENT INTEGRATION: EXTERNAL REFERENCES IN YOKUTS LIFE

A. H. GAYTON

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ONE OF THE ASPECTS of culture dynamics which has received particular attention in recent years is that of integration. Pattern, complex, configuration, integrating factor, and theme have been used as labels for those culture elements which seem to cling together about some core of thought or action. When such constellations interpenetrate various aspects of a total culture they are regarded as integrators—cohesive forces binding parts, if not wholes, of a culture together. The function of the "theme" as a dynamic factor has recently been set forth by Dr M. E. Opler with some pertinent examples of active patterns in Chiricahua Apache life.[1] I interpret his construct of "theme" to be essentially the more familiar "culture pattern," in the ideational realm, with the factor of emotional surcharge taken into account as the active ingredient. Unlike some anthropological concepts, his has the virtue of being grounded in specific ethnographic realities.

An earlier paper by Dr Du Bois demonstrated both cohesive and disruptive action in Tututni culture deriving from the wealth concept, and still earlier, the three-way forces of mythology, chieftanship, and shamanism maintaining social balance in Yokuts life were described by the present writer.[2] The most intellectualized account of cultural integration is that for the Hopi by Dr Thompson in which no mechanism of integration is shown save an all-pervading logic of the mind.[3]

In the abstract we have to assume that some of these basic cultural currents work for or against each other; others, and perhaps the bulk of culture elements, may be neutral. When Opler completes his thematic analysis of Apache culture, presumably the counter-balance of the driving parts within the structure will be

1 Morris Edward Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 51, pp. 198-206, 1945).

2 Cora Du Bois, *The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture* (in *Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, pp. 149-165, Berkeley, 1936); A. H. Gayton, *Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 24, pp. 3[illegible]420, 1930).

3 Laura Thompson, *Logico-Aesthetic Integration in Hopi Culture* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 540-553, 1945).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4] 114 121

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident. 182

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus: 182 114

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main
114 issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
805 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through
132 May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were:
a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
[P. 239]
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY-MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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FOREWORD

The information on pottery-making contained in this paper was obtained on field trips made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1927.[1]

Description of the style of the ware is based upon thirty-four specimens: twelve Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Hudson collection, Field Museum of Natural History, of which photographs and dimensions have been kindly supplied by that institution; thirteen Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Barrett collection,[2] Museum of Anthropology, University of California; seven Western Mono vessels in the same museum collected by the writer; and two Western Mono vessels in Sequoia National Park Museum (fig. 2).

Photographs supplementary to the author's have been kindly loaned by Professor T. T. Waterman. These appear in plates 96 and 97.

[1] The dialectic groups, names, and approximate ages, respectively, of contributing informants are:

Yokuts: Bankalachi, Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimni, Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut, Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna, Bill Wilson, 90; Kechayi, Ellen Murphy, 70; Michahai, Dinky, 55; Paleuyami, Martha Alto, 70; Tachi, Mollie Garcia, 80; Wükchumni, Mollie Lawrence, 70; Yaudanchi, Mary Sanwaihat, 95.

Western Mono: Patwisha (Balwisha), Mary Pohot, 55; Waksachi, Sam Osborn, 65; Bob Osborn, 75; Wobonuch, Jane Waley, 65.

[2] For illustrations of six of these specimens see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, B.A.E. Bull. 78, pl. 51, 1925.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y
W
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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

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W
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Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Y
W
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Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Y
W
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[462]
Y
W
[438]
[437]

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353-373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the [101] plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxta-
121 position of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts [642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the [616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 13:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a ranchería near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group 115
but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the 121
customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely [114]
gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Dumna
Toltichi

*197 Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ła; ut'u, tree, ut'ò-a, timber.
193 These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other
192 dialects that are grammatically known. Nònei, plural of nòno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cuteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak'd-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ate, small, apparently from got-i, large.

[802] Numerals:

yeteam, eleven, potedom, twelve; coplom, hate'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyue-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

●114 A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was
+197 the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the
193 San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical.
[802] First, there are uniform consonant changes; s, c, and h to x, and

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi

n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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[174]

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8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
DUMNA

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*197

If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

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The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

[802]

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nka	yet
2	hin	punai
3	nayo	shopin
4	ämin	katapanai
5	hio	yitecinil
6	otol	te'olipl
7	nakate	nomte'in
8	te'uitonnah	mon'oe
9	wä'dite	nänip
10	wadi'te	ta'lou
person	wohote	yohote
man	wo'wäi	nänai
woman	mok'ówa	mok'lin
child	k'ow-ite	ak'd-ate
ear	nuk'	tuk
eye	naxa	nam
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xama	oama
hand	p'oäox	b'onne
foot	ta'wan'	dad-ate
back	katanw'	gadai, ootox

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chauchila
Hoyima
Wakichi

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Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-no, -ł-no, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels of the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ao-ao-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: daac-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-no: etil-no, tay-e-no.
-wic: wok-wuc, huyo-wuc, lun-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo nexen dut, Chauchila hilen nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

hauien dut, Chauchila h'len nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-zo na, I am hungry.

hauel ma dut, Chukchansi hauel ma du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi hen-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroe- [161]
ber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge. 114 797

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested. 114

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated. [574] [648]

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

114 trifle. To it is added a section entitled "Notes" which contains only a few supplementary remarks of interest. The lieutenant summarizes his observations on the nature and fertility of the land, advises that the proselytizing of the Indians be carried on in their homeland to obviate the nostalgia which caused the converts to abandon their new life at the strange coast missions, and suggests the region of Kings River outlet as a suitable location for establishing a mission and garrison. Pertinent items from these notes have been interpolated in the text given below.[5]

The translation is reasonably accurate: common sense rather than pedantry has guided the choice of renditions. Dubious words or passages are given in brackets, as are other remarks inserted by the present writer. At a few points the meanings are considerably obscured by the cryptic style of the original.

The *legua* of Estudillo's day was about equivalent to two and two-thirds (2.67) miles. The *paso doble* with which he measured the Chischa village was probably the *paso* of five feet, as this fits fairly well with his calculations as transposed into *varas*, the three-foot yard. The word *tular*, meaning a swamp or lagoon filled with tules, has been retained because of its peculiar aptness. A *roblar* is an oak-covered district. The inconsistencies in the spelling of native names are in the original.

The Diary

A diary which I, Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo, Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, made on the campaign by order of the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola, undertaken for the reconnaissance and inspection of the rancherías situated in the tulares of the plains of the Sierra Nevada, from that day to today.

Sunday, October 17, 1819.—After having heard mass I left the Presidio referred to at 10:45 in the morning, and at 1:30 in the afternoon arrived at the Rancho de Real Hacienda. After separating 183 horses I departed. I slept at the mouth of the arroyos where I arrived at 7 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from Monterey 8 leagues].

Monday, 18.—At 5 A.M. I left the said location for Mission Soledad where I arrived at 11, and at 2 P.M., in the company of the Indians Antonio and Victor, Tulareños [Yokuts], I left, to sleep at the place Los Ositos, which I reached at 6 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from starting point 11 leagues].

From this point I dispatched a corporal to San Antonio Mission for 11 Indians, and for 30 blankets to cover the soldiers of the party, and with orders to rejoin me at Mission San Miguel on the 20th.

Tuesday, 19.—At 5:30 A.M. left Los Ositos, and arrived to sleep at the hole [*poza*] of the cañon of San Miguel at 5:30 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant 10½ leagues]. At 9 P.M. the corporal Manuel Butron with the soldier who had accompanied him, rejoined me.

[5] Another copy, but partially done and in another handwriting, of the November 19 manuscript also exists. All three copies are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, where Professor H. I. Priestley courteously facilitated my use of them.

175 affected in a uniform manner throughout and a sufficiently
*161 clear line can be drawn between aboriginal and postcontact conditions. In the central valley the white influence was very gradual, beginning at or near the year 1770 with the entrance of the Spanish missionaries along the coast and the infiltration of a very few foreigners into the valley. The volume of invasion increased slowly over the next three decades, but the effect was intensified by the escape of numerous mission neophytes into the valley. The years after 1800 saw repeated incursions by the coastal whites who overran the floor of the valley from the Sacramento River to Buena Vista Lake. Meanwhile the foothill and mountain tribes were permitted to remain fairly intact. With discovery of gold, however, these groups lost their immunity and were rapidly destroyed. Therefore, even though we oversimplify, we may say that the aboriginal population persisted in the valley proper up to 1770, in the lower foothills up to roughly 1810, and in the higher foothills and more remote canyons of the Sierra Nevada up to 1850.

127 Our sources of information cover only the period
● 114 during which the demographic status of the natives was undergoing change. No written record exists that describes conditions as they might have been found prior to 1770. The only possible substitute would be an examination of the habitation sites left from prehistoric times, but archaeological research in the area has not yet progressed to the point where an adequate quantitative estimate of population is available. There are three primary bodies of data to which we have access, all falling within the historical period between 1770 and 1860.

The first of these derives from the serious effort on the part of the Americans, who between 1848 and 1852 were entering the region in large numbers, to determine the quantity of natives surviving in the central valley. This task was performed by such men as Sutter, Bidwell, and Savage, together with several Indian commissioners, and army officers sent out by the government. To their reports may be added the statements contained in the local county histories published in the era of 1880 to 1890, as well as in many pioneer reminiscences.

A second major source of information consists of the ethnographic studies made within the past fifty years, among which should be mentioned the works of Kroeber, Merriam, Schenck, Gayton, and Gifford. These investigators depended principally upon informants who were elderly people in the decades from 1900 to 1940. Their memories, together with their recollection of what had been told them by their parents, carry back, on the average, to the period of the American invasion or just before it. Hence their knowledge of truly aboriginal population would be valid for the hill tribes only; yet data

12: Cook 9-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Tokuts N529

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derived from them for that region is probably more accurate than can be obtained from the general estimates made by contemporary white men. These two types of information, contemporary American accounts and modern ethnographic material, can thus be used to supplement and check each other for the era of 1850.

For conditions in the valley before 1840 we have to depend almost exclusively upon the historical records left by the Spanish and Mexicans. These consist of a series of diaries, reports, and letters, by both laymen and ecclesiastics, together with baptism lists and censuses from the coastal missions. This array of documents is to be found in the manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

It will be clear from these considerations that the

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population of the San Joaquin Valley can be determined with some degree of accuracy at two stages in the history of the region. The later period is at the point of intense occupancy by the Americans, at or near the year 1850, for here may be brought to a focus the data from both contemporary counts and the research of modern ethnographers. The earlier is for the epoch just preceding the entrance of the Spanish into California, or just before 1770. To assess the population at this period it is necessary to bring to bear information from all sources, American and Spanish, and to utilize all indirect methods of computation which may be appropriate. As a matter of historical interest, as well as to provide a background for the estimate of aboriginal population, the state of the natives in the period of the Gold Rush will be first examined.

Y
*161 which we are considering. There are left the following figures, which seem essentially valid.

Ryer and the treaties (1851)	8,648
Wessels (1853)	7,500-8,000
Barbour (1853)	7,500-8,000
Henley (1856)	5,150

[continued at top of p. 34B]

ANALYSIS BASED UPON
Restricted Areas

Y
*161 Further examination and correction are now in order.
●11A It will be noted that the estimates above do not include the area traversed by the Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and Calaveras rivers. Moreover, the federal agents confined their calculations to those natives who voluntarily or otherwise were incorporated in the local reservation system. That many Indians were overlooked, not only in the more remote foothills, but also in the valley itself cannot be doubted. In order to assess the population in greater detail as well as to introduce new sources of information it will be advantageous to break up the entire region into smaller units and consider these units one by one.

STANISLAUS AND TUOLUMNE RIVERS

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161 We may begin with the watersheds of the Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers, since for this area reasonably complete information is available (see maps 1, 5, and 6, areas 7 and 9.) On May 31, 1851, the Daily Alta California reported the treaty made with tribes of this region and stated that they were 1,000 strong. This treaty (treaty E in the California Treaties) covered the courses of the two streams as far as their junction with the San Joaquin, on the one hand, and an indeterminate distance into the hills, on the other. Ryer vaccinated in the area during June of the same year and submitted a bill for 1,010 operations. He specifies 6 bands, rancherias, or tribes which were predominantly Siakumne and Taulamni, a fact which implies that he confined his attention principally to the inhabitants of the valley and the lower foothills. In the preceding discussion it was pointed out that Ryer's figures are probably too low and that a correction should be introduced. If the same ratio is used as before, the value becomes 1,420.

Adam Johnston, in a statement published in 1853 includes a map (Johnston, 1853, p. 242). Along the rivers shown on this map he has placed figures for population. According to him there were 900 Indians on the Stanislaus and 450 on the Tuolumne, or a total of 1,350. These are distinctly noted as reservation Indians and hence would not have included the entire population. Four years later, H. W. Wessels reported for the same area only 500-700 persons (Wessels, 1857). These were the Indians left on the reservations.

At about the same period, James D. Savage gave as his opinion that there were 2,500 people on the Stanislaus and 2,100 on the Tuolumne (Dixon, MS, 1875). In their report in 1853 Barbour, McKee, and Wozencraft refer to a statement by a chief named Kossus that under his jurisdiction were 4,000 persons and 30 rancherias from the Calaveras to the Stanislaus. Although these two estimates are widely at variance with those submitted by the officials, it must be remembered that both Savage and Chief Kossus may have been referring to a somewhat earlier date and that both included bands and settlements

[continued at middle of p. 34B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 In order to estimate the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley it is necessary to rely very heavily on the accounts furnished by the colonial Spanish and Mexicans. These were primarily ecclesiastics and military men who entered the territory for purposes of exploration, to seek new converts to the missions, or to chastise stock raiders. The more responsible of these left circumstantial and, as a rule, fairly accurate narratives and diaries. Unless there is in a particular case some reason for doubt, their statements may be accorded considerable confidence.

At the same time two circumstances often render the interpretation of the data derived from these documents difficult. The first is the lack of consistent designations for places. During the process of opening up the area it was inevitable that rivers and villages should be assigned different names by one explorer after another and that the same name should be applied to more than one locality. The second is that during the early phases of exploration some localities were visited repeatedly, whereas others were overlooked perhaps entirely. Hence the information available to us is very uneven; it permits us to achieve a reasonably clear idea of the population of one region but leaves another almost completely blank. As a result extrapolation by area is almost unavoidable.

It must also be constantly borne in mind that the Spanish records themselves do not give us an absolutely undistorted picture of aboriginal conditions. It is very evident from the reports of the earliest official pioneers, like Garcés in 1776 [illegible] Martin in 1804, that from 1770 onward and perha[illegible]en before white men had straggled into the valley and had consorted with the natives. There is reason to believe that these unknown interlopers may have introduced diseases which adversely affected the population and may have initiated a process of general social disruption. The best we can do is get as close to the prehistoric condition as the records allow.

127 114 *161 Two other demographic consequences arise from this very early white contact. In the first place, the documentary record, if we ignore Garcés for the moment, runs nearly continuously from 1804 to approximately 1840. During this long period an uninterrupted change was going on among the native population: the population was continually decreasing. Hence later reports tend to deviate from earlier ones, and indeed may show an entirely new state of affairs arising within a very few years. In the second place, the deterioration in certain areas took place so rapidly in the first part of the nineteenth century that any information secured from informants alive since 1900 is completely useless. Unless very good documentary evidence is available for such areas, there is no recourse but to fall back on the method of extrapolation and area comparisons.

127 114 The principal Spanish accounts upon which we must rely include a few which have been published. Most of them, however, are to be found in manuscript form in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Some of them were translated for an unpublished manuscript by the Late Professor Herbert I. Priestley and

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 42 B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

*161 197 [101] We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1813 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

*161 162 192 There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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*161 for the southern end of the valley as a whole 6,920, or in round numbers 6,900.

SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 6,900

THE NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

*161 The remaining portion of the Yokuts-Miwok territory
● 114 lay in the valley and foothills north of the Merced River. This area (see maps 1 and 5, areas 8-13 inclusive), particularly the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, was entered relatively early by the Spaniards and by the year 1820 had been almost completely swept of its native population. The names of many whole tribes have been lost and the exact locations of many others are now almost impossible to ascertain. Of village names only those few are known to us which were preserved, often by chance, in the mission records and accounts of expeditions. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the aboriginal human geography but none has been entirely successful. Kroeber's account, which accompanies his discussion of the Plains Miwok and northern Yokuts in the Handbook of California Indians, is manifestly incomplete. Merriam's paper on the Mewan Stock of California (1907) is helpful, but probably the best work of the modern investigators is that of Schenck (1926). The early nineteenth-century accounts for this region are also less satisfactory than for the central and southern parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Moraga's record is useful only for the Tuolumne River, and the delta is covered only by Abella and Duran. It is true that both Sutter and Gatten give figures for villages south of Sacramento but their information pertains only to the badly depleted natives of the 'forties. Hence their censuses are of little value for assessing the aboriginal condition.

*161 One source not available for other areas is the mission
127 records. The converts from the delta and lower San
1797 Joaquin Valley were brought almost exclusively into the San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara missions. The baptism books of these missions have been preserved, and two copies have been made. The first, of the San Francisco Mission, was made by A. Pinart in 1878 and is at present in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The other records, copied by S. R. Clemence in 1919, include the records of all three missions and are now to be found, in typed form, among the manuscripts in the file of C. H. Merriam. The baptism books set forth the name and village of origin of every native in the mission, as well as the date of baptism. Newly converted gentiles are readily distinguished from infants born in the mission itself, since the origin of the latter is ascribed to the mission and not to a village. In addition to the names of villages, not all of which can be located with certainty, the dates of baptism constitute almost conclusive evidence. If the baptisms from San Francisco and Santa Clara are tabulated by village and date, it is very clear that the villages of local tribes were cleaned out before the year 1805. At this point an entirely new set of names appears, most of which are undoubtedly in the Tulares. Hence, if the name of a village does not correspond to any now known to ethnographers and no baptisms are reported from it prior to 1805, the conclusion is warranted that the village was actually situated in the central valley. The same assumption may be made with somewhat less certainty concerning the San Jose records. This mission was founded in 1797 and its earliest converts were drawn from the Costanoan tribes on the east shore of San Fran-

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coybos.

114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distinct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. ..... 900)

*161 Ochejamnes.—This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and [131] considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 448) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsias," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Oocheganes, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian [68] fighting in the delta (Berreyesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yunisumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relatively complete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750.

(Ochejamnes ..... 750)

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[P. 60A]

*161 Guaypem.—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) re-
[131] gards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that
[199] Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

(Guaypem ..... 300)

Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck
[131] (p. 136). They covered, according to him, "the southern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Hermdo Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensist, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2os estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensist) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

(Quenemsias ..... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 28, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A64; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumes was found 8 leagues (leguas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is
[114] probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish [114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near [361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is [226] evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquinnes.

[997] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of 108 Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.62B]

*|6| Argüello and Duran both refer to the "tierra" of the Ompines. The hypothesis is possible, although admittedly there is no real proof, that the Ompines may have originally occupied the sloughs and islands at and above Antioch, that they may have been pushed north at an early date by Spanish intrusion from the south and west, and that they may have been further dispersed, or exterminated without extensive conversion, prior to 1830. If such a theory in any way represents the course of their decline and disappearance, then it also follows that the aboriginal population was considerably greater than the baptism number would lead one to suppose.

*|6| To turn now to the Julpunes, there seems to be little
|3| difference of opinion regarding their original location. This was as Schenck pictures it: the south shore of the San Joaquin estuary from Antioch to the line between R3E and R4E. The "Informe" of Hermengildo Sal, written in 1796 and previously referred to, specifies the "Tulpunes" as a "nacion" living on the "orilla del estero." Fourteen years later in 1810 Viader went 7 leagues from Pittsburg to the "old river" west of Stockton. He was: ". . . esta tierra es de los Tulpunes." Duran, May 24, 1817, on his return journey downstream reached the region of the Julpunes at 8:00 A.M. and joined the other boat at 6:00 P.M. of the same day at Carquinez Strait.

Schenck (1926, p. 137) points out that Kotzebue, who was in the area in 1823, implies that the Julpunes were living on the north bank. Merriam (1907, p. 348), says that the Hulpoomne "occupied the east bank of the Sacramento River from a few miles south of the mouth of American river southward . . . ." Schenck's explanation of the discrepancy appears to the present writer entirely sound: the Julpunes retired across the estuary to the north bank and then upstream nearly to Sacramento. In so doing they may very well have carried the surviving Ompines with them. The San Jose record lists 148 baptisms of Julpunes but the name is absent from the records of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Rafael, and Solano missions. Along with the Ompines the Julpunes must have escaped the active proselyting effort of San Rafael, and particularly Solano, between 1824 and 1834, by a rapid retirement so far up the river as to elude the parties sent out from the missions. The converts at San Jose must have been captured by the Viader, Duran, Argüello, and similar expeditions before the migration upstream.

*|6| The Tarquines are claimed by Schenck to have been
● |4| ". . . a single group. It seems to have stretched from
[3] east to west entirely across the marsh area between the main channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and then to have extended along the southern shore of Suisun Bay" (pp. 134-138). Schenck's belief in this remarkable distribution is based upon three documentary references (at least he cites no more than these three in his tabulation on p. 135).

The first of the three documents, chronologically, is the first expedition of Viader, in 1810. In his entry for August 17 Viader says that, having spent the preceding night near the present location of Pittsburg, he reconnoitred these lands which ". . . son de los Tarquines, que lo mas, é casi todos son Cristianos de San Francisco." After noting the mouths of the two rivers, he goes on to mention a spot on the estuary ". . . en donde dicen estaba la rancheria de los Tarquines" (emphasis mine). Let it be emphasized that in 1810 the Tarquines are almost all Christians in San Francisco, and Viader saw there the rancheria which was, or had been, that of the Tarquines. The San Francisco baptism book shows 18 "Talquines" converted in 1801 and 63 more in 1802, making a total of 83. This number could well be the

*161 majority, or almost all, the inhabitants of a moderate-
114 sized rancheria. Schenck is therefore technically correct in placing the tribe on the south shore of the eastern end of Suisun Bay.

The second document is the diary of Abella in 1811. On October 25, in the course of the return trip downstream, some distance below the junction of the channels of the San Joaquin, he found a rancheria of the Tauquimenes, one part of each side of the river, which was 30 to 40 varas wide. This point was apparently at or near the head of Sherman Island. The rancheria had 60 houses. He saw 200 warriors. He then crossed through the sloughs to the Sacramento River and on or opposite Sherman Island saw one rancheria of 14 houses and several of 2 to 3 houses. He says that all they passed this day was ". . . parte de una isla" (i.e., Sherman Island). Furthermore

> . . . en todo este dia andubimos como unas 12 leguas [overestimate] y podra haver gente, como 200 almas, todavia puede que haiga mas, porque en la primera [rancheria] habraumas 1,000, segun lo grande que por aqui son las casas, tienen un circuito de 28 o 30 varas, con su orcon en medio . . .

This account deserves comment on several grounds: with relation to Viader's visit of the previous year and the baptisms at San Francisco it is evident that whereas the southern extension of the Tarquines' habitat, whatever its size, had been swept clear prior to 1810, nevertheless the tribe persisted on the estuarine islands in truly large numbers. Moreover, since there is evidence of no more than one rancheria on the south shore, it
[131] appears that the territory in that region allotted by Schenck to the tribe is too large and should be restricted to a small area of the southeastern corner of Suisun Bay.

With respect to population, Abella's figures are quite credible. It has been suggested that one of the huge houses found in this region could accommodate 9 persons without difficulty. Then the large village should have had 540 inhabitants. Allowing 24 houses for the other villages seen, 216 persons should be added, making a total of 756, a figure not far from Abella's guess of 1,000.

The final reference to the tribe occurs in the diary of Duran. During the night of May 22-23, 1817, he went up the main channel of the San Joaquin, in T3N, R4E, and passed the Tauguimenes on the left, that is to say, on the east bank. Schenck thinks that the group covered the entire strip from Pittsburg to the east bank of the main river contemporaneously. Now it has been pointed out as probable that the southwestern outliers were missionized, or pushed back into the swamps, as early as 1801. It is equally possible that the island communities described by Abella in 1811 were pushed, in the next five or six years, off the islands altogether and clear back eastward to the far bank of the main river. Of considerable significance is the fact that whereas both Viader and Abella mention the Tarquines as being in the estuary region, Duran, who covered this area thoroughly, is completely silent with regard to their presence. It is highly unlikely that, had there been any of the tribe left in their former habitat, he would have failed to note them.

*161 The details are very obscure but the main outlines of events in the first three decades of the nineteenth century can be perceived. Aboriginally and perhaps till nearly 1800, there was a dense population of natives extending from Port Costa along the southern shore of Suisun Bay and up the rivers for fifteen miles beyond

[P. 70A]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*161 From the data presented in detail in the last section we may now derive the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley as a whole.

Region		Population
Tulare Lake Basin		6,500
Kaweah River		7,600
Merced River		3,500
Kings River		9,100
Mariposa, Fresno, Chowchilla, upper San Joaquin		19,000
Southern San Joaquin Valley		6,900
Northern San Joaquin Valley		
Delta area	9,350	
Lower Cosumnes	5,200	
Lower Mokelumne	5,720	
Lower San Joaquin, Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Stanislaus	6,800	27,070
Foothill strip (central and northern Miwok		4,150
Total		83,820

The total, 83,820, is more than four times as large as the population estimated to be surviving in 1850 (19,000) and much exceeds any previous estimate advanced by modern students of the California Indians.

*161 ●119 Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1905 computed the population of the entire state of California as 260,000, of whom perhaps one-fifth may have occupied the San Joaquin Valley, although Merriam does not attempt to assess the population of this area as such. Kroeber discusses the matter at length in the Handbook (pp. 488-491, 880-891) and concludes that the population of the

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*16 114 whole state was 133,000. Of these the Yokuts had 18,000, the Miwok (Plains and Sierra) 9,000, the Western Mono about 1,000, and the peripheral tribes in the south perhaps 2,000, a total of 30,000. Schenck is more liberal, since for the delta region he allows for a spread of between 3,000 and 15,000 persons. The present estimate for the same area, as closely as it can be determined, is in the vicinity of 13,000, or within Schenck's limits although toward his upper extreme.

Since the data and reasoning upon which the present figure of 83,820 is based are set forth in detail in the preceding pages there is little value in repeating them, nor will anything be gained by attempting a rebuttal to the arguments presented by Kroeber. At the same time the author may be permitted to recapitulate three points wherein he thinks many modern scholars have been misled.

1. All available information from the Spanish and Mexican sources must be consulted. To confine an argument or an estimate to a single account, such as that by Moraga, may lead to a false impression. Kroeber seems to have been thus deceived in his discussion of the population of the Yokuts.

2. It must be remembered that in the central valley, as contrasted perhaps with an area like the Klamath River, no informants speaking since 1900, and particularly since 1920, can possibly have furnished a true picture of conditions prior to the Spanish invasion in the decade following 1800.

3. The depletion of population in the San Joaquin Valley between 1800 and 1850 was far greater than has been appreciated, although the basic facts have always been recognized. Warfare, massacre, forced conversion, starvation, and exposure all took a tremendous [73] toll of life but the sweeping epidemics of the 1830's were even more devastating. Together these forces destroyed in the aggregate fully 75 per cent of the aboriginal population.

NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Tachi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɛ- lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid rounded front vowel
ə higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "out". Typewritten "?" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a
127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for
[126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of
[177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho-
184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of
122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

[p. 8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of [182 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc- 195 esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms, 153] conform to an analogous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths [114] in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[P.V]

●115

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J.A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koycti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawia (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudahchi
** M.P. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Samwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
* P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** F.D.W. Pony Dick Watum, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* M.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp
609 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
436 the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nel was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yet. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyet was on the edge of the lake south of the
●115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyet, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kes, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'es (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yet; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about
[752] two weeks and then he died." He became swollen
and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
around the injury and a poultice of cooked,
276 mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it
to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who
756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe,
825 not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake
tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Hutsammi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 48 c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (hːtwai´´iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117] Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

T
Y
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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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Y
[172]

[122]See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

[123]Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[124]Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
668 and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
796 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red."
In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers
would go north to learn the new songs from
Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came
south, which he did once or twice later on. The
group of singers came back and held the first
dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in
Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went
"to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the
old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon.
They held no dances on the return trip. In
several subsequent years they retraveled this
route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore:
"singers from there came to dances in the foot-
hills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this
group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui,
and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and
A´pawič, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname)
(all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did
the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs
were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them
[then].

668 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
796 J.B. did not know why. There was never any
revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did
not believe the dance was a preventative of
sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the
southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living
at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a
little fellow and went with his father and
mother and boy cousin." He had three older
brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that
by no means did everyone go to the dance
"though most did because they were afraid not
to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b,
---- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

●115 The following information is regrettably
brief and not always clear. The available in-
formants at Squaw Valley were inadequately
equipped in personality and language to discuss
or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory.
They were not able to distinguish clearly be-
tween events at Maštinao and those occurring at
neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages.
Neither could they get down to cases. For ex-
ample, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's
totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her
husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M.,
A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given
for the sake of complete record: only the
moiety data can be used safely as it was re-
checked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b,
---- Analyst]

[p. 142d]

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INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Butunutu
** N.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** N.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** N.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gewi (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.O. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Samwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M. Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** N.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

N.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 199a] Chukchansi

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Informant	Hutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Hutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jank Roan	

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place."
[103] From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tubohi, Tobohai, or Tubohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tubohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapsi	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
oichat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
ta, tape	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tstatsoi	hosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 101
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream 131
about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103]
in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [141
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 147]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221]
ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 115 124

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

114 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have
115 been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first
124 white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley
353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

"In the center of the single room, directly under the small
354 circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

"The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes
352 covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

"In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into
352 the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules,
513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

"With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside
251 granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored
353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Earlier in this account attention was called to the great numbers of large spear points found on the beds of Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista and Kern Lakes when those bodies of water first ceased to exist. From statements made by old lake Indians we know that many of these points were lost from Yokuts spears when those people were hunting raccoon, mink, otter and beaver around the old lake shores. But that is not the whole story. Some of the points were eight inches in length and thousands were more than six inches long, all too large to be used on a spear. 226

Actually, tens of thousands of beautiful spear points were found where the deepest waters had been, ten and more miles from some of the old shore lines. Although most white pioneers classified these old points as fish spears, we know that the Indians *did not* spear fish with such points. Said *Tawp'-naw,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "Mr. Latta, I betcha you spear five hundred fish with one them *kots* [stone] spears, you don't catch *one,* I betcha." And Tawp'-naw was undoubtedly correct. There had to be some other answer.

It was many years before I found an Indian who could speak from actual experience of the whole lake culture, and who could describe accurately and in detail the practice of taking fish from tule rafts on the San Joaquin Valley lakes. This aged Yokuts was Josie Alonzo, or *Yoi'-mut,* last survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe, which once in great numbers occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. 226 115

After Yoimut had answered a thousand questions and I was amazed at the wealth of information she had and the accurate way in which it checked with data gathered from other aged Yokuts, I showed her several dozen large spear points, asked her the use to which they had been put by the Chunut. This was her answer: "They use 'em to catch fish."

That was the only one of all answers given me by Yoimut that I would have questioned for a second. I didn't know what to say.

Yoimut quickly saw that I didn't know how the spear points were used and that I didn't believe her. So she described to me the following practice, something I might have deduced, but which would not have been known as a fact without her statement:

"Sometimes when them Chunut went fishin' on them tule rafts out on Tulare Lake, they didn't catch any fish. Maybe 226

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind
796 when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to
825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohyt* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary
796 of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more
776 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I.
825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest
[285 rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On
53] some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water
[237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik,* long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa *Tom'-kit,* chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

My people no drink whisky, I think be lots Indian yet. I drink just once. I work for white man. He put me in wagon. He take me home. He tell me, "Pahmit, whisky no good. Whisky kill white man. Whisky kill Indian. You no drink 'em." White man good my friend. I live long time. Pretty soon I go. Then white man no haf pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. 159

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LAST CHUNUT

Of the several thousand pioneers I have interviewed, no one was more fascinating than *Yoimut* (Yoi'-mut), last survivor of the *Chunut* Yokuts tribe which once occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. It is of interest to know how I found Yoimut. 115 124

One evening I was at the Loy Cutler ranch east of Visalia, talking with Indian Joe Wilcox, making inquiry about the individuals who had been the last survivors of several extinct San Joaquin Valley Indian tribes. Joe had known several last survivors, those from the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Telumne, Pahdwishi, Wowol,* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. I asked him about the Chunut. For a moment or two he was at a loss to recollect. Suddenly remembering, he spoke, "There is one Chunut left. Her daughter was here last night. She is at the W. H. Wilbur ranch, near Tulare."

It was then 10:30 P.M., December 1, 1930. I immediately drove to the Wilbur ranch. Billy Wilbur had not gone to bed, so he climbed in the car with me and at 11:30 we were in the cotton camp in the Wilbur field. Soon we had awakened everyone at the camp. Yoimut's daughter and son-in-law talked with us in the kitchen. Yoimut stood silent in a doorway. I explained who I was and that I wanted Yoimut to go with me to our home for a visit, so I could record her story. I expected it to take at least two or three days to persuade her to go.

No one spoke. The daughter looked inquiringly at Yoimut. Yoimut then addressed me in as good English as I could ask and said, "Yes, we know all about you. Our people tell us all about the questions you ask them. Lots of times I tell them what to tell you. I like to tell my story myself. I will go with you tomorrow."

And so Yoimut came. From the first she was as interested and interesting as it is possible for a person to be. She had a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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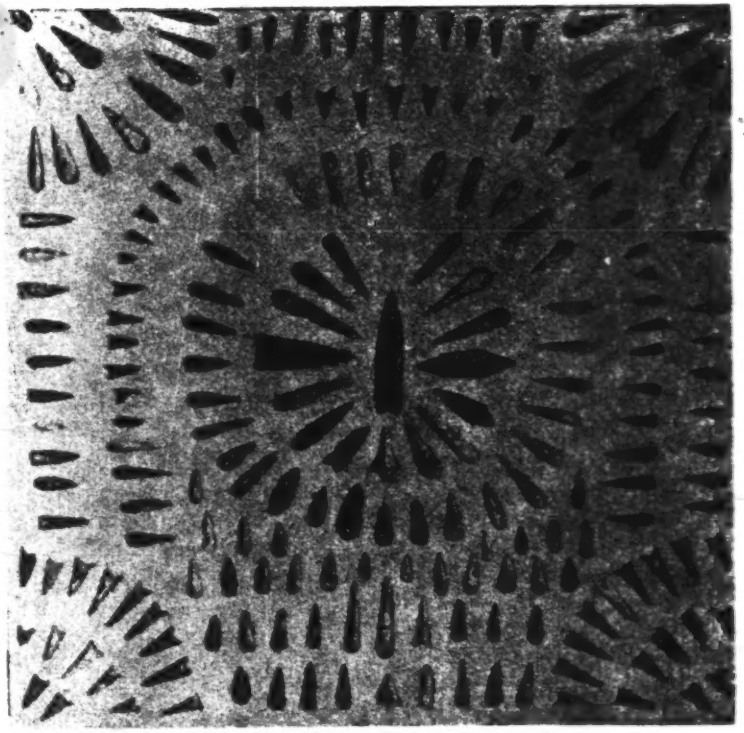
[172]



Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tuhohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

159
361

I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:
539]

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)

Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 239]
Western Mono NS25

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY-MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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FOREWORD

The information on pottery-making contained in this paper was obtained on field trips made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1927.[1]

Description of the style of the ware is based upon thirty-four specimens: twelve Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Hudson collection, Field Museum of Natural History, of which photographs and dimensions have been kindly supplied by that institution; thirteen Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Barrett collection,[2] Museum of Anthropology, University of California; seven Western Mono vessels in the same museum collected by the writer; and two Western Mono vessels in Sequoia National Park Museum (fig. 2).

Photographs supplementary to the author's have been kindly loaned by Professor T. T. Waterman. These appear in plates 96 and 97.

[1] The dialectic groups, names, and approximate ages, respectively, of contributing informants are:

Yokuts: Bankalachi, Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimni, Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut, Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna, Bill Wilson, 90; Kechayi, Ellen Murphy, 70; Michahai, Dinky, 55; Paleuyami, Martha Alto, 70; Tachi, Mollie Garcia, 80; Wükchumni, Mollie Lawrence, 70; Yaudanchi, Mary Sanwaihat, 95.

Western Mono: Patwisha (Balwisha), Mary Pohot, 55; Waksachi, Sam Osborn, 65; Bob Osborn, 75; Wobonuch, Jane Waley, 65.

[2] For illustrations of six of these specimens see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, B.A.E. Bull. 78, pl. 51, 1925.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a ranchería near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group 115
but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the 121
customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely [114]
gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

622
[115]

In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

[554]

[43] Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*
[44] *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[81]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[81] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

APPENDIX

INFORMANTS AND GENEALOGIES

115 Names and approximate ages of contributing informants, and the tribes on which they gave data are:

Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi (WM); Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich (all Y); Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu (all Y); Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna (Y); Big Jim Alto, 70, Hometwoli (Y); Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu (both Y); Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti (Y); Dinky, 55, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yandanchi (both Y); Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni (both Y); Jim Britches, 70, Mollie Lawrence, 70, and Mary Pohot, 55, all Wukchumni (Y); Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni (Y) and Patwisha (WM); Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yandanchi (both Y); Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); George Dick, 40, Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM); Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi (WM); Joe Waley, 75, Jane Waley, 65, and 'Merican Joe, 80, all Wobonuch (WM).

In the following genealogies women are indicated by the biological symbol ♀; marriage by +; tribal affiliations other than that of the lineage appear in parentheses; names recurring in different generations are in italics.

Genealogies Waksachi 1 and Entimbich show the progression of chieftainship and the inheritance of individual names. In Waksachi 1, generations C and D, the chieftainships of Palaha and Claude, respectively, are questioned. On the death of preceding chiefs, Teamuc and Wakit, Palaha was too young to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently the nearest relative, Heltcap, a cousin (regarded as brother), was chosen. Heltcap upon his death passed the office to his son Claude though it should have reverted to Palaha. Claude claims the office as direct heir of the last chief but is upheld only by his immediate family and intimate friends. Other Indians, whether Waksachi or of neighboring tribes, regard Palaha as chief not only because he is the oldest living member of the true chiefly lineage but because of his highly respected character.

Genealogy Waksachi 2 shows an unusual case of three generations of shamans. Supernatural power was not inherited. This case indicates, perhaps, an inheritance of a disposition suitable for the profession.

Intertribal marriages are notable in all the genealogies.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LASI. 197*

Pronouns found are na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin. 193
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, his. 192
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyòku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
zat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teuwo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-èite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

539
197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

[126
115]
[115]
[115]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom
115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts
789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.
796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who
788 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him
578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans
791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of
789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa see

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo paʔa see(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Yachi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɛ- lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid rounded front vowel
ə higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "cut". Typewritten "ʔ" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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[A 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would feel that the creation tales should come first,
773 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of "noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[15] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p. 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

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[Material on the winatum, the official messenger and sub-chief, will also be found in Categories 202, 796 and 769. --Analyst]

1: Gayton
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Yokuts NS29

[For information on the annual mourning ceremonies, see Category 769. --Analyst]

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E. W. GIFFORD R. L. OLSON

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[P. 1d contains no text]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

I: Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts

BY

A. H. GAYTON

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
Vol. 10, No. 1

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PREFACE

[P. iii]

114 The ethnographic data presented herein were collected for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, on a number of field trips during the years 1925 to 1928; [122] in 1929 and 1930 the work was additionally aided by a fellowship of the National Research Council.

Some of the material then gathered has been published in separate studies, namely, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making (1929), The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California (1930), Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans (1930), and with Stanley S. Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths (1940). Unpublished but accessible data on the use of jimsonweed by the Yokuts and Western Mono are embodied in "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" (Thesis, University of California Library, 1928).

The only original material now remaining in the author's hands are twenty-five or more genealogies and a file of several hundred personal names; these will be co[illegible]ed in a future publication since this a[illegible] lengthy ethnography could not support ac[illegible]

A valuable addition to my d[illegible]rds is the material on the Chukchansi c[illegible]ted by Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) in 1938. On her marriage she generously gave me her field notes to incorporate with my own on Yokuts culture. Mrs. Rogers' material is the result of but two weeks' stay at Coarse Gold, and its richness, for so brief a contact, is a tribute both to her abilities as a budding ethnographer and to the Yokuts as facile informants. A regrettable accident prevented Mrs. Rogers from continuing her work for the length of time she had planned. The myths she recorded will appear in a separate paper by Rogers and Gayton, "Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths (in press).[1]

The basic picture of Yokuts culture as drawn by Dr. A.L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California has remained unchanged by later ethnographic data from the San Joaquin Valley. Rather, the picture has been filled out, the composition has gained balance, and the colors have been heightened by more intimate knowledge of the life depicted. Perspective has been added and depth increased. By means of Dr. Kroeber's initial publications, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Indian Myths of South Central California, and the ethnographic sketch in his Handbook, a cultural orientation was already provided when I began my field investigations.

I have drawn upon Kroeber's early work and upon Mr. F.F. Latta's little book, Uncle Jeff's

[1]Since published; see Bibliography.

PREFACE
[P. iii b]

114 Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

114 A more thorough knowledge of the Western Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the foothills was exigent to a broader understand-
121 ing of Yokuts culture and therefore, after working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews
121 and consequently fairly full accounts were got of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

---

[2]Since published; see Bibliography.

[3]The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4]JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5]Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

PREFACE
[P. iva]

121 pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the

[Text continues Top of P. ivb---Analyst]

Postscript

114 Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

000 The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono

[Text continues Bottom of P. ivb, ----Analyst]

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12 cultures of adjacent tribes must be consulted, namely, Dr. Erminie W. Voegelin's Tubatulabal Ethnography, and Miwok Material Culture, by S.A. Barrett and E.W. Gifford.

My gratitude is cast in two directions -- to the many informants whose amiability and sincere interest sustained them through tedious inquiries and labored explanations, and to those members of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California who sponsored my work and leniently permitted me to prolong its completion: more particularly to Mrs. Josie Alonzo, Mrs. Mollie Lawrence, Mr. Sam Osborn, and to Dr. A.L. Kroeber, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Santa Cruz, California
September 13, 1943

A.H. Gayton

Postscript

tribes are available in the publications of Kroeber, Gifford, and Driver.

An editorial decision to divide the present ethnography into two sections will facilitate both publication and subsequent use. Therefore it will appear in two parts with the subtitles: Part I, Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts, and Part II, Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. The Index will be found in Part II.

Here I should like to add my thanks to Mrs. Mary Anne Whipple for her meticulous care in preparing the manuscript for press.

November 8, 1945

A.H.G.

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115

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J.A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawia (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.P. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Sarwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
* P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watum, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.M. Jack Moan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.M. Polly Moan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. Marian Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.O., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

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PHONETIC KEY

104

a, e, i, o, u as in Spanish

ɛ as in met

ɪ as in it

ɔ as in off

ü as in German für

ö as in German könig

ə the obscure vowel of about or idea

ai as the vowel sound of eye

ei as the vowel sound of hay

oi as the vowel sound of boy

iu as the vowel sound of you

g as in gig

ⁱ superior vowel, whispered

j as in jig

ñ as in sing (nasalization)

š as in share

č as in church

ṭ postalveolar or palatal placement

x deep or gutteral aspiration

h simple aspiration as in hand

' glottal stop

· raised period, protraction of a vowel sound

´ accented syllable

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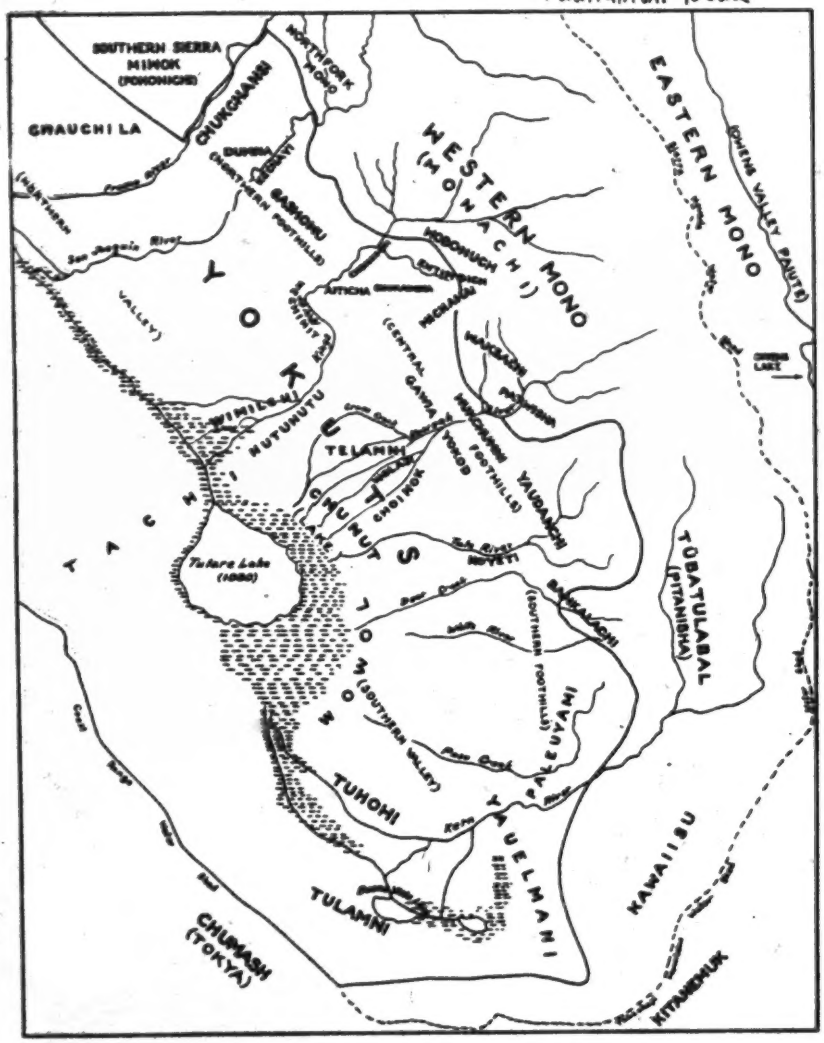
Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22



Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

PART I: TULARE LAKE, SOUTHERN VALLEY, AND CENTRAL FOOTHILL YOKUTS

BY
A. H. GAYTON

INTRODUCTION

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants
131 and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old
177 people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
peoples experienced the dismay previously
131 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders
177 increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
131 intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
177 terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them. Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending
648 on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating
613 the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization com-
619 mon to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic
621 animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale,
177 under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the
613 practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or
177 Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the up-
778 land Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural
177 beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 On the side of material culture a more
439 even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

---

[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the
Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque
hooded twined cradle which are now made by
Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved,
I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts
foothills is a craft derived from the Western
Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the
pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
177 and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval
frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches
of white landowners along the foothills. Some
Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of
their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers
or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life
shows in this existence, save for the continued
use of acorn foods and the few implements
needed for their preparation, and basketmaking,
an art which flourishes because of tourist
trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language
and kinship terms are in use; family totems are
retained, and official functions are aberrantly
performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the
life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers
and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and
Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which
follows, the reader should be familiarized with
the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley
in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the
environment of the upper and lower foothills
has changed but little, whereas the great
valley floor was unbelievably different in the
past from the completely dry, hard plain it is
today. There is no better way to present the
picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses
to speak for themselves. There were many
travelers in the area who left records of their
experiences with the troublesome mire of the
tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration
for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada;[6] but no
account so well fits our purpose as that of
Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850,
made a circuit of the valley for military re-

---

[4]Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Dunnell, Bidwell, and others.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 connaissance.[7] He entered from the west via San Miguel Pass, already trodden by Spanish predecessors, turned south, then east, to go around the south end of Tulare Lake, then northeast, stopping to make a short digression to the south-southwest, thence back and continuing northward beyond Kings River. After crossing the San Joaquin River at the ferry north of Tulare Lake, he eventually turned south, skirting the west shore of the lake, and left the valley by the pass to San Miguel where he had entered.

On May 1, 1850, after leaving Dick's (San Lorenzo) Creek in the San Miguel Pass, Derby was about to enter territory south of the Tachi villages on the west side of Tulare Lake.

> I started accordingly about 10 A.M., and, crossing two ranges of low hills over a broad smooth trail, arrived at the shore of the great Taché (Tulare) lake about 1 P.M. We were unable to get close to the water, in consequence of the tulé which environed it, extending into the lake from two hundred yards to one mile, as far as the eye could reach. With a glass I could distinguish the timber at the north and the tulé at the south ends of the lake, the length of which I estimated at about twenty miles, but we could not distinctly make out the opposite or eastern shore. The peaks of the Sierra Nevada, at this place twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea and covered with perpetual snow, appeared in close proximity, and, rising far above the horizon, seem to us to come down precipitously to the very edge of the water. The distance from our encampment to the lake we estimated at eighteen miles, or nearly a day's march, and as the country passed over was a perfect desert, and I found here no forage for the animals but wire grass, the water standing in the tulé brackish, and no wood at all, I concluded to return immediately to camp . . . . An examination was made on the 2nd . . . which terminated favorable, a good path being found through the southern extremity of the valley, and a trail leading apparently around the south end of the lake.[8]

On May 3, Derby's party left the Dick (San Lorenzo) Creek camp and went 24.5 miles "from the termination of the pass," reaching the lake and camping upon the sand.

> We found here a ridge of sand about one hundred yards in width, and twelve feet above the level of the lake which divides the water of the northern or Taché from the bed (now nearly dry) of the southern or Ton Taché lake. This last is little more than a very extensive swamp, covering the plain for fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and is about ten in width. It is filled with sloughs and is of course impassable except with the assistance of

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[7] Farquhar, The Topographic Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby, 251 ff.

[8] Ibid., 252.

133 boats or rafts. The gradual receding of the water is distinctly marked by the ridges of decayed tulé, and I was informed, and see no reason to disbelieve, that ten years ago it was nearly as extensive a sheet of water as the northern lake, having been gradually drained by the connecting sloughs, and its bed filled by the encroachment of the tulé.

We crossed the slough on the 4th, being assisted with rafts of tulé by the rancherîa of Sin Tache Indians [Chunut or Wowol?] which we found established at this point. Proceeding on over the desert which we found very painful traveling for the animals, encamped at the southeast point of the lake, having made 12.64 miles.[9]

The following day, May 5, Derby gained the east side of the valley by traveling 15.38 miles, "over a continuation of the barren sandy desert which had been our route for the last three days," where he reached a few cottonwood trees on Moore's Creek (now called Deer Creek).

On the 6th he went up Moore's [Deer] Creek 12.20 miles, being then "about five miles west of the high peaks of the Sierra Nevada." As there was good camping with cottonwoods, willows, some large oaks, and luxuriant grass, he arranged to leave his military escort there for the time being.

On the 7th he ascended the creek for about twenty miles, "a small rapid stream, about fifty feet wide and about two feet in depth. We discovered two small branches upon each of which we observed the remains of a large rancheria. The banks of the stream, as well as the hills surrounding, were heavily timbered with oaks, and three large species of pine."[10] This would, presumably, be in Bokninuwad territory, for on the 7th he went but eight to ten miles north from Deer Creek to Tule River, the southeast extremity of which empties into Tulare Lake. Koyeti occupied its banks at the edge of the foothills; within the foothills lived the Yaudanchi.

This stream has two branches, the upper portion of which are well timbered, but the banks are swampy near the lake, and for a long distance in the plain, the tulé running up to within five miles of the hills. All this time the stream was about one hundred yards wide, from twelve to twenty feet deep, and very rapid, which last is a general characteristic of all the streams to the east of the lake. Upon its upper banks and their vicinity in the hills, plenty of large pines are found; lower down it is well timbered with the different species of oak, sycamore, cottonwood and willow.[11]

On May 8, Derby changed his direction of investigation to the south-southwest. Having

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[9] Ibid., 252-253.

[10] Ibid., 253-254.

[11] Ibid., 254.

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133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small [136] animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tule, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

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[12] Ibid., 255.

133 that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well watered spots.[13]

When returning to his encampment on Moore's (Deer) Creek he followed a course fifteen miles west of his route down.

We found it, however, of precisely the
[137] same character throughout -- barren, decomposed soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemesias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry, at the point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above.

On May 13, Derby reached Tule River at a point which was 7.16 miles from Moore's (Deer) Creek -- probably close to the present site of Porterville. Here, Derby reported, the Tule River was 150 feet wide and he had to use wagon floats to get his party across. This was in Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory.

133 The country much improved in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's [Deer] creek, and
137 upon Tule river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber.[14]

133 Continuing north nineteen miles, Derby's party the next day reached the Kaweah River, at that time called the San Gabriel but renamed the Francis by Derby himself -- a name which did not persist. He was in country inhabited by the Choinuk, Wolasi, and Telamni, on the Kaweah River branches, and above them at the edge of the hills were the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni.

This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into Tache [Tulare] lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct branch from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful smooth level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oak of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 256.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

[312 311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] .. our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherias of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee (Choinimni) rancheria, situated in his

[161 361] [648 181]

[15] Ibid., 257.

[16] Ibid., 258-260.

133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors,
648 had been quite troublesome of late.[17]

133 On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large
[501] body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...

The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.

The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

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[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

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133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the [16] débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en 361] route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

[20] Ibid., 261.
[21] Ibid., 262.

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the 311] east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had 22 a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262 and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Tokuhl Valley (Yokod-Wukchumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

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YOKUTS: TULARE LAKE

CHUNUT AND TACHI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp
609 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
436 the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nel was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyɛt was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

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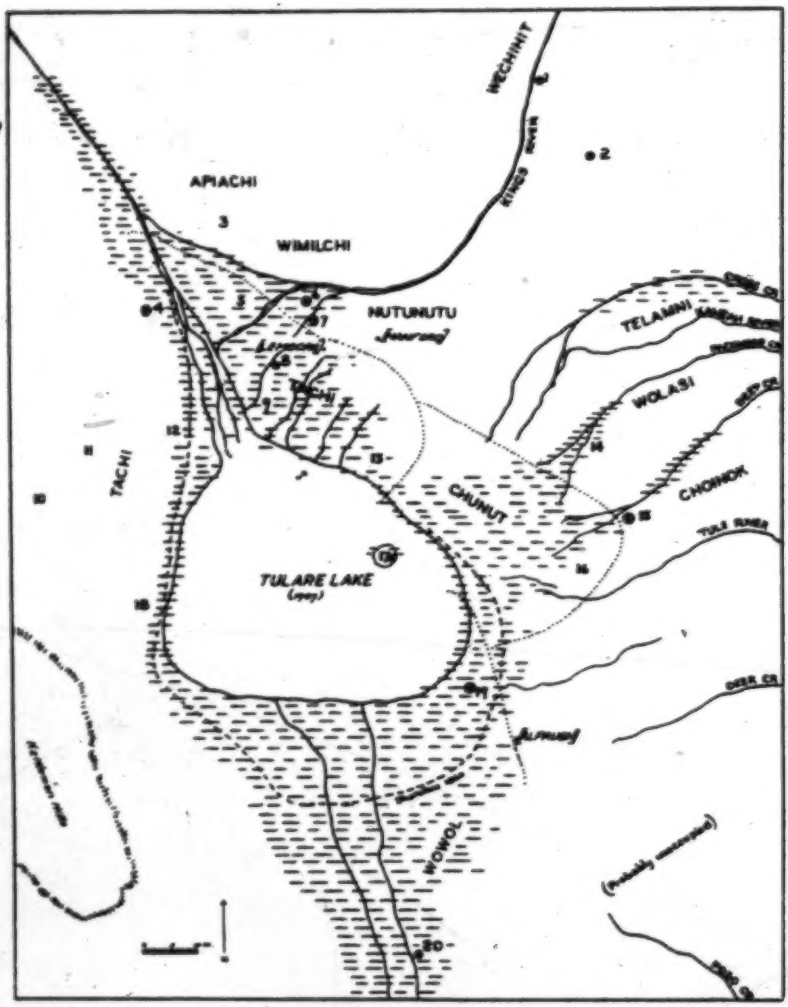

Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and [484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important Y village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in [361] Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi´tsolo´wɑn. On it was a village Y which J.A. and her mother visited by means of [164] balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɑl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on [439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɑt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, [141] toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey 101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another 131 time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɑn, where there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

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[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugone
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. [201] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

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726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[28] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[29]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
anchi sent a man, who said that they would
fight in a certain number of days. The
202 [Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the
539 Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how
many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was
told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok,
and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in
seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern]
messenger asserted that he was sure of this,
for the leaders had decided upon the time. The
[Southern] messenger then said that the Banka-
lachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet,
but that they would send their own messengers
[to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?]

[After the Southern messenger had returned
and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders
told him that it would take them five days to
complete their preparations. The next morning
they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should
return in five days, for at that time they
wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come.
The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw,
where the people were numerous, and told their
leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo
ordered his workers (tso·ihni') to assemble
the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger
whether his news was good or bad and was told
that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On
approaching, he shouted and the people gathered
immediately. Their leader told them that the
news was probably bad, that they had better get
their bows and prepare themselves. By the time
the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were
ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo]
wanted the people to come to his house immedi-
ately; they were to listen to one who had come
from far off. The people were advised by their
messenger to get their bows and their necklace
charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-
claw necklaces, others got falcon-head neck-
laces, and still others got eagle-head neck-
laces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's]
place, one of their leaders took them where
many people were assembled. There the
[Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He
reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the
people, for a battle was to take place. On
being asked what tribes were angry, he answered
that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok,
and Wükchamni. At this some of the people
asserted that the Northerners were a useless
lot, that the Southerners would give them a

[576] [28] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[29] Recorded in Yowlumni dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Manuel, Bankalachi.

726 good clubbing. In reply to further questions,
202 the [Southern] messenger told them that his
539 leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place; place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They
[411] then descended to the plains and fought there. They used only arrows and obsidian (tsa·sip), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wukchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tim) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liína') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nıl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went
[591] with their mother to do the gathering. This, of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal
[224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

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[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

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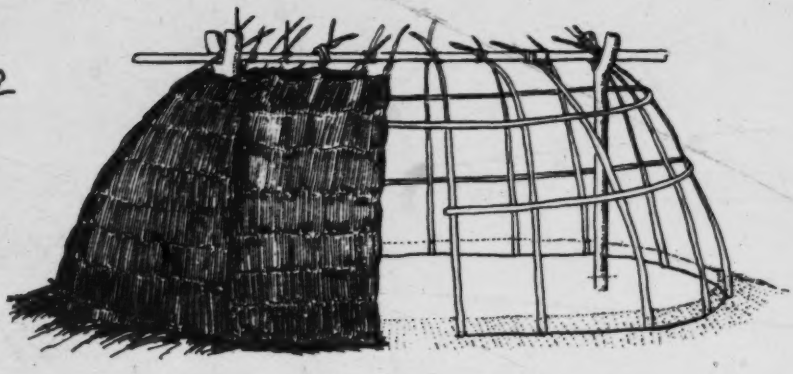

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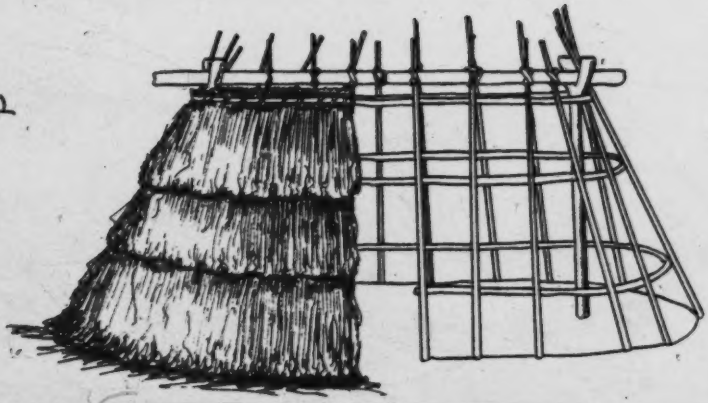

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Fig. 1. Yokuts and Western Mono oval houses. a, Valley and Central Foothill type, 2-post, mat-covered. b, Wakachi, 2-post, thatch-covered.

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were
342 used on side walls. For the rounded ends of the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The
[284] individual stalks were held together by rows of single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a handspan (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu´´us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats.
[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons'
[354] families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi´yohono; tule-covered house; woi´yohon ṭi).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

342 The frame was called tumlu''us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana´s:ts).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had [352] these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

> ... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.
>
> The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."[32]

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Telwey:t both long and oval houses were constructed. At Pisras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

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[32] Handbook, 521-522.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
554 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground:
622 "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825 (čɛ'mčɔm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184 people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

262 The grubs (om´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it
[252] was scarce in the tular). This was called tapʌsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant
262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pʌs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hʌs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´ṭanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ṭa´sʌp, the flesh). Abalones (to´nʌk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving
[147] quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

226 The tribe I was with had an interesting way of catching fish on the lake shore. A weir of willow wicker work was built out at an angle from the shore for a distance of fifty or sixty yards. Then a large group of Indians would wade out beyond the weir and close the opening. This group would form a semicircle sometimes a mile long.

After the circle was completed they would close in, all splashing and yelling and driving the fish into the shallow water behind the weir. In this shallow water were two or three Indians wading about, each with one of the bottomless [sic] wicker baskets that they used up the river for catching fish in pools. When they felt a fish with their feet or saw a ripple made by a fish they would clap the basket down and catch it. It was not possible to see the fish as the shallow water soon became very muddy.[37]

Another type of weir, consisting of two long wings, was erected in shallow water. No drive was made; men waded in in the early morning and dipped up fish with hand nets (po´hač).

According to Mayfield a special raft for fishing and hunting was used by the Tachi at Tulare Lake.

[501] This raft was constructed in a different way.... It was wide and flat and would pass over very shallow water. It was pointed at the ends, but the points were not raised as they were in the raft used on the river.

In the center of the fishing raft was a large hole. Through this hole fish were gigged much as they were from the platform on the river above.

A few feet ahead of the hole was an earthen, or mud, hearth. On this hearth a fire was kindled, and the cooking was done.

He also describes a novel method of fishing in the tular.

Tules will float on the water, and the Indians make use of their buoyancy. On the lake, and sometimes in sloughs along the river, the tules used to float about loose. The wind would drift them into great mats near the shore. The fish used to collect under these mats and we used to walk over them and spear fish from them.[38]

227 The Tachi fishing implement, as described by M.G., was a single-pointed harpoon (to´´okoi). The hooked point, about two inches long was made of a pelican wing bone which was lashed to the detachable foreshaft with sinew. The foreshaft, about one foot long, was attached to the oak handle by means of a length of tule fibre cord.

226 Fish poison (yao´ha) was made from a white

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[37] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32-33.

[38] Ibid., 30,32.

[P. 15b] Tachi

Fish poison (yad'ha) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t·'l·l, was mentioned by M.G.

Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were
223 caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas·n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[48] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´y:t
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´sy:n, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´h:n tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´:n
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iy:n). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
278 when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

372 usual materials. Dead willow wood provided
313 only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

412 The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

> The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a
> [322] narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

> Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43] Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44] Ibid., pl. 66.

[45] P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46]
323 Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into little dishes (ṭipe´kıl ki´wıs). It was chief-
757] ly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

No detailed description of basketmaking
285 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important state-
438 ments concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of
285 California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

285 basket made of tules was called a´nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama´l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa´pɛt) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai´'iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po´mɛk) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pomɛk) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o´sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha´lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu´was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

[482] The tumpline (tsono´lhi) and carrying net (tsuno´lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo´to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao´); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a´ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča´'aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po´dano).

The tumpline she called šu´ñlɛk, the soaproot brush ṭoho´ṭ.

Blanketmaking

286 The Tachi made blankets (woi´yon, the word used for mats) of strips of mudhen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers.[47] [text continues p. 21a]

[47]Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Nutunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 18] Western Mono NS25

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N
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

TWINED BASKET TYPES		YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
		CHUNUT	WUNCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
1 COOKING BASKET	close twine; always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern	?	pote'no	po-no	poto-n	tapono'li
2 BURDEN BASKET	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes	e'nas	e'hoi	e'nali	wo-no po-no	?
3 SEEDBEATER	medium open twine; handled	ho'lai	yomoki ta'wyuk	ča' phoi	potso-'	tonoko
4 SIEVE	fine open twine; no handle	?	ta'wyuk	ča'phoi	pu''an	?
5 FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER	coarse open twine; no handle	?	e'pal	ča'phoi	pu''an	?
6 WINNOWER	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	ta'o'li^{u}o	?
7 HANGING BASKET OR CAGE	open twine; cage has lid	used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

Y.
[824]
[438]

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 19] Western Mono NS25
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GAYTON, YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY: I

COILED BASKET TYPES	YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
	CHUNUT	WUKCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
1 MUSH, STORAGE, OR WASHING	?	?	o'oki	sai'op	?
2 "BREAD BASKET" (MODERN)	used exclusively for storing loaves of bread (native word not recorded)				
3 INDIVIDUAL FOOD BASKET	?	ka'čao	amat	?	a·po
4 WOMAN'S CAP (SELDOM USED)	pukiu'was	waki'nits	amat	?	pi·kwo'ŧ
5 WINNOWING TRAY	tsa'pit	koiyo'ṭo	koiyo'ṭo	sai'ya	?
6 GAMBLING TRAY	tal'iwan	tai'wan	tai'wan	sai'ya	(Patwisha) ba'gtu
7 TREASURE BASKET	little used by Chunut o'sa	o'sa	o'sa	o'sa	?
8 GIFT BASKET	po'mik	(8 and 9 are shapes made by the Chunut and probably by other Lake tribes)			
9 TREASURE BASKET	tsoipo'mik				

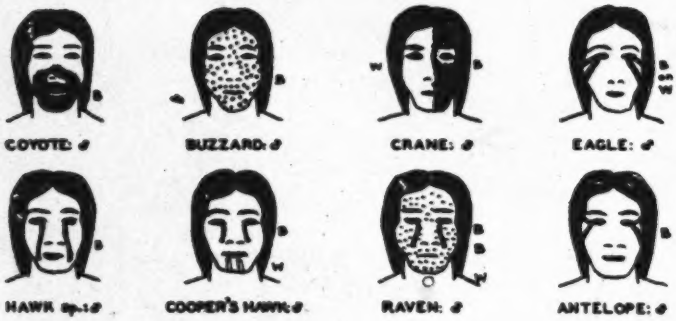
Fig. 3. Yokuts and Western Mono coiled basket types.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

CEREMONIAL PAINT PATTERNS

302

YOKUTS: CHUNUT



YOKUTS: WUKCHUMNI

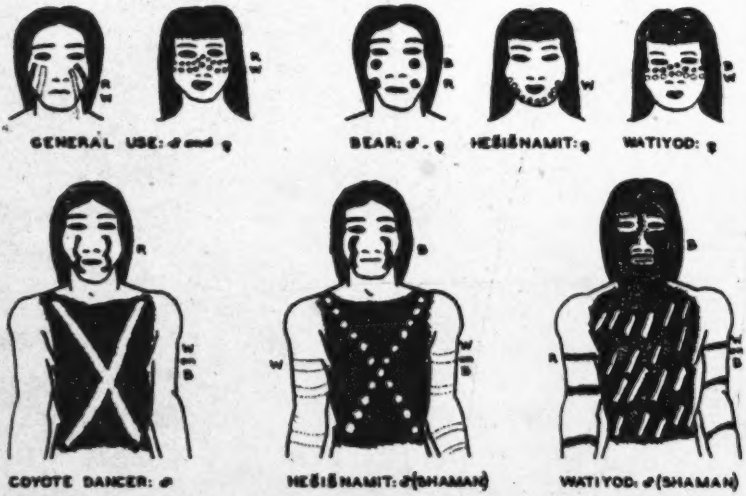


Fig. 4. Yokuts ceremonial paint patterns: Chunut and Wukchumni.

Balsa Construction

50 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots: The Tachi in- [524] formant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
[439] coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor N.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me (Gifford): "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of
[249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the
[757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever
[757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

616 The hand game (wehala´nwica) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´iš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwič) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

526 616 The pole and stick game (aiki´wɛč) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[184] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wɛč) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyɛt and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wɛč as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 221 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

30 221 were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[32] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it [171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[33]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 825 The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust [262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" [237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill 844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [32] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[33] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
825 without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu'-klas); Steller's jay (tikai'ya [sic]); California jay (tai'tai); hummingbird (general) (hshe'tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo'-k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe'sa); California [Valley] quail (saka'la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala'tat); great blue heron (wa'hat); northern shrike (pe'lpil); western mockingbird (tikai'ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo'heno); pelican (ha'hal); Cooper's hawk (po'hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka'ka); crow (ka'nkas); raven (ho'toi); sandhill crane (u'lats); prairie falcon (li'm:k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su'hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to'h:l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo'nai), housefly (pisa'tna), blowfly (ka'masal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi'nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wuk-chumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao'nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap:'si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo'k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha'lu). Small moths (a'nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino''n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tatahe ta''ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge'ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (matek lo'k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso'lol witsa'ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo'li), mosquitoes (kas'ho'p), a black beetle (te't:l), and the water weaver (soi'yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke'n:ts); tree ants (ha'sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e''ts ken:ts).*

The tarantula (tu'mun) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho''o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko'lol k:'lwai) makes a web (otati'ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

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[192 *J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
628] there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and aloto''ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that aloto''ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta´taita´tai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t:ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in
773 the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma t:´pni; wile´li t:´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ti´y. nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao´i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol:lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alata´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alatana right under my knees. He said, "That's alatana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'stawat. The bullfrog was called e'oi´:ts by the Tachi, but wipel:ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chumut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with
823] supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[36]

[36] A Palliganoosap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pohoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

821 Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyumich moiety,

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepʿs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepʿs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyʿt.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.
[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,82.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]
[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´'i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´t:ts, a term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem,
786 just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet:ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet:s should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w:ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The title of the chief is diya. A male chief is
622 described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen
622 years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiwes), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[576] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[4] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[4]Powers, 371.

616 totemic animals. The words tokelyuwič and nutuwič she aligned with west and east respectively, and the head of each as Crow and Coyote, respectively.

Further categorizing was as follows.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
ho ˈtoi:	raven
lɛ ˈmɛk:	falcon
upye ˈˈi:	mourning dove
hi ˈtyi:	raccoon
te ˈpɛk:	seal[62]
poho ˈˈot:	weasel
po ˈhiyon:	Cooper's hawk
šo ˈˈšo ˈ:	"chicken" hawk[63]
Nutuwich, east	
kai ˈyu:	coyote
ulo ˈˈi:	black bear
soi ˈyol:	antelope
ma ˈčwi:	elk

A member of one moiety "respected" all the totemic animals of his moiety, but had one animal as his lineage totem. Members of the same moiety should not marry. Persons with the same lineage totem could not marry, nor could cross or parallel cousins. Moiety members called each other merely "friend."[64]

In playing games and in mourning ceremonies, moiety members were reciprocally opposed. In the doctors' contest, which was a feature of the mourning ceremony, there was no moiety opposition, but there was tribal opposition. Sometimes there were doctors from different tribes on one side, but no men of the same tribe would be opposed. Doctors on the same side might be relatives or "just friends."

With respect to moiety manifestations in other tribes, M.G. had rather definite ideas. The Hoshima (northerners) called people of the same moiety cousin, i.e., literally sibling. The Choinuk and Chunut had the same divisions as the Tachi. The Wowol had, too, she believed, but it was not customary for a Tachi to ask a Wowol what his "pet" (totem) was. She was uncertain whether the Gawia and Yokod had moieties.

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[62] M.G. twice gave tepɛk as seal, her interpreter adding "just like you see in the circus." Kroeber gives tɔpɛk as beaver (The Yokuts Language, 242), as does Gifford (ndebig). J.A. agreed with M.G., also giving tepɛk as seal. I think we may be sure that the animal M.G. meant was seal, regardless of the correctness of the name she used. Pages states that "seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Rio de San Francisco" (San Joaquin River and its sloughs)(Pages, A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California, 77).

[63] This is probably osprey, as given by Gifford. M.G. could only say of the bird that "he went up to a little pool in the mountains and got fish there."

[64] For the Tachi kinship system see Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, 81-82.

616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two
622 chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

[776 Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in dreams were often mountain lions and bears
787] rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tütic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
su ˈnup:	hawk
lˑmˑk:	prairie falcon
o ˈčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˈhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokte ˈklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot ˈwat:	frog (small)
oˑo ˈyˑtsˑ:	frog (large)
ma ˈčwˑs:	elk
yˑtsa ˈhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ˈyu:	coyote
weṭi ˈṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ˈlu:	"hoot" owl
tokla ˈli:	"screech" owl
poho ˈˑot [sic]:	weasel
poho ˈˑot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ˈnul:	wildcat
a ˈdza:	fox

[773]

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

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tepːk:[71]	seal
naha ʿʾat:	otter
kːyo ʿkːut:	badger
hoi:	deer
či ʿu:	cottontail rabbit
tsa ʿpal:	jack rabbit
mamːl:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72] ; pelican (hahal); bat (tcːmtcːm)[73]; rattlesnake (ta´mhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (ṡakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (wa´tswats, duck; u'lui´lum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (yːtswahats), and the other (la´ptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohːl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage [613] (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[71]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tepːk was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[72]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´ksi) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun:ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills. [231] 184]

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman. [779]

Bears were not redeemed.

Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray. [231]

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, [756] but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwɛs "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wiči lonu´´iwɛs) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´ton). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Notsi was named by her mother.

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no [838] established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño´čam (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

765 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony, known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on
764 the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyakman, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

> You go to another land
> You like that land
> You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tip:'kn:ts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on
756 Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko'ltat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called ane'ẓwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ
616 talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
756 hawk (pohiyon) can be dreamt of by anybody. So could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

Those persons who did not want to possess
756 ṭ+pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

One night a white spider (kolok+ ˈlwoi
756 metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came
787 back to her. The spider said, "you are going to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ṭ+pni (I am not ṭ+pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto ˈho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai ˈtna
not I male sexual partner

hinaˊ na naˈas toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om naˈas hebo ˈna topo ˈlṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
787 manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prosti-
[548] tute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

In connection with dreams J.A. stated that
[555] a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

The man who accepted dream help and wished
756 to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long
778 period of time. He secured walat, the talismans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walat always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with tʿpni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walat, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walat kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´nʿtc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´twal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ainʿtc), the lake people the second part (walat).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

755 feathers (so´n:l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p:l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though [428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a
756 person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of
825 evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[65]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed
556 to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called
778 tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he'u´te':ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[65] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ţomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, Mo´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Mohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiw·s (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 (J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´t·ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot·ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her 755 752 dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a 756 song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Bo´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
756 poisoned by it: she lived a little while after making the cure, then "turned yellow all over and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwis (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwis. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-'wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and
753 "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; this was called mets añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiy: ´n:l, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and t:pni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person
828 in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by t:pni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was
[683] just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, T:pwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in T:pwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

278 that T'pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman.
753 He had come to where she was sleeping and pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai 'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki''at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep:s, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[30] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

[30] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29

756 especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[91]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired t:pni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[92]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

A man was called Piwa´sa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Aho´ni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (pu´us). All bears are classed as Nutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety. [616]

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Čoiiwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

One shaman, Solo´lo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called ana´tap:n w:p:´l. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.

Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yam:´n:l).

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[91] Handbook, 516-517.

[92] Ibid., 514-515.

Rain-Making

789 The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

[823] Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[53] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

> ...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[54]

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[53] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[54] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but ARE, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´, elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756b] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[90] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[90] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special
276 songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the
[756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by
276 shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of
[752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsumni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in 534 the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya 616 [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

796 had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (ṭ:pni ha´tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these
796 songs had words. Two of them which J.A. re-
539 calls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and the following:

ma´'an(a) gut hoi´yiuh:n
you that come back

pa´wus mai´y:n ye´ha ye·e·e·e·'ha
seeds are coming, coming

uya´yi uya´yi
[exclamation]

hot:nih:´nke wača´ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

hia´ma ṭa'iho´awa
now reddening

so´pas inana´he
[a plant with red berries]

wi´ya ṭa´ho'iwah:n
will be reddening

796 At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (son:l) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his son:l over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iw·s). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[765] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

752 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´p:t) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi,
Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni,
535 and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

766 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[202]

[202] Handbook, 301.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
535 Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl: ´l:n was an old man who could make that
[825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (o´šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which
was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´m:č or wa´tiyod) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds
and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two
539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na ko´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na ko´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (Ibid., 369).

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and
other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was
between tribes, secondarily between moieties.
616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the
foothills, and the tribes functioning in this
619 relationship likewise were called gi´'i. J.A.
remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni
ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and an-
other in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served
as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion
moieties were not involved as neither tribe was
moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuw:s (little ceremony), or one said of it teya´o wa'ha´l tsume´lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or
annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary cere-
mony called kiyu´w:s was held for the purpose
of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich
chief assembled the people of each moiety. They
all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid
the other for this entertainment. The chiefs
"each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye´'i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakn:'n:ts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia´'a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu´iw:s) lasted six days. Each day for four days

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[106] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

769 special mourning singers (ahe´nič) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa´´ič) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´tek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, [293] was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

769 On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony
756 the doctors' contest (he´swas) took place in midafternoon. There was no preliminary or little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´mɛn, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (to´hot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Ciau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both
sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pɛt)
756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands,
at opposite edges, and tray face outward --
over the fire, toward the west, the east, up-
ward, then toward the north, the south, and
face down over the fire. While the tray was
over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it
with his hand. The tray was then laid on the
ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray
was picked up and "smearing" motions made over
it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the
hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!"
(breathed heavily) as they did this, and a
crowd of boys who had been standing on each
side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs
attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved
their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual
ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´´at),
weasel (po´hat), or beaver (?) (waki´´as) skins
[825 fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pɛk] could
not be used for this purpose; if it were, every-
753 one present would have pains and sickness.)
These animals, which were talismans of a sort,
caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The
doctor could extract such shot, put it on his
own tray, and return it to its sender. The
shot was propelled by the usual method of bang-
ing the tray violently on the ground face down-
ward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered
about and fell down; his winatum placed a
basket beside him and everyone put in a little
money. At the same time the contestants shift-
ed their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next
sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic]
known to fall. It was he who must begin re-
viving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a
shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies
at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the
center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A.
saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting
doctors were all supposed to be benevolent,
i.e., to be willing and able to revive their
victims, because they were working for display
purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid
them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people
spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tɛk
pa´hat) that night. At the dance place wina-
tums had a large fire built which was lighted
at dusk. The members of the mourning families
paraded around the fire twice during the night.
Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes
and draped with beads [money] on long poles;
others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or
other valuable objects. When these were
finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called w:kči w:s and made the sides y:t ka y:t (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of the [illegible], then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´os:l. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("m:m tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu mun:n").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hat:m) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oto´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not t:pni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Wakasachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´len:n. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identi-
[616] fy them. The Wakasachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

769 Although Pohass was an important captain,
178 no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi
616 moieties:

In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 J.A. said she did not remember much about
668 the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw:l). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi´'th:´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [443] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (t:pni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

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YOKUTS: SOUTHERN VALLEY

PALEUYAMI

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Port Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wıtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yıt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [177 657] reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´ın (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 838] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čım) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other- 764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wıli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is Tɨpɨ´knɨts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the after-world.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči´ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonočɨm,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

[P. 47a] Pal eyyan. Tubatulabal U522

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him un-
duly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (ai´n:č) to
make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hail-storm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čen revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Puĺ:l:n, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai''ʿts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (tɨ´pnɨm; supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell [262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[769] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 48 b] Paleuyami

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 48 c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (h:twai´'iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117]Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

KOYETI

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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756 Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´c:n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551] Hyhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camau´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

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[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kam or do conventional dance steps.

756 himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi''is:k, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

276 D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta´nai) taken at Fort Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking

[P. 49 b] Koyeti

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi ha´tɩm) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek.
668 D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [354] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.--Fages speaks at length of the
136 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
137 tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns, which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
264 other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and
283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in
276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he de-
526 scribes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[126]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 50 C]

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BANKALACHI: YOKUTS-SHOSHONEAN

[P. 50d] Tubatulabal NS22

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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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[120]See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

[121]Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[122]Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

T [P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22
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159 member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i [i.e. Frank Manuel. - Analyst]

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ˊʼin, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena ˊwᵃ in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ʿ ˊnᵃwao, was east of Čenaᵃᵃ. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi ˊyo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu ˊmuk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana ˊsᵊts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya ˊwᵊl ti ˊʼi; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭiˊʼi.[128]

T Y [354] T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wɨs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´ʼi) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

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534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

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224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

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224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

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223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

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276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´was) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sap) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

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372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called y·´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

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278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131]Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132]Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

TY 796 276

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

TY [833]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

TY [285 431]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

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saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´telhɨn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ˀɨt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɛn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɛn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɛts. She "thought about power [tɛpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Čeče'ɛs, who was Wati'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɛn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

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[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about nameman encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

T
Y
756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T
Y
796 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum,
668 Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there T were no prayers, "just songs." People painted Y their faces: popular patterns were, for men, [302] two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 55a]

YOKUTS: CENTRAL FOOTHILLS

WUKCHUMNI

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

131 The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill
133 country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

133 The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.

This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.

These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.

Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it- and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.-- Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpen-

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[137] Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138] Probably the hill called dai'a'pnus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefi-
131 nite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat-
[223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with
439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels
437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y Very little that is definite can be
M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood
M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
[105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona´či by the
648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutanumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohst were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced metsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prelude (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pːno (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´osəs (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itːmwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´iːn[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
512 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 58] Wukchumni

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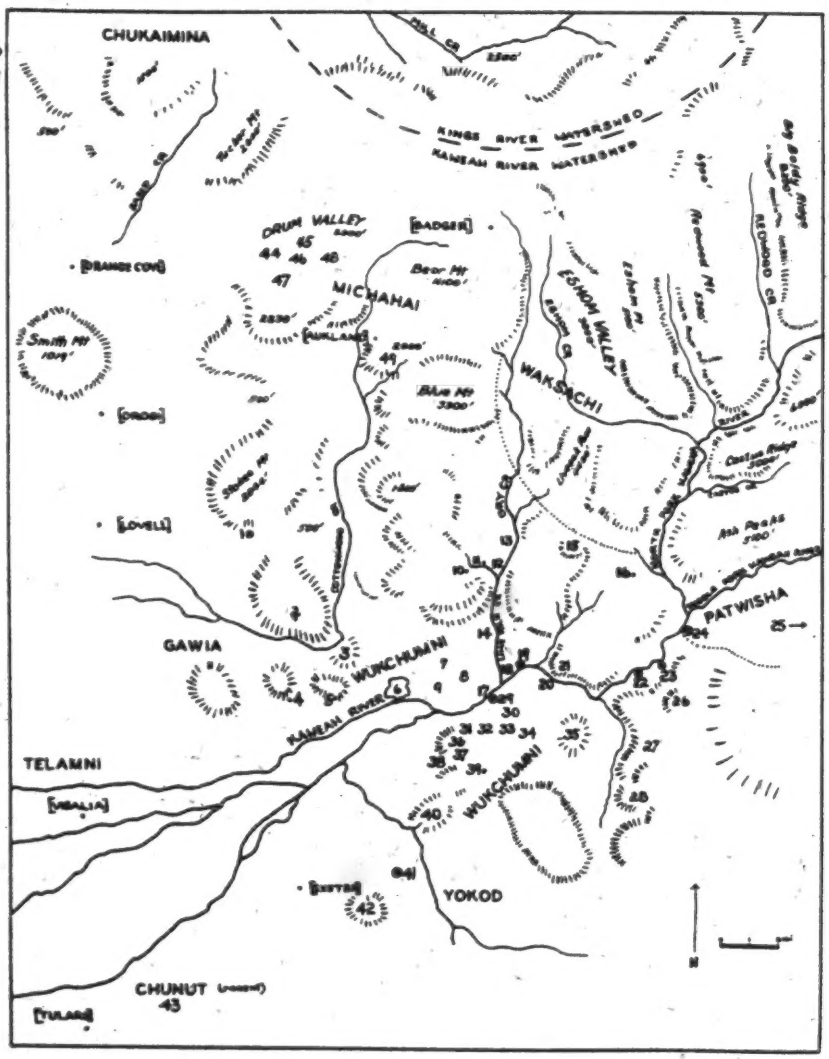

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and
[281] rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye ''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda ´o: Gawia campsite
3. čed·pwi ´ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida ´pw·š
4. poanai ´yu: Gawia campsite
5. had·ta ´o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa ''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai ''yuhao
8. čaš· ´ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau ´ču
10. topo ´no: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai ''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa ´o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo ´kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču ´m: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya ´gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo ´nyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi ´yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono ´: a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu ´mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño ´našu
21. čoiši ´šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi ´šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa ´o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu ´nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

103 24. patwi ´ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns [343]
25. bai ´o ´ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama ´o: a sharp peak
27. usta ´nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta ´o
29. ho ´ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi ´yo
31. šaiw:ta ´o
32. dai ´a ´pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai ´apnu ´ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada ´o
35. pupuna ´o
36. kuč:npida ´o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanh:nta ´o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. muču ´npida ´o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye ´du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču ´mnyu
41. yoko ´l: Yokod village
42. čaha ´šana ´o
43. čun:ta ´o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna ´pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa ´una ´o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi ´š:nyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačik:na ´o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. ´čoho ´mina ´o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čaše ´ša (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris [Morse?] Ranch; duda ´dyu, Arthur Ragle's [?] place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi ´li, Stokes Flat [?]; dono ´ñwiyu; čai ´´oč; pupu ´na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onomatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

342 The Central Foothill culture included
343 structures of both mountain and valley types. The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

[343] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

539 773 The sweat house.---The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

513 states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were 562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was 515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

343 A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be 515 built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; [622] then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

343 old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[148] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles,

[148] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Koso (cf. ibid., 590, pl.56).

343 one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood
[824] about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

The sweat house, mosh or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342 Dwellings.--The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

[149] The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150] Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 62] Western Mono NS25
Y
W
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

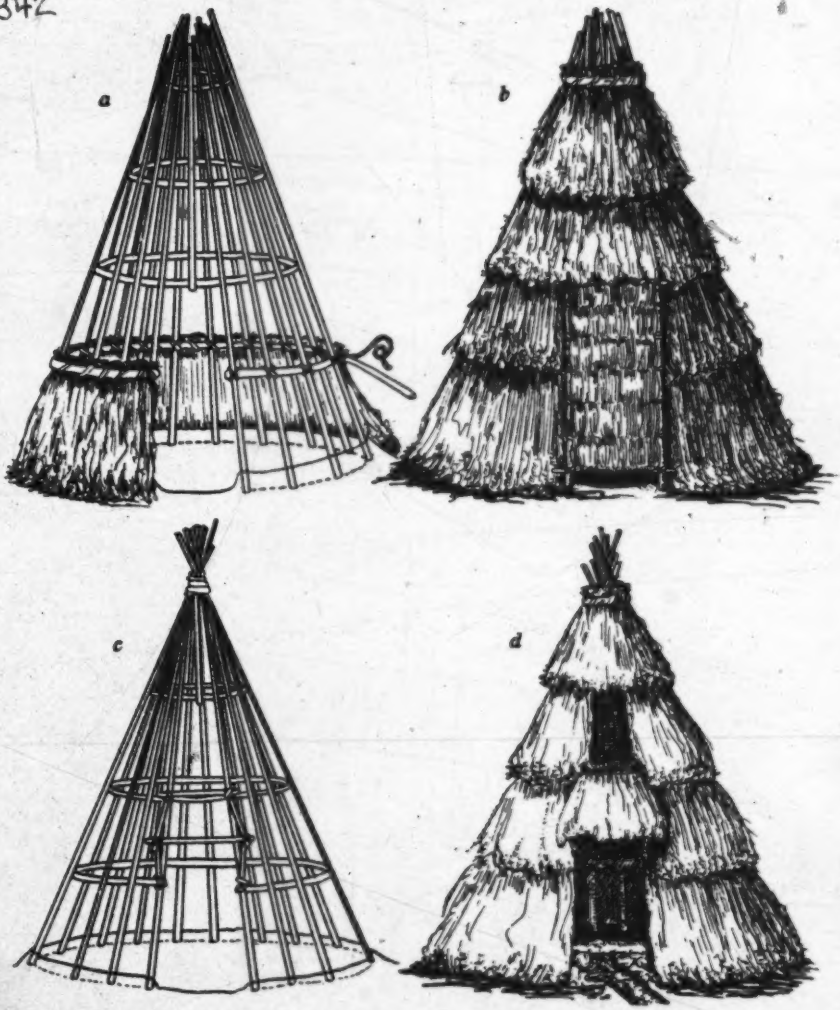

Fig. 5. Yokuts and Western Mono conical houses. a, b, Central Foothill type with inner ring at smoke vent and mat door. c, d, Chukchansi type with smoke vent and rain shed over door (after Rogers).

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

The size of the house depended upon the
342 needs of the family, that is, the number of
592 persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ṭi', those covered with brush, ṭi 'yao 'w:l (yao 'w:l, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu 'muk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of
[283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

[151] Ibid., 522.

[152] Ibid.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178] [153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the lake peoples.[154]

285 The oval house was also frequently built in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this 342 form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod though they did not reach the extreme dimensions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts were erected and a ridgepole laid between them. Side and end poles with pliable tips were braced in the ground at the periphery of the floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with the conical house, horizontal side braces were lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

These were tied to the framework and, in expectation of stormy weather, were bound down by a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was left, the smoke merely escaping through the rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole. [184] The oval house of the Central Foothills was not usually divided into compartments, as it was in the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in size than the thatched or mat-covered type. Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark house may serve here, as this structure was not well known to Wukchumni informants.[155]

A bark house of similar type [conical] is called samish. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering,

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[154] Handbook, 521, 522.

[155] Ibid., 522.

342 then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

343 The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by them at summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).[156] (M.L., M.P.)

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[156] The type of shelter depicted by Gifford (Northfork Mono, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64c] Wukchumni

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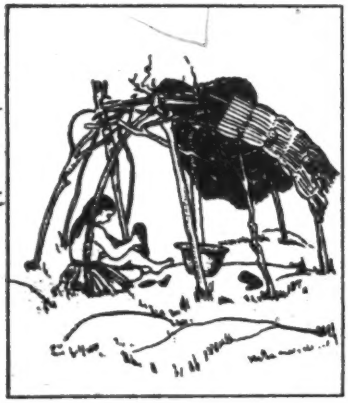

a

b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

343 The ramada or shade, čé·niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from [621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to
[281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states
[834] that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth
[281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven
291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down
[301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi''ič (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish in-
286 fluence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki''ič) of thick hide, deer neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very
294 hot weather or when making a long journey.
281 Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions
281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

291 their construction were all unintelligible.
281 M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called woñka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern [439] Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´kɛt (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and 302 parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

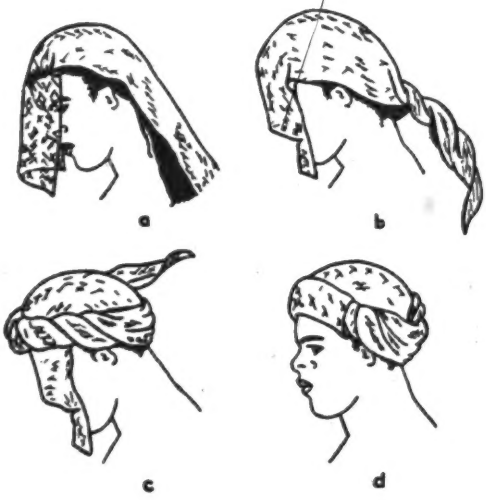

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net:
[171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had
304 at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin
[202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the
281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[681] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of
754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every-
539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 68] Western Mono NS25
W
Y
292
293

Fig. 8. Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonial dress. a, Waksachi male dancer at naming ceremony. b, woman dressed for any ceremony. c, Huhuna costume. d, shaman in full regalia. (Reconstructed from descriptions, photographs, and museum specimens.)

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´'ʻts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nʻt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 302 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yʻn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chehun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

302
386 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hıt, M.L.; white color, čau´dod, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

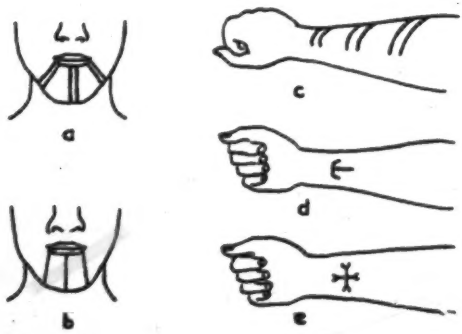

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 [776] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ñhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the bear wouldn't hurt him." [754] (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, b-l, 46, m-o.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, 223 only a chief could order one killed. He paid 485 $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be 237 paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 95).

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts to ʼhɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʼtɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[130] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʼta pŏ ʼdta ma ṭupɛ ʼnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʼpɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[281] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
inside out as it was worked off and the antlers
281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut
under the throat was sewed up and the head and
neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head
rested on the man's head, the skin hanging
down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that
the hunter looked out through the eye-holes,
with the skin tied under his chin, does not
sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the
weapons pushed the skin up at the back making
a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged
pose as he walked. These he cracked together
to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a
man could approach within twenty feet of
grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to
the silent arrow shot, others ran up to in-
vestigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive,
two to scare up the deer and one to kill by
waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons.
[276] J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and
lime and to vomit the night before hunting.
They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel,
and departed in the morning. The only tabu was
on saying where one was going, "if you told,
you would never see any deer." Neither has he
heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or
claims on special places since game was so
plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else
went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to
get deer, but a hunter would often take another
man along to help him, and this man received
some meat in return. S.G. believes that every-
[262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like
bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar
flesh although many people did.

J.P. said "there were five animals just
136 like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: ʒo´koi, elk,
wandered east of the swamps in the valley;
soi´yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs
in the valley, seen near the foothills at
Hadi´dɜt; duwe´sɜp, mountain sheep, had curved
horns and belonged in the mountains; wɔ´kno,
antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially
in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and
hoi, deer.

224 <u>Bear hunting</u>.--Bears were not ordinarily
shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as
game. The meat was not eaten by many people,
and the animal was held in considerable awe.
When deliberately sought to be killed, the
creature was roused during hibernation, forced
to run out into the open, and shot from ambush.
The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by
members of the Bear lineage, certain members of
which would use these parts in the Bear Dance.
As an illustration of the hunting method and
its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.--The plain bow (ta´dup) and sinew-backed bow (ṭap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse´ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

411 Of the ten plain Yokuts bows in the Mu-
322 seum of Anthropology, University of California, four still have the bark on the inner side. None shows much recurving, and they are no doubt the basis for Kroeber's comment that Yokuts "common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick...."[172] Plain bows had strings of čid·k twine.

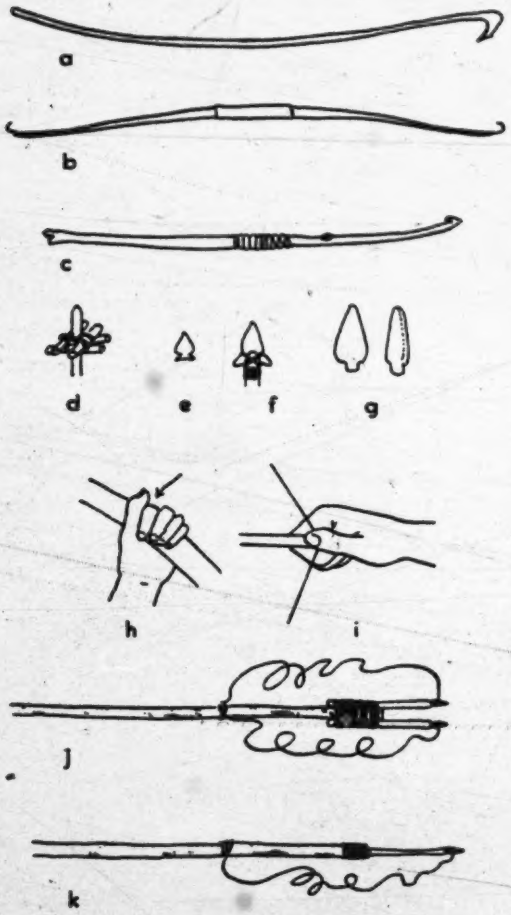

Fig. 10. Hunting and fishing equipment. a, rodent hook. b, sinew-backed bow (about 4 feet). c, self-bow (about 3 feet, unstrung). d, bird-arrow tip. e, obsidian tip of deer arrow. f, same showing fastening. g, flint tip of war arrow. h, bow grasp with arrow rest. i, arrow release. j, k, double and single harpoons.

[172] Handbook, 530.

411 As the best instrument of this group,
322 No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was
[237] glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as
[438] Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[173] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik·t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[174]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[175]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted.
> [439] Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [sic—no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

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[173] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[174] Handbook, 530.

[175] P. 373.

411 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's
237 sinew, splits it up with flint into small
322 fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were
237 about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´ked) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[175] S.G. did not know how the obsidian
[438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a
237 whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

[175] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, dilibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [824] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of buttonwillow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The 322 joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] P. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, e.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the
349 pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Out-
[237] side were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo''owin). They had their own booths up
[439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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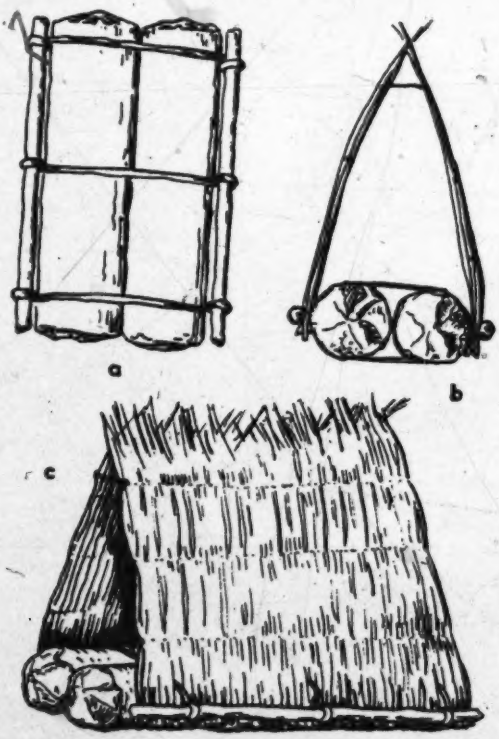

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po´hot), tree squirrels (sa´ñsañwide´´·t), gophers (hu´ñhed) and chipmunk (aho´´ŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Wakaachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into
[237] these were fitted bone points (pi´čе tu´h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish be-
278 came stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

226 Diving for fish was an indulgence of an able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all
481 who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

264 Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad), lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ntau) were desig-
262 nated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

262 Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
[263] salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[412] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dors[illegible]n, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small [illegible]ish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowt[illegible]du´du); a small fish with lateral fins th[illegible]ooked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval f[illegible] about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
222 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

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[263] [187] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
192 also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the
252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and
262 put in a basket to boil. They were later drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or
222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mːtski´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[139] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171] [188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and
[77] eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

A´ṭtu (manzanita berries) were used only
222 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just
262 for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket
262 and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

The load of wood was held on the back by
313 means of a tumpline. This passed over the
482 upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

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[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

Salt

258
263 Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi
[439] (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´d:t) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

412
322 A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ča´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191] Handbook, 530.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čane ʔel) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[188] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings of string. The liquid from the bulb was
[314] viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

The set of rock lifters consisted of a
415 pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[189] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters
[439] were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

The "set" of baskets comprised six types
285 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and
482 cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ʔaal) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[188] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[189] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled
[222] scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na)
415 was invariably of twined weave, coarse and close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n:ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´w:c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. [437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

757 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.
278 Ša´ʼapeš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with Ša'apeš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka´ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To´pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka´watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta´mak was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui´sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipat has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[274] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

281 the outer wrapping around a baby while strapped in its cradle. (M.L.)

Much the same process was used for deerskin, which was dehaired with a strong solution of deer brains. Some men were better tanners than others; while most men got enough deer brains in the course of their hunting to keep themselves supplied, dried brains could be bought from expert hunters who had more than they needed. The brains they mashed into flat cakes which they dried on warm rocks, then stored. J.P. said only deer brains were used: he pronounced cougar and bear brains "dangerous" when asked about them.

Hides were pegged out on sand, fur side down, for about a week. When dry they were folded by being stepped on and put in a storehouse, unless they were to be tanned at once, in which case the skin was not folded but was turned over and again pegged out, this time over damp sand or earth. A strong solution of deer brains, which had been soaking overnight, was worked into the fur. This was left for twenty-four to thirty-six hours and, if the brainy ointment had dried out meanwhile, the dry places were remoistened. When the skin was ready, a scraper of deer rib bone was used all over the hide to scrape off the fur; finishing was done by careful plucking with the fingers. On the inner side all adhering tissue was scraped off with a dull obsidian blade. The skin was then rinsed thoroughly in water and wrung out. A man alone would wring it by bunching it lengthwise and looping it around a ramada post or near-by strong sapling and twisting the ends. Two men would wring a hide by having one hold the two ends while the other turned a stick thrust through the loop. After as much water as possible had been pressed out, the skin was pulled out, stretched, and rubbed. At this stage care was taken not to get dirt on the clean damp skin, the work being done on tule mats or grassy ground. When ready for
[447] final drying the skin was hung lengthwise over a horizontal pole in the shade (today wire fences serve this purpose). To soften the skin later it was folded twice and pounded lightly with a round hand stone, then pulled and rubbed until soft. (J.P., S.G.)

Rabbitskin Blankets

The skins of rabbits were invariably saved for blankets. Their only other use, according to M.P., was as warm padding to be laid around babies on the cradle board. Such skins were split ventrally, after skinning; they were usually skins already mutilated. The normal method was to cut the skin under the throat and around the head in front of the ears. The four paws were cut off just above the toe joints. Then casing was commenced by pulling on the ears; when the skin was pulled back over the

281 shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

281 286 These strips were tied together into about twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet

281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four
inches long held in the right or left hand as
reed be. Work commenced at the top right. The
286 weft was passed through the adjacent twists as
described above. When the bottom was reached
the loose ends of the warp were tied together.
The loops at the top were slipped off the pole,
were given a couple of twists, and were sewed
across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ṭ·ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su''iu ṭ·ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čit·k string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of
[516] the smaller round tules (šu'yu). The worker
sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with
left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the
right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot
under the left thigh.[156] A pair of tules was

[156] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.G. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

285 taken up and tied in four places with long strands of string which were to be the twining wefts. The tules were added in pairs. Twining progressed over some six to ten tules in the first row before the string was tied in a single knot; then twining was commenced on the second, third, and fourth rows and continued in the same manner. The manipulation is shown in figure 12. While the first finger of the left hand held down one string which was turned back over the last pair of tules, the second and third fingers held the pair just being inserted by the right hand. The next move was to bring the loose string up over the latter pair, and have it replace the taut string which was released to become the next binding element. A well-finished mat would have a three-ply braid of fine tules sewed on all around the edge.

[516]

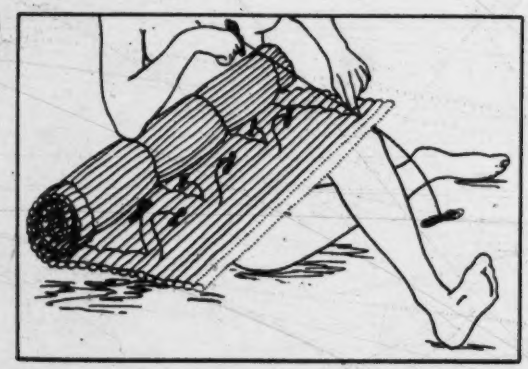

Fig. 12. Wukchumni method of twining small mats. Left hand about to press down on tightened wrapping, freeing right hand which will place next two tules (dotted in position) and pull under string up over them.

The same technique was used for all household mats, babies' mattresses, casings for feather ornaments, etc. Women invariably sat on mats when working outdoors in front of their homes (M.L.).

Flat tule (kots, "cattails") were little used.

Cordage and Nets

283 The strongest cord or rope (ho'), which was employed for all heavy purposes, was made from the inner bark of the button willow. Trees were ringed by means of an obsidian blade at intervals of three to five feet, depending on whether one or two sections could be gotten. The ringing and stripping were done in the fall. The inside bark peeled off readily after it was removed from the tree. It was laid out on flat

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čit:k) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čit:k, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (wa´dak) and tumpline
283 (šu´ñd:č, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches, then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a]

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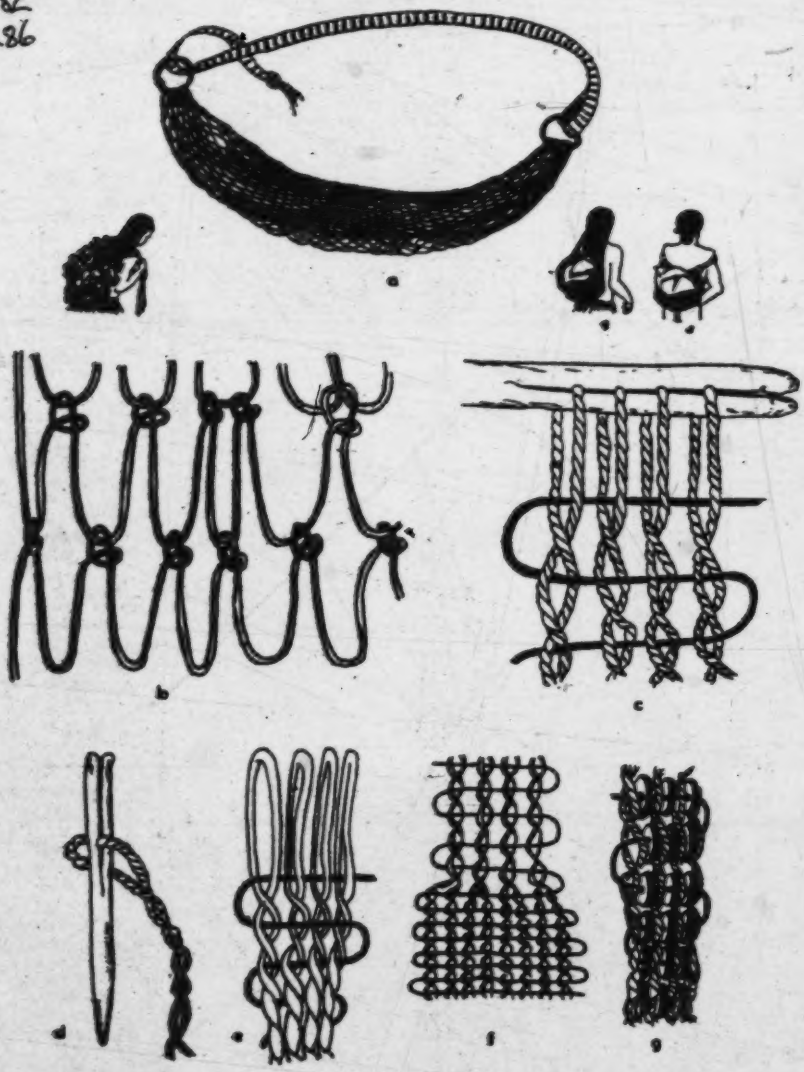

Fig. 13. Wukchumni netting and weaving techniques. a, carrying net and tumpline. b, enlargement of simple netting knot. c, enlargement of tumpline weaving. d, weaving needle. e, tumpline with warps and wefts expanded. f, change from 4 to 8 double-twisted warps. g, belt with shell discs inserted on weft between warps. Vignettes: manner of using tumpline.

286 hitches; then the netting stitch began. This was a simple knot and the same throughout, merely being reversed when work changed from right to left progression and vice versa. There was no rule which way the worker should start. Some workers endeavored to keep the length of twine with which they were working coiled in the right hand, others allowed it to dangle. Knots were made when a new cord joined on.

The loops at start and finish were about 4 inches deep, that is, the length of twine between knottings was some 8 inches. As work progressed toward the center of the net, the loops narrowed to 3 inches or 1-1/2 inches doubled, thus producing finer netting where most needed. As each knot was drawn taut the fingers of the left hand were spread along the cord of the loop next being formed, the adjustment of the fingers determining the amount of cord in the loop. No netting gauge was used. Each knot was made into (i.e., around) the cord of the loop above it save when widening and narrowing the width of the net was desired. Widening called for additional loops made into the same host loop. Narrowing was done by pulling two host loops together into one knot. When the last row of loops was reached they were strung on a coil of cordage similar to that at the start. The coil passed through the looped end of the tumpline.

There were 18 rows of loops in the net used for demonstration. It measured about 3 feet in length and 5 in breadth when pulled taut in one direction or the other. Spread equally in both directions when in use, it formed a capacious and adaptable hammock-like container.

Tumplines, which appear to be woven or even twined since the longitudinal strands are twisted in pairs, were made by what is more nearly a sewing process. (The same process was used in making rabbitskin blankets, according to two informants; see above.) Four cords, about 12 to 15 feet long, were twisted individually and doubled on themselves, forming loosely twisted two-strand cords about 6 feet long. The closed ends which formed a loop were inserted in the cleft of a split stick. They were pushed close together and, as they were practically identical and had been twisted at the same tension, the turns in each of the double cords were in line with their neighbors (see fig. 13, c-f). We will call these the "warp" cords. The loops of the warp cords were forced open with the forefinger of the left hand to a point about 4 inches below the binding stick, and here a cord ("weft") attached to a split-stick needle (awo'ka) was drawn through to its end. From this point on the weft cord was drawn back and forth, progressing through each series of adjacent turns in the four warp cords (see fig. 13, c, e). When the weft was drawn tight, it disappeared from view save at the sides of the band which

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi"ɛ̆, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikɛt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Wakaachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking
[12] was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

285 materials have been analyzed by Merrill.[200] In the present paper under the heading "Woman's Household Equipment" is a description of basket types; a comparative display of shapes and techniques is shown in figures 2 and 3, and plate 1 shows a typical collection of Yokuts baskets.

[461] The informant M.L. said that not all women made baskets: "anyone could learn that wanted to but some were too lazy."

All Yokuts coiled baskets were made on a multiple-rod foundation, the favorite material being a grass called toša´kis. The wrapping was usually a split root called ho´pot, which came in 4- to 6-foot lengths. The outer bark was scraped off and the interior split into two parts by holding one half in the teeth and splitting the other away with the fingers. K.G. started a coiled basket for demonstration.

To start a coiled basket a piece of the wrapping material about four inches long was shaved down to a point at one end. This end was rolled into a tiny coil, the loose end projecting to the maker's right. Another short piece of the same material and of fine grade (i.e., split thin) was set with one end under the turn of the coil and held in place with the fingers of the left hand. The coil, with inserted binding, was of a size to fit securely within the worker's left thumb and forefinger. The right hand began the wrapping process. The free end of the wrapping was poked repeatedly through the center hole of the coil with the aid of an awl until all the coil was wrapped and the center hole filled. By this time the first round of the coil had been made and the next wrappings were passed around the turn of the foundation "rod" between the previous stitches: a skilled basketmaker did not split even these small beginning stitches. Now a transition was made from the single foundation to the multiple-grass filler which would continue throughout the rest of the basket. This was done by inserting a few grasses under the end of the single "rod," and more and more were added as the coiling progressed until the desired foundation thickness was obtained.

The loose ends of the foundation grasses, which jutted out to the right from 2 to 4 feet, were kept under control by a small ring of the wrapping material (nowadays more often a twist of string) which could be slipped up and down the bundle of grass stems and through which each new grass was inserted before its butt was poked in under the last turn of wrapping. Only one grass was added at a time and these at about three-inch intervals, depending, of course, on the dimensions and coarseness of the basket under construction.

Work progressed from left to right (clockwise) from the worker's point of view, and for

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[200] Kroeber, Handbook, 531-533; Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry.

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nop), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hač). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail top-
[237] knot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to
285 which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick
335 foundation and tule mattress, was used exclusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated
[184] cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by means of one set of cords. The cradle frame
335 (with its permanent mat) was called a ʼm ʼlıč; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ţıñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands
[439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home ʼtın (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoıč, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo ʼko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi ʼyo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi ʼdiduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

436 attached to them differ slightly from in-
804 formant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok,
435 the measurement around the hand, all informants agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called hista''a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a equaled 20 cents. A single strand which reached from the wrist around the elbow and back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously half-hitched strand covering the same distance

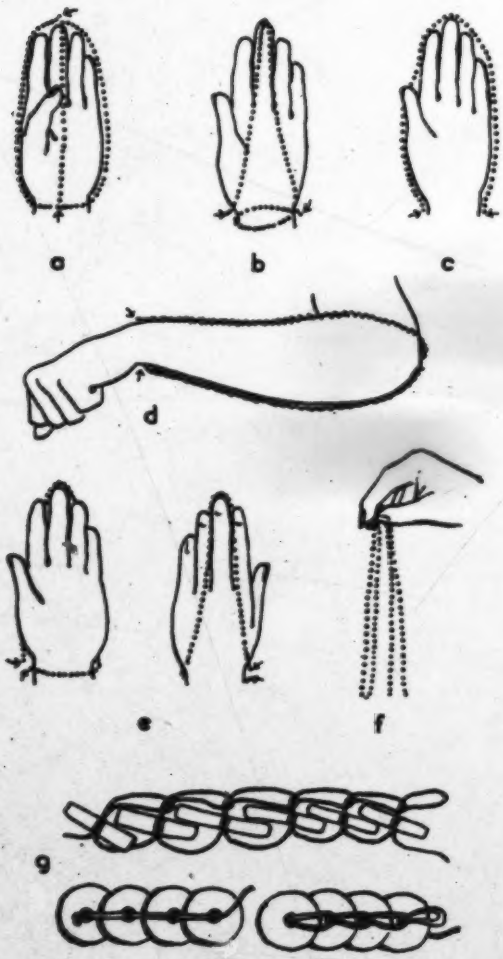

Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Wakachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
436 states that the unit of measurement in the
804 north was the chok; one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu´dipi
2. po ̄noi	7. no´mčin
3. so´pin	8. mo´ñus
4. ha´po ̄ni	9. no´nip
5. yu´tsinuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205]A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206]Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207]Handbook, 498.

[208]P. 375.

802 11. ti'uv yɛt 100. yɛt pɪč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pɪč
21. poñoi ṭi'uv yɛt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

805 Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronuncia-
821 tion of words; such differences are indicated
192 by the individual's initials.

Times of day.--

sala´lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala´dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te´yao ču´ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču´kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču´ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu´šu ču´ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne´wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a´wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni´u´ši: evening (M.P.)
toi´yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'ɪ´nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o´piu: day, light (M.L.); u´piu: day, light (M.P.)
he´če u´piu: today (M.P.)
šala´dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati´opo´do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo´do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda´o: Monday
pu´ne'uñɪč: Tuesday
supe'a´ta: Wednesday
hai´'obata: Thursday
yɛča´o: Friday
ča´odɛtpi: Saturday
no´mčɛn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o´piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo´da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi´yo opo´do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u´pɛs: moon (M.L.); u´pɛš (J.B.)
hača´m u´pɛš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

[209] Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

805 hiam mapa´nši u´paš: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai´šu u´paš: old moon (J.B.)
821 u´paš tawi´či: waning moon [lit., dying
moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi´tal: now dying, said
192 of waning moon (M.P.)
kamu´tu u´paš: dark of moon [lit.,
lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u´paš [or opo´do] kai´'iyu doi'ye´di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he' u´šat nanu´nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 Stars, constellations.--

192 toi´tas: any star (M.L.); čo´teč: any star (J.B.)
tawa´nat: morning star (M.L.); tawa´nal: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipa´čnam hi´am ti´ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo´d apo´d, a´mad nam).
ni´ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)
goi´yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L.,J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]
hoda´otšad: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho´dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

823 met i´dak: a large stream, such as
192 Kaweah River
po´čuč idak: a small stream, such as
Lime Kiln Creek
pa´'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

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[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kɜd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
komu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ta: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyɜd pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 <u>Directions</u>.--These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´tu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pɜn: up
ä´dɜd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mɜts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´tu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wɜč; to the west, tokɜlyu´wɜč; to the south, humtɜ´nɜn.

do´mtu i´dɜkao: upstream
da´tu i´dɜkao: downstream

805 <u>Seasons</u>.--Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The
824 choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom, women began repairing their

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.

821 ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)

192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɛš), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɛč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɛš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɛt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɛšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

[525]

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

526 would not run if his companion made poor strokes.

A variant of the game, in which only one ball was used, necessitated opponents' fighting for it all around the course. J.P. said this form of the game was generally condemned as "too rough" and 'no fun because there was more fighting than running."

In the foothill region, where there were no moiety divisions, the composition of opposing sides followed the will of the players -- friends, co-villagers, or relatives might join together or be opposed. In any case, the opposing side was called gu´'i, as were the complementary sides in mourning ceremonies. Women played as well as men, and occasionally even opposed them. There was no seasonal discrimination against the game save that brought about by excessive rain or disbanding for summer camping. Even during the week of the great mourning ceremony the game might be played, provided it was taken some distance from the scene of mourning and the shouting was not excessive. (J.P., S.G.)

When a hoop was used instead of a ball, the field was marked with a stake at each end. The hoop, about 18 inches in diameter, was of peeled willow bound with leather strips. The stick, about 4 feet long, was bent at one end. The bent end of the stick was hooked under the hoop which was tossed through the air to a partner. If the partner, holding up his stick, could succeed in catching it on the fly, he could run with it to the turning stake, where he would toss it by means of his stick to a third partner, or to the first man if but two were playing. A hoop which fell to the ground had to be tossed from this point with the stick. To be the first to return to the starting stake counted as one in tallying (J.P., S.G.).

Wukchumni and Yaudanchi women played this form of the game just as they did the one with the ball; Kroeber implies that this was exclusively a woman's game with the Chukchansi.[213]

Hoop and pole.--This game (wuku´wič), which consisted of casting a straight pole at a rolling hoop, was a favorite masculine pastime. The aim was not to pierce the hoop with the pole, but to cause the hoop to fall atop the pole as it came to rest. This counted one (J.P.). Kroeber gives the name of the game as hochuwish, the pole, payas, the "buckskin-bound ring," tokoin, and the "carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house" as i´n. "The game ... extended as far north as the Chukchansi."[214]

Chip and pole.--The object of this game (ai´ku'ič) was to shove a small block of wood toward a stake by means of a pole cast with a long underhand motion at the block. The block or "chip" (ai´yiš), about 2 inches in diameter and 3 to 4 inches long, was of peeled willow.

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[213] Handbook, 539.

[214] Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

Dice game.--This game (huču´wač) was
525 played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut
[177] shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wi-a-tak, or ko-mai-eh, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´wan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Pagse (p. 75) mentions dice of snail shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

525 Informants and recorders disagree on scoring, and it may well be that there were local or even individual terms agreed upon at the time of play. They range as follows.

According to M.L.: two face up, 1; five face up, 1; all up, 4; all down, 4.

According to Powers: two face up, 1; five face up, 1.

According to Kroeber (Yaudanchi): two face up, 1; five face up, 2.

The score was kept by a woman who took no part in the game. The scorekeeper for any game was called ho'o´po'ič. She held the scoring sticks, peeled willow rods about 1/4-inch in diameter and 6 inches long, and the stakes offered, and was "paid a little" for her part. The Wukchumni, Michahai, and Chukaimina used 18 counters; according to Kroeber the Yaudanchi used 12. A special manner of holding the sticks, in groups of threes between the fingers, as they were taken from the pile was in vogue with the Wukchumni. Different stages in scoring were designated: mulu´lšima, when all the counters are taken from the pile; čamšu´ma, when one side has all the counters; kayušu´ma, when each side gets all the counters alternately; tu´ši, the winning score, which is having possession of all the counters twice in succession, i.e., 2 čamšuma.

Women gambled as heartily as men. The stakes rarely ran over an equivalent of $2.50, and might comprise bead money, baskets, or some object which an opponent specifically desired.

Menstruating and pregnant women played, but a pregnant woman would pick up a little stick and thrust it in her belt or sit on it, "to bring good luck." No explanation could be offered for this by informants.

Hand game.--The game (hi'u´tniwič) was played only at night, usually outside by the assembly fire. The rationalization given for this practice was merely "that it didn't look pretty in the daytime" (M. and J.P.). The method of play for the Yaudanchi is vividly reported by Kroeber in an account too long for reprinting here.[516] As with the Wukchumni, the marked piece was guessed for. Wukchumni of both sexes enjoyed the game and often played in opposing groups. Women hid the bones under a blanket; men held them behind their backs. The [516] sexes sang and sat differently: women sat cross-legged, men knelt and thumped the rhythm of the singing with one knee. The singing was started by the women and followed by a phrase from the men so an alternating progression of song was made. The following lines were given by M.P.; the first phrase in each line was repeated three times.

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[516] Handbook, 539.

525 Women:

oi yo no´ ma na ho we ha´ na·

Men:

hoi lo wi´ le hoi yo ho´ wi le·

Women:

me´ wal he yo´ ha we hin nim

Men:

min lo we´ ta pi soi li´l hin nim

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mi soi yo ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he'ne´'wia. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[219]

524 Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as delak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[220]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

[177] Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

[177] [219] Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[220] Ibid., 540.

Musical Instruments

Y 534 All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the M [534] Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Y 198 Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was ~~practiced~~. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš´k'nata; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y 534 The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´owid) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534 The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak 237 trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (šo´gon) grew all through the 249 foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

276 pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but usually there were one or two older persons,
249 men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u´tuna ta´ñhi mita´m ṭu´dan nip ta´ptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi´am aku´m ṭada´ki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

276 Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (ňogon). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they might be taken about and sold; they were said
[435] to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulči´na, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cyl-

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[223] A full account of Tubatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224] The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogon) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [169] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´wiš) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'upič. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

<u>Pipes</u>.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dkid) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully [788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called ŭuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[225] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but were clumsy affairs.[226] The shape follows the 323 old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

[225] Handbook. 538.

[226] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lı´mık), "wolf" (iwe´yıt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehı´ʒıt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly [624 the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi-
622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment
624 of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's
622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not
556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers (doctors, singers, winatums) involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn·'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn·nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778 825] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed [304] mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had no special mark or manner of dress. But when [293] traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived ~~at a~~ village, he
202 went directly to the chief's house. A mat was set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he was through his collation, gave his message. [437] If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a [293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ñed), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ıt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Cere-
624 mony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his [574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut [571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

624 that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa´tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Panchó spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali [winatum] after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) was diya. Limik [falcon] was hiauto or war [825] leader as was also poiyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide´t:ts)[231] was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho´toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide´tič and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta´sow:k (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and Ka´osuna (a Telamni).

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[231] Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelmani) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The [683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of poŝas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529,
[P. 989] Wukchumni

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the terms tokelyuwič and nutuwič were known to both
619 M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is ṭokelyu´wič. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dikao and da´ṭu idikao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
582 mony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sow:k (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušl:l:n (Rattlesnake); Kapl:l:n (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´s:š (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

616 825 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

616 It is clear that the moiety was not a basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 825 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616 825 192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
   ṭu´'ud: rattlesnake
   ñahõ´'õ: grizzly bear
   ṭa´'ₐšwide´'ₐt: black-and-white woodpecker
   du´hun: cinnamon bear
   aho´'ot: weasel
   sañsañwide´'ₐt: tree squirrel
   po´'hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahõ'õ got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´'iyu: coyote
   a´ḍja: fox
   tu´ned: wildcat
   wahu´sₐt: cougar
   iwe´yₐt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´'i: dove
   so'o´no: pigeon
   hₐ´mₐd: quail

No comment.

616
825
192

4. ṭu´hɪt: eagle
u´wɪk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´ʼɪt: tree squirrel
aha´ʼot: weasel
po´ʼhot: ground squirrel
hə´ñhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɪp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234]This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773] thought that, if a girl ate quail, when [825] her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´ši:t) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyi:t, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´dumi:ts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tuned) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles,
825 bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary
782 that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure
the continued good will of the animals. There
432 was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

J.P. described the ritual for bears and
825 eagles.
782

539 If a man killed a bear, he would take it
to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal
432 had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to
782 redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke
while the hunter made lots of money." Then the
432 hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or
three chiefly men in a village they would
divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing
feathers, another the leg bones, and another
the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the
meat. "The chief would not let those people
gathered there go away until all the meat was
eaten." When the killer had finished, the
chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in
water so that it would be revived and return to
its supernatural home. As he did this he said,
"tundi´ta po´dta ma tupı´nita" (? ? you go
up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter
when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
782 called his people to pay for it. The coyote
lay on a blanket, the people threw down their
432 strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it
would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man
"buried the whole thing right then because no-
body ate that meat."

825 Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduwıts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these
informants could recall for Wukchumni people.
They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other
tribes had the same family totems:. "they were

[237]See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

X 825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846] infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, her mother or grandmother made the first cradle 854 for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177] is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that [343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či ''up, či ''up, či ''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

[787] The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat
[553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was
[853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the
[314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (tanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro-
[177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

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846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The
[757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no'mčin, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po'ñoi nomčin, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not
[551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi'ti lonu'wis) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very
862 gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and
pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those
things better and wanted them all the time."
Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling
them what they must do. M.L. said naughty
children were whipped. One suspects this was
an innovation due to Mission influence; even
today all Yokuts observed treat their children
with a comfortable firmness of speech and
manner which achieves satisfactory results
without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking,
much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning
childbirth and children. It was lucky to give
birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[843] or female "would grow with the moon." If a
woman was sterile, it was because she had
played at intercourse with boys when she was a
little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility
to carelessness during menstruation: "if a
girl eats meat at that time it makes something
hard so there is no room for a baby." One of
M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until
she "drank something" which cured her; she has
had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman
named O´mo "had no children because she ate too
much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad
fortune, though they entailed special care, if
they were to survive. If one twin died, the
other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman
had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would
have them also. She had never heard of anyone,
native or white, having triplets and, when told
of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill
the mother. She herself expressed a physical
fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been
withheld with others from this publication. As
with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins
were classed with siblings and called by the
same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another
relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the
same term as that relative; thus, a father's
sister's cousin would be addressed as father's
sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child
(ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[249]
Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[249] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo´d:s (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´h:t (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with 431 them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiǰ, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[164] [243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

582 would be called hokoi ʼšan yiwi ʼnĕi (sister
marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
582 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two
recently married young Waksachi who are second
588 cousins. He added that he thought "people to
the north" married their cousins. No special
punishment was attempted in the old days when
such a marriage occurred. The parents of both
participants, having done their best to prevent
it by verbal argument, would not, and apparent-
[558] ly could not, do anything more. There was un-
doubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how
far this affected the offspring of such a union
cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages
is in itself an indication that commonsense
entered, according to the particular circum-
stances. J.B. said that such marriages "never
occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there
is no genealogical evidence to prove the con-
trary, we can scarcely accept a complete nega-
tive. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within
the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself,
provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If
he had been betrothed to a girl at her first
menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek
her bed at night. But in doing so he committed
himself to a serious union with the girl and to
obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
going for the morning bath and thence to his
591 parents' home for breakfast. During the day he
would fish or hunt, taking the game to his
wife's home and remaining there for the evening
meal. If he did not go there he hung about the
sweat house and slept there at night; this was
especially true if the girl's home was already
crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked
upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely
lasted out a year. If the girl became preg-
nant at once, she usually wanted to stay with
her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the
husband's home or to a house of their own.
When gathering seeds, or on any other food-
collecting expedition, the young wife joined
her mother if it were physically possible. If
she did not accompany her mother, then she did
not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but
attended to household tasks and helped in the
preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman
were wholly independent in their choice of a
mate, and especially so in their married life.
But the parents of both participants exerted
strong personal influence. They frequently ar-
ranged betrothals at puberty and made every
effort to see that the marriage not only took
place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each
other by the reciprocal term ma ʼkĕi from the
time the betrothal took place.

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift
between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple
584 to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
stigation of the man's parents, the girl's
mother would scold her if the fault were the
girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her
son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquet-
ry on the part of the girl or failure as a pro-
vider of meat and excessive gambling on the
part of the man were the usual causes of
trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman,
or man of prestige who was likely to have them
functioning on an equal status in the same
menage. They were usually domiciled separately,
but within the same village group. When a man
lived with two women of separate villages, one
or the other wife would be in a superior posi-
tion with respect to the man's provision of
food and wood and the amount of time he spent
in her home and in attention to her children.
A second wife was sought if the first were
sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or
merely because the husband desired another
feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L.
claimed that a third wife would be resented by
the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly
based on the experience of her mother's brother
who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the
two wives, and their husband abandoned his
courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L.
said her father's sister "had two men at the
same time and they all slept together." Poly-
andry was also known to the Entimbich; in both
groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative
pressure of the couple's parents and relatives,
took place if a woman were sterile yet fought
against a second wife, if either spouse were
slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility.
"A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one
who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman
has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.).
"A man can't gamble all his money all the time.
Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to
get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took
all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she
went home. Usually, when a couple separated,
a man left his wife in possession of their
house if it were he who was in the wrong or who
wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em'-tim'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawi'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected 586 from a wife. The husband was entirely within 837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse [59A] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As [181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and [767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono·čɪm) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonočɪm) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 All Wukchumni informants stated that it
767 was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai ''ɨs, who was cremated
[766] by his two wives, Mawo ˈkono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečikuˈdo, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tump-
286] line and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinɨmniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the
767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[347] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[347] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´nıč, and another known mother, Tu´nıč. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonočım was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočım. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočım were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočım were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´n:č). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´t:t and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´tep, wi´tipeč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witep: baby boy
mo´k:s witep: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witep mu´k:s: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

561 hiam pahata muk:s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
goi'yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
wit:p mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
hiam pahata mitač muk:s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
moho'do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over
modo''o mu'k:s: old woman, past child-bearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tapni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

If a man wanted to live long or wished for
[237, 432] other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) λ If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

λ [neglecting the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there [where his body was] but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

787 "What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
778 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 Although theoretically any one might seek
778 power by this means, and the dream was its only
787 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɛnl].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɛč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 Supernatural power (tɛpni) bestowed by the
778 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɛč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 a] Wukchumni.

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew
825 (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija´haj:t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna-dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like
[237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with t:pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[759] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt,
292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman
237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer
755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or
522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (abo'ot) skin.

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lːmːk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen.
845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainːč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 <u>Contagious magic</u>.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
[056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun, grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
754 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
756 would change into an owl that went and talked
789 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

756 Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form
778 of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

789 Flying power.--The power of flying through space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

756
789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

756 Shamans were feared because of their
754 ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

683 When a shaman was believed to be a public
756 menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´pat, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:pni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. The rocks were [531] usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., 823 dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks 778 of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.
539

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed
77 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain:c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[359] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the
789 special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off"
776 [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[360] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

5. The power of flying, known to northern
756 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
789 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
237 Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagledown cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

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[359] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[360] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 7. J.B. accused Čokon:k, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokon:k used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ain:č). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chumut informant, also accused Čokon:k of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho'toi), [778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainəč), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainəč) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

756 At about this time Haičača's mother's
cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

596 11. The only case known to my informants
of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
625 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ı lkın. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epıs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[365]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an 362] ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring 825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [365] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 115b] Wukchumni

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in
[301] the fields in spring as they would startle the
snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the
[823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused
by ghosts.

Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush
825 and whistled to people when it was time for
them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no
other bird or animal who did such a thing.

At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming
776 pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who
pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger
went to swim there, she would grab his feet and
pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a
flood came bringing quantities of sand which
spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it
552 cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with profession-
al entertainment occurred not more than once a
month in any one village, as there was so much
intertribal and intervillage visiting for all
such festivities. The kind of dances that were
given by the shamans depended upon the chief's
choice. His winatum would tell the shamans
what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver
Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for enter-
tainment called the kam or watiyod performed
by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed
purely for the entertainment of spectators.
Whether the dance was always the same, i.e.,
had specific songs and steps which differenti-

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face [302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were al- 765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be [756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment 534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or 765 four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the 541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam 535 or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by
shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and
756 for making money for themselves. Usually two
or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance
could be made at any place at any season. While
it was wholly profane in character, it was,
nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[302] down glued across her forehead, wore a deer-skin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore
533 no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 Usually there were four or five men and
302 four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭu hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

533 two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other four were Wukchumni.

533 1. ta´wɜt ṭɜ´nima tawatawɜl [repeat 4 times]
539 dead maybe motion of hand feathers in dancer's hands

soisoi ma´yɜn tawɜt tɜnima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša tawɜt ṭɜnima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi mayɜn
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´tɜn ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is speaking]

hu´nai hiwaitɜn ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo nɜm
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´mɜt na ṭɜpni ṭumɜt na ṭɜpni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hɜt na· na´hɜt
[nonsense line]

kate´ wahɜṇ na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʼõ o´mta na ma hanɜ´nwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭepa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

[267] Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

5335. aiyama´tːn na pa´nːn
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yːn do´mto panːn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink sprimg water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsônweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an imformant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
(taña´yːn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
262 in the early spring about February to March;
"while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.).
276 Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
787 under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent
276 long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
787 supernatural power might take it each year, or
276 every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it was announced twelve days in advance by a wina-
[262] tum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the time they were expected to awake several women
276 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
533 mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi· uka´naka tañá´ya lu´lhe' lula´lhe'
Arise. Drink tañai. Walk! Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
276 person would come, give the drinker a feather
755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
276 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
787 her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always
blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat
and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The
leader, relatives, and children, "all who had
anything to do with the drinking," took part.
The chief made a little speech recapitulating
the events and causes that led up to this
literal "break fast," for none of these persons
had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time
those who had actually drunk tañai took only
a minute piece of meat, which they invariably
vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say.
Even this is inferential, for informants de-
nied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation
into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or
even spiritual experience, for many of the
drinkers already had dream helpers. The be-
trothal preparations were no different from
those normally made by a boy's parents. On
such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if
one of the girls who had drunk tañai was de-
sired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they
would go to her home before the feast and array
her for it with gifts which they brought. Even
if the offer was accepted, the young couple
would not marry at once but "waited until they
were grown up" (M.P.).

Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
276 thetic. It was used both internally and as a
757 poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances
permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the
minimum, but two or three days were preferred.
When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to
have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poul-
tices were made of mashed leaves of the plant
and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that
were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's
experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to
help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister
suggested it and her husband prepared it. The
sick man drank only gruel and water for six
days; then he drank the decoction. He got up
and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and
jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head
ached. He saw things flying about which terri-
fied him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush
and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered,
his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. [237] said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle.A The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

A [in the Bear Dance. -Ambrist]

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins
237 fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers
[534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their
533 songs follow:

539 1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·že·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-
[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!"

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ:pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
catfish, catfish, catfish

e´base, e´base, e´base
trout, trout, trout

796
539
533

koko ´čo, koko ´čo, koko ´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa ´psu, tapa ´psu, tapa ´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha ´ho· ´ho· ´, ha ´ho· ´ho· ´, ha ´ho· ´ho· ´

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja ´´amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 M.P.'s description differs from this some-
[756] what, and it may be that shamans differed in
[184] the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta ´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropri-
796 ately than the correct but abstract name "wish-
756 ing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

> ...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[372] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

One of the participants at Diapnuša was
224 J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill;
[534 J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´miš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[372] Ibid., 504-506.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
[302] his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was <u>not</u> the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would
522 pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
[786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

796 825 Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

224 The informant Tm[illegible] [illegible]een Pušl·l·n get snakes for a dance at [illegible] (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´m·s. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu ˇčuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or m·ts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokon·k (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiw·n (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on. [285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi ˇč·t, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed [426] money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´n:č and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´´us. (The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 124 b] Wukchumni

769
431 normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent,
tu ñwas.)
437 To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or [illegible] was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

Y 769 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in
431 trading on this one- to three-months' loan and
437 to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of
Y actual money, it was equated in commodities.
[224] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were
[558] laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the
[756] Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was
Y not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mour-
[426] ner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y

Reciprocity

769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was
Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe
M in the entire function.

769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi fami-
648 lies who stood in this reciprocal relation were
767 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.125b] ~~Washoe Map~~ NS25

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them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiw:ñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

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The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" [the Wukchumni Pohots] were not there.

[P. 126 a] Wukchumni

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate''ač or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

175 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
769 walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the ranchería I
[361] counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

769 767 152 Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the tonoč:m, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[279]

769 532 Effigy-making.--The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[279] Ibid., 73.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Mutoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow:ts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, although J.P. [293] and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´n:l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Ša´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonıl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
769 was called gokosyu ñıt. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, pre-
769 ceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hı´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants
were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.);
789 the two sides might be composed of shamans from
different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am
769 inclined to accept the first opinion which I
think not only represents the correct theory
but was practically possible in the days before
the decline of population. As indicated by
J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a
single tribe could provide several shamans at
once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal
[616] alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich
and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides
took up western and eastern positions on the
assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the
[152] contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
769 one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonoč·m who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč·m, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´t·č) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonoč·m approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonoč·m danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Wakachi, if any Western Mono tonoč·m were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and thrown over their shoulders into the baskets.
767 When the dance ended the tonočim retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is
[783] purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners might look forward to release from their grief.
[152] These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the
426 payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ıšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'išna mayın; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ıšna mayın; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely
756 because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other
789 informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kasyu´ñıt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyıč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kıč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tıs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (tu´dtud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonık, although J.B. had seen Ma´mıl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
769 mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana´nıt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowıš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´mıts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Ju´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[20a] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[20a] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

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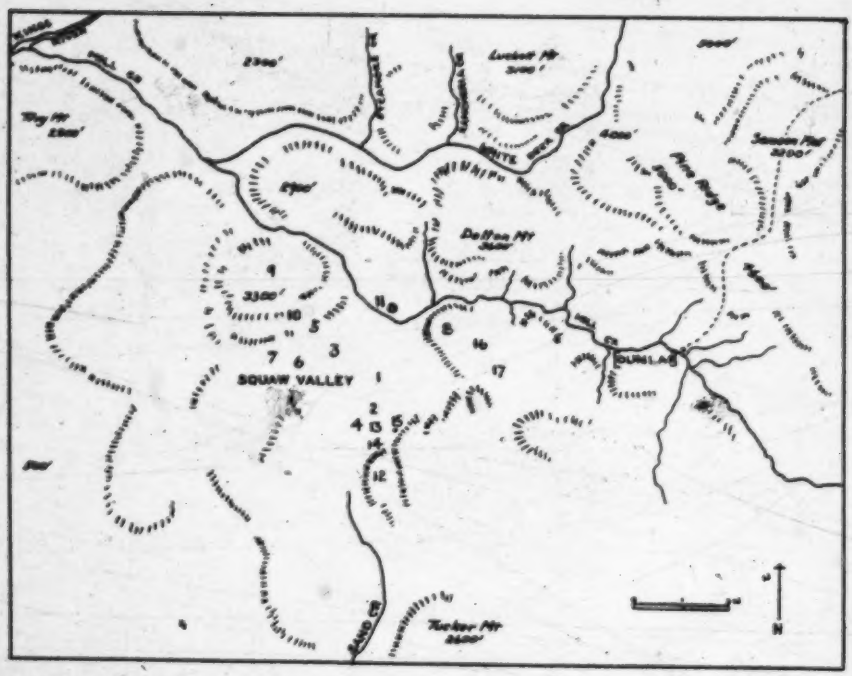
133
361



Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
668 and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
796 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´pawič, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

668 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
796 J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b, --- Analyst]

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands, moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
535 was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a— Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Wakaachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

131 7. šu´lnao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po´o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, [789] the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 134b] ChuKAIMINA

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´'ˌč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lˌč) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču ̃ša). The pieces used

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[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wičı´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages,
825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´hıl: eagle
š´iš´i: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukobıč, Western Mono)
ṭuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wihı´šıt: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

lımık: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahō´'ō: bear (bi´owıši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother,
625 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 deer conti[illegible] the bird might be fed deer
825 liver. Whe[illegible] mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the
648 Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Wakzachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ła); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

796 mourning or for mother (epla´oiša); Shamans' Contest (heša´oišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiya´la); [rattlesnake, te´´el]; shaman's pleasure dance (ka´mkam).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

769 Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 136 b] Chukaimina

769 Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Wak-
sachi, Chukaimina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.
Mo. said her father, Maka´na, participated
746 in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pušl.l.n. "They
had little whistles to call the snakes." She
never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M.
told her."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.1379]

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM-B	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
PM-P	Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Papers.
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Reports.
YU-PA	Yale University, Publications in Anthropology.

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PLATE AND EXPLANATION

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 140] Miwok NS 16
Western Mono NS 25

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Explanation of Plate 1

Yokuts Specimens in Case 76, Room 15, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Miwok specimens to left of verticals, Western Mono specimens to right of verticals. (Photograph by courtesy of Peabody Museum, 1939.)

Top: large ceremonial basket flanked by other baskets of gift or ceremonial type. Across center: twined ware -- left, sieve with stripes; center, fish basket; right, seedbeater over coiled ware circular winnowing tray (perhaps a shaman's), flanked by small bottleneck or "treasure" baskets. Three fine bottleneck baskets with quail plume ornament. Bottom: gambling trays, mush basket type, small mush baskets. On floor, right: stave dice, arrow straightener, pair of hiding bones; center, bone awls and cane arrows; right verticals, looped rocklifters, plain bow, digging stick, and shaman's staff (black).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 141] Miwok NS 16
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PLATE 1. YOKUTS SPECIMENS, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

II: Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono

BY
A. H. GAYTON

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
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[P. 142 c]

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PREFATORY NOTE

"Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography," of which the present paper forms Part II, was prepared originally as a single publication. In Part I will be found a general introduction and certain illustrations relating to the cultural materials described in both parts.

I wish to reiterate here my indebtedness to Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) for the section on the Chukchansi Yokuts: the data are hers, their organization mine.

A.H.G.

November 8, 1945

[p. 142d]

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INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Hutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawi (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.G. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Sanwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watum, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M. Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

[p.142 e]

PHONETIC KEY

104

a, e, i, o, u	as in Spanish
ɛ	as in met
ɪ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German schön
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
ᵢ	raised vowel, whispered
g	as in gig
j	as in jig
ň	as in sing
š	as in share
č	as in church
ṛ	trilled r
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration, as in hand
ʔ	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
´	accented syllable

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[P. 142 g]
[P. 142 f Contains no Text]

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

PART II: NORTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO

BY

A. H. GAYTON

YOKUTS: NORTHERN FOOTHILLS

CHOINIMNI

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 143 b]
Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill
131 Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wač was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

649 Prior to 1860 the social relations be-
177 tween the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white
439 domination of their country. In the 1850's the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western
Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore
Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves su-
186 perior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the
[197] valley, the upland Monachi were found to be
treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield fami-
ly. However, with characteristic fairness,
Mayfield said that this might be due to his
family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that,
had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the
Monachi, these Indians probably would have been
the friends and the Yokuts would have proved
equally inimical.[3]

619 What is clear throughout is this: that
utmost friendliness prevailed among all the
423 Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along
these waterways, particularly with regard to
fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt
the north bank of Kings River to be theirs,
between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toi-
hicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to
occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D)
during the spring salmon run. These neighbors
remained there while the fish dried, which they
then took home to store. Similarly there were
the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and
acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the
eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there
was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable
foods; probably for that very reason, nothing
[574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal
visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni,
Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined
on such occasions.

574 The Choinimni, for their part, were annual
484 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they
were hospitably received by the Tachi. An ex-
[501] cursion to the lake on tule balsas is described
by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them
574 supplies and equipment for camping. The large
502 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills,
484 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the
river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[3]Ibid.

[text continues on p. 145]

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[P. 144] Western Mono N525

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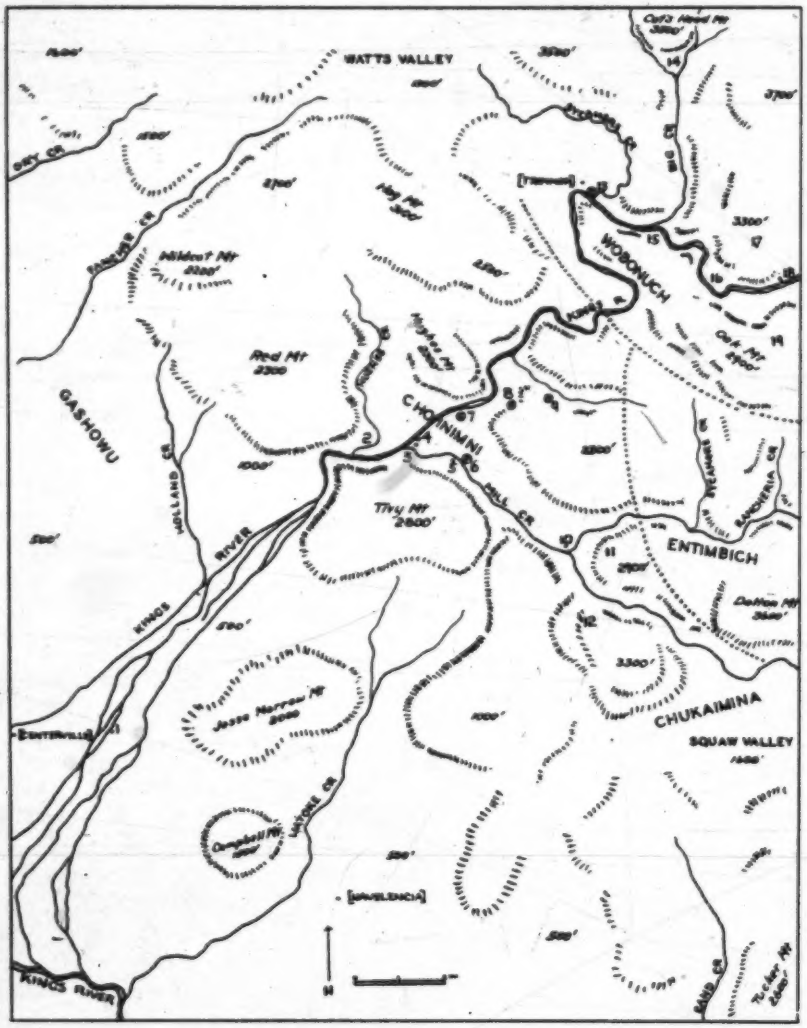
361



Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.
103

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

---

[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

[P. 145b] Western Mono NS25

M
103 Wobonuch sites:
131 14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowin: suinawe junction or fork
361 16. paha´wet": meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewet": Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wet": fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
342 Dwellings.--A house was called tomo´'hıš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wıts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual [352 hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The 513] doorway of the house was called ti´šıč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was [352 covered thickly with tule mats, with extra 513] layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. [252 otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in [533 it, though a man might dance or a flutist play 524] if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ša) was played there.

343 Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built 251 close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander,
262 made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

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Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint, put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.---As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sɔt) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[35]

323 Pottery (ki´wıš).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwıš; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´šın, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´tıl) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called šı´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper [802] called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[35] Ibid.

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač:n w:natum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and [611] official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

624 An official speaker was called di´'e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [43] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not 825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɛ:l: eagle
naho´'o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɛ:t: long tail cat[18]
hɔts: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i'o´i': roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´nhɔt: weasel
lɛ'mɛk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi´lɛts: fisher (or martin)
ta´čai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´'ɛk: blackbird
ma´o: tree (grey?) squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɛn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɛts: condor
tono´hɔp: black bear
wehu´šɛt: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´'i: dove
to´nol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɛš: beaver
šo´'šo': kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɛ´čɛl: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɛn: acorns

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[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iweyɛt, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono ˈt:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the 767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

The story of the man who followed his 765 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., 773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on 302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream 787 (ana ˈtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was 276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en ˈt:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wɨs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (hɛ´šɛš na´mɛt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hɛšɛš namɛt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɛt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɛ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or
787 three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭ´pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi´te luni ˇza) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 <u>Mourning ceremony</u>.--This ceremony (luni ˇza) lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day.[i] the Huhuna Dance
535 in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
756 (hə´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
769 herent description can be followed, the contest was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušlɨlɨn and Kaplɨlɨn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplɨlɨn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´wɨts nao´ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[i] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony. — Analyst]

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing («pla´o'iša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

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P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·'l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. [302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal
131 locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The
[622] chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkıt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokı´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmın and Salo´kmıč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 A long list of place names was given but
361 only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

DUMNA

103 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. čę´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´´omt:lao; 11, ya´p:k'nao; 12, y:mšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, t:ne´lao; 16, kočo´yu; 17, ti'če´niu; 18, hogo´n:lao; 19, hutu´n:lao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamx:´nšiu; 24, pax:´kčiu; 25, šo´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´t:lao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nep:nwa´šu; 33, šiš:´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the
101 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
114 their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and
648 San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomk:t, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomk:t and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 154 a] Dumna

251 175 Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 262 175 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.

From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 726 175 A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

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At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

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[33]Ibid., 31, 32.

[34]Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Coues, On the Trail, 287).

[35]Bunnell, 33. See the battle between Lesonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36]Bunnell, 125.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 155a] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wesča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´m:s, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´p:s [262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´h:t (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ňaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·č:´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´y:n) at bedrock 412 mortars (tin:l), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´n:m (ti´p:n, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´k:lao, pipe of cane [sik:ll]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´w:š) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cex:´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´w:č (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 156 a] Dumna

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yeš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lel (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lek (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nen homoti
823 (to go south); to´xel (west; toward the plains): toxel tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxel pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tel (directly down, also downhill); tanen atel (to go down); atel tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pen (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipen wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´met (to run); witi´net (to fall down); haswe´net (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´lh (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´let (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswe´net (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Bunnell, 122.

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, 616 which does not agree with more reliable infor- 825 mation from the neighboring Kechayi.

Tokelyuwich, west

to´hɜl: eagle
wəhe´šut: cougar
a´luwəts: crow [blackbird?]
ho´toi: raven
humi´x: jackrabbit
na´čəč: rattlesnake
te´´ɜl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki´: king snake
oi´u'i: roadrunner
tono´l: a large, red, wildcat
te´pək: beaver
u´´wək: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa´hat: crane
ši´kəl: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi´´ina: horned owl
po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho´´o: bear
čai´čai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope´l: gopher snake
koto´nɜč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o´čoč: magpie
upla·li´: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha´´ɜt: otter
šo´kšok: kingfisher
če´ha: dog
hots: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (tɜ´pni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana´ts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te´´is; B.W. claimed a ñtu was the Gashowu word.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (sam:s), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi ´y:n wa ´tiy: to ´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wine´l:t a´mam hača´ka':č" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭ:pni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭ:pni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his ṭ:pni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipeč), Te·´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

te·pin i te´i (tipni)

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who
821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains. When he hears the cries of a dog on earth [illegible] is being beaten because of the rain, he [illegible] the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of [illegible]er being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jim[illegible]weed (ta´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Wobonuch and Chumut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 158 b] Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
the decoction they ceased eating and drinking
276 entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[752 B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed
187] as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it;
Co'kon:k and Pusl:l:n are the only ones did it."
(See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

[P. 159 a] DUMNA

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text Continues Top of Page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[826]

[Text Continues bottom P. 159b]

[797]

[46]B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47]Gayton and Newman, 28.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca´wis. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.

462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them
648 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
252 surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very early to knock down more acorns. They found a
648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so´ni) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɨ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɨč: got liquor

koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osnıl).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped
[354] to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke
[574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the
[48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men
562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of
[586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row
386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar-
622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [742] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by 184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. [209] E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

621 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
773

u´pıš: sun
toiyu´nam u´pıš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nıš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačıt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čın čano´´onıt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pıš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčın, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lıpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
387 follows:
822

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors
192 got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52]One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53]This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

386 822 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 [616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

526 other, and returned. Both sexes played. Pairs of men with two balls often played against each other.

524 Walnut dice game.--While this (huču ša) was primarily a woman's game, men occasionally played. It was tabu at night. As usual, the eight nutshell dice (ho´wač) were tossed on a broad coiled tray (ča´pıt). The dice are nutshell halves, filled with pitch. In the old days a round root called ka´uhai, which grew in the mountains, was cut in a hemispherical shape and painted.

The count as given by E.M. was: two face up or down, 1; three face up or down, 1; all up or all down, 4.

Twelve counters were used and were handled by a scorekeeper (wiče´lıtı).

Stick dice game.--This too was a woman's game (da´lag) which men occasionally played. There was no limitation on the hour of play. There were eight stick dice of split elderwood (wise´ta). The flat face was unornamented; the back was decorated with streaks of red paint. All the sticks were bunched in one hand and thrown down on a deerskin (in later years on a blanket). The motion was an under- or backhand one: the sticks were not dashed directly downward. The count was the same as in hučuša (above).

Hand game.--Both sexes played this game (we'hela´oča), either apart or mixed. As many as wished played on each side. Each side had its own pair of bones. These were about two inches long. The one to be guessed for was wrapped at its center with a few strands of a black root (the one used for black pattern in basketry).

As the guessing progressed, singing was kept up constantly. Men hid the bones behind their backs, women under a skin or blanket on their knees. The bones were passed to one's neighbor only after continual losses on the hider's part (i.e., winning by the opposing guesser), but no accurate explanation of how this operated in practice could be made by E.M.

The counters, kept by a scorekeeper, numbered twenty.

String figures.--E.M. claimed she had never seen these, but a Chukchansi (Dolly) who was listening volunteered the statement that her people used them to predict the sex of an unborn child.[35] The trial was made by the sister of the prospective father. Dolly did not know how to make the figures.

Cup and ball.--E.M. had never heard of this game.

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[35]See the figures "baby girl" and "baby boy"(Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, pl. LXIX, figs. 5-8), which probably are similar to those meant. It was not clear, however, in what the element of prediction consisted.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu'i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56]The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

622 Čo´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk:´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Poagisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals
616 and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general
825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´x:l: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´y:l: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi·hi·´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	·so·´tot: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o´č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai''ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

[P. 164 b] Kechayi

616 ulu· ´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča ´pit: ´tna:
kingbird
wihe ´š:t:
cougar
ki· ´či:
raccoon
te ´p:š:
beaver
xu ´mix:
jackrabbit
te ´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši ´tx:l:
ground squirrel
homu ´ča:
wood rat
te ´´:l:
rattlesnake
ta·la ´tai:
lizard
ta ´nai ´ew:ts:
grasshopper
pu ´tus:
"round" acorns
e ´š:n:
a "mountain" acorn
te ´p:n:
acorn mush
li ´m:n:
acorn gruel
a ´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa ´ti:
sourberries
ča ´n:t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe ´l:s:
a seed

naho ´´o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai ´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu ´´ušu:
coyote
a ´oja:
fox
čo ´i:
skunk (large)
če ´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma ´o:
grey squirrel
gai ´h:t:
salmon
ma ´m:l:
blackberries
kisi ´´:n:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety
262 animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were [552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an 616 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers 825 were removed. A shaman kept the head, which 237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616 825 A Nutuwich man, či´p:t, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until [231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´h:p (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čip:t received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the [301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´y:l) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all
222 the acorns, which were gathered and stored,
616 as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the
616 western horizon at dusk it was time to watch
796 for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
616 acorns, of which they had not yet partaken.
796 Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon a[illegible]

During the rest of the day games [illegible] played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 <u>Deer</u>.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the
616 "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ǎ) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head
[252] roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

<u>Birth and Infancy</u>

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from
000 preference. After the birth occurred, the

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After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during
[843] pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[232] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´'ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the
[856 787] child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-
[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were t:pni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declara-
584 tion of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ič) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewᵢnu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wᵢša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

582 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime con-
[835] sideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wᵢt (husband), yi´wᵢn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawᵢ´nᵢš (to have intercourse), yewᵢnuša (marriage party or cere-
mony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his
[551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma´ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law,
607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true
[831] for the girl. The nature of these jokes was undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ıč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponık. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lıt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a
764 shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a
422 hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
72 guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "pana´nıt a´mın časa´šti (coming his help-
er; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
there too, and the animals opened the pački,
805 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days [total, six]. The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a´nuṭun ti´ša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

A distinction was made between the doctor
756 (a´ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to
789 cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as
[535 dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty
778] of ṭɩpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

[P. 170 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon·k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 753 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t·pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 273 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai'č, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mič (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ač was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [164] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipıt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipıt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 Plain people who did not seek to become
756 doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 E.M. could not define the nature of dream
774 experience. She knew of no word for soul, did
787 not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai ´'i kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall
796 (tomo´ksiu to´bx:n, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

BELIEFS

773 825 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

[756]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´´:n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n t:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ıč, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were 796 always that way [south]." But in spring every- 751 one were an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi´ša) of drinking jimson- weed (ta´ñai) was held each spring by the 276 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimson- weed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi´yop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes [292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ:pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. [554] The spokesman (yate':č) was present: he told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʌn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˆša) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising
[616] the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owič ano ˆša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (ɛpla´oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgiss were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the ac-
[778] companiment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 Concerning the range of Chukchansi terri-
131 tory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site,
131 the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village
103 site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[649] [77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 195b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
103 tain was there
č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 176 a] Chuckchansi

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, con-
184 sisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.U. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. Pebple moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse [726] Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] 727 J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
727 some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

All informants said that all members of a
264 family present ate simultaneously at meals.
512

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that
512 they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

Toward sundown the people went home and
[512] had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

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[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

[252] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At
[B51] Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a
[823] fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which
[262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The
[562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of
512 the men had been hunting and had brought home some game. "It is pretty near sundown now.
224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the
[252] meat, the men would cook it."[7] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days,
[222] said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[7] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cook-
ing depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It
was customary to bake these cakes[1] and dis-
[855] tribute them to children before the mush-cook-
ing was undertaken.

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time,
then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basket-
ful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like
dried putty." A similar basketful seen by
Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-
fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulver-
ized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.---Seeds were parched on circular
trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole
lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the
seeds were then sifted through an openwork
[285 basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same
415] shape as the basket on which the roasting was
done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar
rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which
exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food
was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time.
These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized
and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita
[263] cider for flavoring. Never was it used to
flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to
blow about, causing one to choke. (All present
laughed at the informant's description of this.)
The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it
"smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin
gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

222 Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse
Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these
252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over
their shoulders into burden baskets hung on
their backs. Old women worked every day at
this; it took about one day to fill the burden
basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to
dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they
were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for
252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot
coals, the coals later being sifted out by
means of another basket. The parched seeds
were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a
flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour
was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin
biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes,
closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes
were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the
next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment
to manzanita cider.

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley
which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine
black seeds. These are ripe in late summer
(July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up,
roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds
dropped off; those that failed to were stripped
[251] off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were
brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[1] [i.e., of acorn meal dough. -Amethyst]

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up 222] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed the trees, knocked down the cones, while the 481] women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137] [89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to M.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [824 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray
262 squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in 222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. [252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked [252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some [251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

Grubs of a small black butterfly[52] were 222 also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little 252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These [251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the [439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid 263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the 435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be 439 slightly larger than the lump of salt for which it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

According to N.W., rock salt was got from 263 the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of 439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[52] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. (Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.)

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263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
263 paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
263 salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

273 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from
222 them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe, the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

272 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[95] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
251] The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [95] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono[1]." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

278 824 757 area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 482 A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

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[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the
482 stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?]. At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'Xin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

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579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262 Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484 traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

When they had horses here, they would go
224 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There
492 they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja´quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
251 plication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around
[462] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in
278 the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
[251 Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but
252] the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a
252 meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

226 over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[29]

Firewood, Firemaking

313 Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak, "any kind" of wood, was used for making fire, said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand to control and eventually to quench the flames. No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood, which was bundled up with string and then
313 ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was
482 laid on the back and held in place by the load, to protect against bruising. A person could carry about five logs, four feet and eight inches in diameter, or more if the logs were smaller, N.W. thought.

313 Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

372 Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[29] Powers, 376.

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STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.---The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

343 The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex-
[533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.---The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

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342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

354 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

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361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with con-
342 struction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging
[462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

<u>Storehouses and granaries</u>.--A special
343 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house,
251 was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to
251 pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
222 by their neighbors, should their food become
224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

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251 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored
222 supply.
224

Some years the seed and berry crop was
261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and
731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

Each family had an acorn granary. These
343 were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns
[789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

The average granary held ten to twenty
251 sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had
343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the
[417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did
[462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of
251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

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343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--mentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[324 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?)
284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

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352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
831 the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight; for an older one carried upright, the lashing
[237] prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge
[480] of the frame with milkweed string. Large cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

283 Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts
286 were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under
[136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (ǯ'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukshumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

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412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was from a long straight limb of a tree growing [824] more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 222] Long poles for shaking down acorns were made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

412 322 Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres of uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said M.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown
321 Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

436 dollar:[113] The informants were uncertain about the material, merely saying that the beads were
321 made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. per-
324 foration, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

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[113] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the
439 ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

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276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 Old people made a practice of eating to-
887 bacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco
[574] and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people [illegible] around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [116] Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater,
[171] Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´´om, the pipe ǩokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A 847 woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 309.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied 171 themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

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847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also
237 rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 <u>Naming</u>.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʼ ʼ ʼ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about
553 the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
551 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
177 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

<u>Mother's cleansing ceremony</u>.--About one
846 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
852 held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said M.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (<u>sic</u>; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

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846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

Quail soup might be given an infant two or
853 three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
had reached the age of at least two months. The
[856 purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

Children nursed several years. Though
853 nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

When a child was too slow learning to
856 walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
869 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

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862 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

864 "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) Money and other
583 gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[193]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 Concerning residence after marriage, there [194] was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[193] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [614] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178 established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] p. 383.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 769 especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they 775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness 302 indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126]Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

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765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[531] They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may be classed as omens were mentioned in course by
787 the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

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When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

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[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tuzu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

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761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

Each captain had an official messenger,
624 called wina tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

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Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

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616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

231 Pets.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to
184 combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said M.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were [621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, [787] not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the [184 426] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
535 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

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769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers wit-
293 nessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were
[171] made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

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525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

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[824] [139]The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

The informant N.W. described games which 524 she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. [177] The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

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796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at [illegible] High School. He died there (presumably [illegible] operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to [illegible] axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair
755 into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

754 tail at the sun, at the same time laying an-
755 other animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she
[147] fell asleep, and she began to get better. About a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 768 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[343]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing [791] shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[343] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken [752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

756 787 Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

756 meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him
787 to go home. She then filled up his hole with stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

787 The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a
224 certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild
825 deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 M.W. said he had an aunt who received power from Deer. Once when she was a young
825 girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

She did not know whether white people
787 dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
778 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
787 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

Y 756 825

count may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

M 756 825

J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

Y 756 825

J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

[150] This family, N.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

756 galia] and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
824 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had
766 done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing
626 themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legiti-
683 mately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

If a chief had a big family and they all
628 started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
789 tween shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people can't see. When a doctor wants to see some-
787 thing away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
787 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jum[illegible]": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young [887] person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two [illegible] and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates [184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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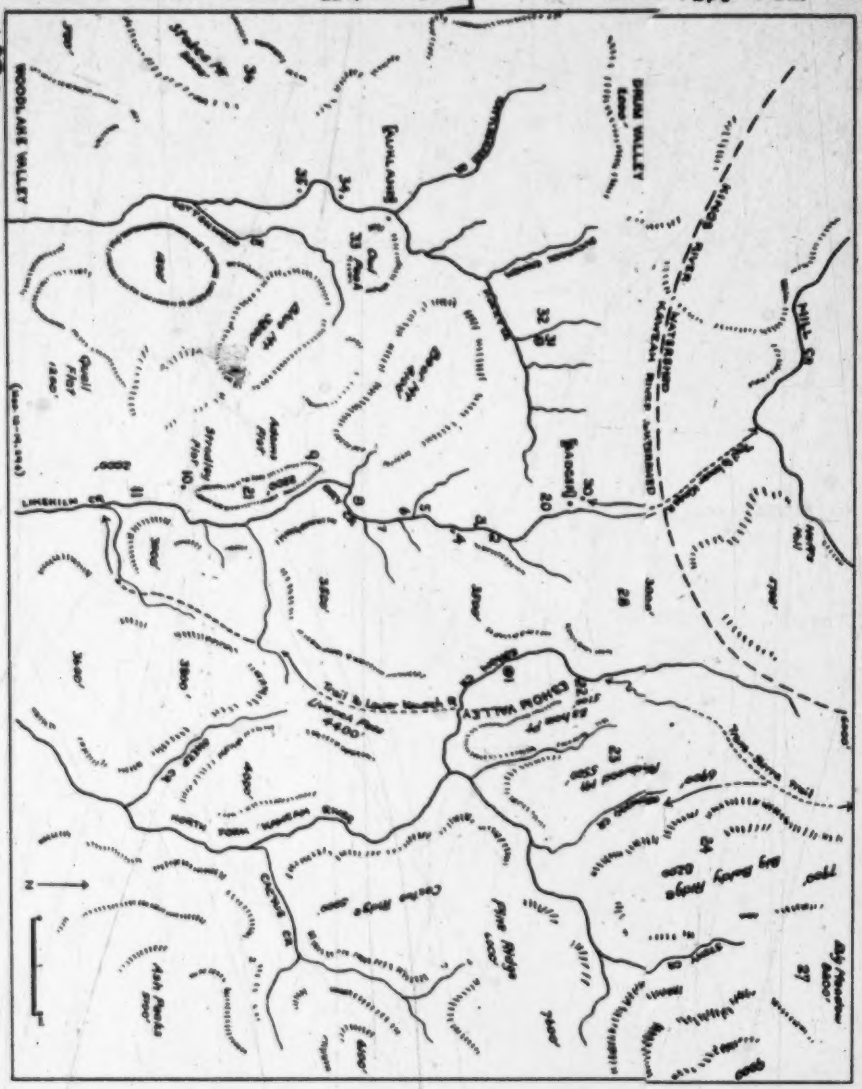
Western Mono NS25



Map 3. Local Map E: Wakachi Territory

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 213 a] Western Mono NS25

TRANSITIONAL YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO:

ESHOM VALLEY REGION

MICHAHAI AND WAKSACHI

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 213 b] Western Mono N525

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

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Localities

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we ˇčihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče ´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka ´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü ´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a ´nt‹mp‹č]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu ´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a ´pusowi´´‹tunü´´üm: Toll House
huro ´g‹čnü´´üm: southeast of last
yui ´ninü´´üm: south of last

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Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o ´ču
Michahai: pa ´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu ´mi; dai ´apnu ´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češ‹ ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa ´o; čita ´tu
Entimbich: kečai ´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada ´winao; sit‹ ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa ´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

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Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

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101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

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192 A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

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361 The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter
231 was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-
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[487] gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

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[887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fish-
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[484] ing site near by called O´polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and Y W acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be [854] carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W 423 S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tăveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

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22. na ''an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho ´naga ´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa ´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama ´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso ´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa ´čiata ´wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa ´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa ´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi ´'iu: Badger
31. kiču ´'u: Ash Springs
32. tuša ´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa ´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna ´o: fish camp
35. o ´polo ´o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati ´': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa ´"wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai ´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa"wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo ´'owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order. Y W [574]

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´sap); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region. Y [322]

Warfare

W Y 726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure. W

Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927. W Y [177] W Y [556]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.215 b] Western Mono N525

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

W Y 342 **Houses**.--The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (če'e´naho ya´ow:l, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hi·č (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wi´č:t soto´li, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

W Y [462] Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with ho'o (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaow:l) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

The doorway (tiše´hi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe: the first band ended each side of the doorway The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called ča´kil:š ača´li (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

W Y [354] A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (u´stun ho'o´hi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsa´kan tana´hi, smoke goes).

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 216 9] NS25

W Y 342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to W Y [574] sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked W Y [361] just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W Y at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [352 Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [522] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head 513] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

W Y 342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W Y 343 Shades (ci´nu'ᵻš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. W Y [574] All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain. They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W Y 343 Storehouses.--The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

251 Storage bins.--Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ᵻts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

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high was set up, and in a squared position about it were erected four shorter forked posts. Four tie beams connected the corners, and across these was laid a flooring of small logs. Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

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Sweat house.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an averaged-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

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Two "brush" fires were built, one on each side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires' heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of ex-

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clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

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Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

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No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kıč) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´tač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

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Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

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291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
237 string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma,
W Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.
Y The skirt was made by either men or women,
292 but the headdress was made only by men. An old
462 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
435 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done
301 with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
304 ed point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o´čik (red), toiye´'i očik (white), and mutskei´wik očik (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.218 b] Western Mono N525

W Y 302 terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite patterm for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

W Y 411 Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·ˈdᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (noˈjɩbⁱ; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

W Y 411 322 The sinew-backed bow (taˈmuedᵘ) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (taˈmobⁱ) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

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W Y 411

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Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

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For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apᵃ) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

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The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dkᵢd, Michahai; ha´obᵢ, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I).

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The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

W Y 411 The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted. This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jab¹), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood [?][157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

W Y 413 Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

W Y 224 Traps.--A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

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[157] California Laurel?

[158] Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 220 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 224 [381] portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

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Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

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Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti´´la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti´la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking; and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

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Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948.N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 220 b] Western Mono N525

W Y 224 372 [237]

The fire fan (ile´t:l, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343

Pigeon snaring.--Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´p:n ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´n:s a´tm:n šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231

The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

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[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´nam:n' for short, just like slang."

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi´čɨt toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nɨn, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´kuɨk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 221 b] Western Mono NS 25

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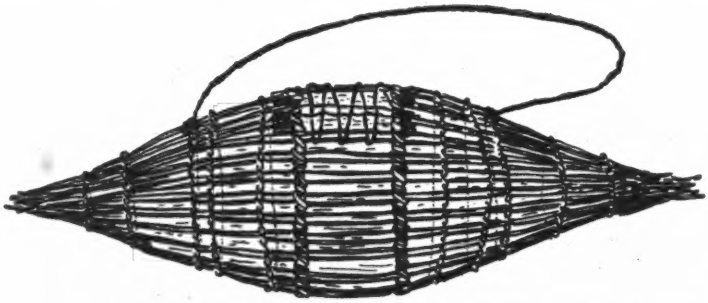

Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tuñao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
W the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main con-
343 sideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method.
825 The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
Y tame" (B.O.).

223 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
343 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[161]

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[161] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

Fishing

Y W 226 Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258 Salt.---Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now Y W a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put [264] directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ti´kıt koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´lıt, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to Y W cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

[439] Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263 Manzanita cider.---Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´mıt (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

W Y 222 262 Yucca.--The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po˘dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. [252] As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one [462] fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the 251 cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

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Piñon nuts.--Pine nuts (pone´diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked [481] down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

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At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, 262 they were piled in a big heap where they 252 steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

W Y

[435] Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´°wa. They were superior to the local variety.

W Y

Acorns.--Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while 222 they were still slightly green; this was ac- 262 complished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked [462] them up and carried them home in burden baskets. [251] All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

W Y 262 252

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[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

W Y 252 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered [251] baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; W granite was never used. The mush basket was [285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a Y big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

W A plant called paša was used to flavor [263] acorn much.

Ya''ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta'beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited Y honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, [237] or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki'puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke'wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

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lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.--B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu´huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´wič: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´a´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čkit: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´bük: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik´digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

w¹hutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´ara: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či"au´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´ečo´eč: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 224 a] Western Mono NS25

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čuču ´ʼai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini ´ša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu ´mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču ʼi ´na: Oregon junco
muči ´uoi ´na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti ´tᵃš: Audubon warbler?
so ʼo ´wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho ´mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či ´pᵃt: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi ʼoi ´´ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara ´rapa: kingfisher
šo ´ʼšo ʼ: little green heron
wa ´kᵃta: blue crane
ko ´dᵃto: sand-hill crane
ka ´hi: grouse
kura ´vi: duck (kind?)
la ´la: geese
huihui ´mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai ´ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü· ´yᵃm: fly
čokoi ´´ica: wasp
pe· ´na: yellow jacket
hu ´biwa: bumble bee
naraposta ´ pe ´na: hornet
ta ´beko ʼot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu ´ñᵃp: tarantula
mu ´ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu ´lu: brown lizard
kumče ´ča: black lizard
wasu ´ʼi: a large "brush" lizard
musi ´gi: rattlesnake
paso ´go: water snake
kolo ´lki: King snake
o· ´koko: bullfrog
kuai ´aki: a small frog
a·natza ´na: water dog
ta ´lᵃm: speckled trout
e ´bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po ´lhoi: sucker
aiya ´go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai ´hᵃt: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta ´kᵃts: minnows
a ´ñya: turtle

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Trees and shrubs:
pohue ´dopᵃ: valley oak
ya ´kapᵃ: post oak
wi ´´upᵃ: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša ´ba: live oak
tikai ´ya: acorns of all oak species
a ´psoabᵃ: manzanita
to ´nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no ´jibⁱ: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso ´poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo ´haba: "Jack" pine
pane ´wanᵃp: sugar pine
pone ´diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu· ´bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokut: N529
[P. 224 b] Western Mono N525

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tu·ba: piñon nut
wa·p: cedar
sana·uap: fir
o·pa·dra: yucca ("cactus")
o·b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo·honaba: redwood
ye·b¹p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa·t¹p: slippery elm
napa·'ap²: alder
soho·p²: cottonwood
tanapo·nip²: ash
pa·sitap: willow
s²hu·b²: small willow
se·nowiyap: elderberry bush

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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 261 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 225b] NS 25

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h´·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´´i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po´´no (Michahai), tapono´ci (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´´i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo´´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

Pottery

W Y 323 Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wiš (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwiš, wi´či kiwiš, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

W Y 323 415

W Y [462] Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

W Y 323 The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all night. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Cordage and Nets

W Y 281 [237] 283

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wiš:b) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

W Y 283

Milkweed string (wi´šib:b wiši´bi; milkweed, wi´šib:b, Waksachi; če', Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa´h:p (the Yokuts ša') was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

W Y 482

The carrying net (tapi´h:) and tumpline (ta´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi·´kuoš) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piča´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt	15. yɛ´čum
2. pu´noi	16. čo´lpum
3. so´pɛn	17. no´mčum
4. hatpa´na	18. mu´nčum
5. yitɛ´šnɛl	19. no´npom
6. ču´lipi	20. punoi´tsi'ao
7. no´mčɛn	21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
8. mo´noš	22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
9. no´nɛp	23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
10. tsi'a´o	30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
11. yɛ´čam	100. yɛt pi´ča
12. po´ctom	1000. tsi'ao piča
13. co´yum	
14. ha´čpan	

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
P 227b, ~~Wassamono~~ NS 25

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ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.--Two men would play this game (ho'o´tuš, Michahai; na'a´ñapai'šɛt, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki´no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.--This game (nahai´witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both parthers' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.--This game (ai´kaš, Michahai; nahai´wɛtho·pima, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

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Dice game.--This was a woman's game (hutču´ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.--This game (hana´ošiko, Michahai; nai'a´nwɛt, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

Musical Instruments

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Flute.--This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

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Whistle.--This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.--For this instrument (ča´o'ič, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

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Clapper.--This (ṭa´ohl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

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[438]

Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pıt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kın). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lın nım ti´'ıs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ım ti'ıs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 228 b Mono NS25 Paiute NR13

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flat diaclike cake (ta´kan), a round ball (unawa´ra po´nən co´´og), and little cylinders (pulči´na).

The little cylinder, hereafter referred to as pulčina, had a perforation at one end so it could be worn on a string about the neck. According to B.O., if a man were cold when out hunting or traveling, a bite of pulčina would warm him. But B.O. laughed at the use of pulčina as a "ghost-scarer" by the Wukchumni.

Tobacco was smoked by both sexes, though only men carried pipes in their ear lobes. The favorite pipe was a cane tube (si´k:l, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi) about three to four inches long. The best cane was got at Pasiwana (John Crow's hollow, no. 28 on Local Map E). One end of the tube was stuffed with a bit of oak-fungus tender, then filled through the other end with bits of tobacco shaved off a cake. The end with the tinder was then lighted with a twig burned to live charcoal. The cane tube itself scorched and burned slightly as the tobacco was consumed, yet would last through at least a dozen occasions, as a few puffs were all that were indulged in when smoking. A wooden pipe (šu´kmai) of elderwood was about four inches long, somewhat conical, as it was shaped down toward the mouth end. The clay pipe (wi·nab¹) was a crude imitation of the wooden one. Neither S.O. nor B.O. had ever seen or heard of pipes of stone.

Both Michahai and Waksachi ate tobacco mixed with lime to induce vomiting, which was thought to encourage dreams and insure good health. The tobacco and baked freshwater oyster shells (ke´wi) obtained by trade from Wukchumni and Gawia were pounded in a special small mortar and pestle (pl. 2, d herein). Then a little water was added to form a soupy liquid. The mortar and pestle were passed around among the participants, each person taking a lick or two of the liquid from the pestle.

A second kind of lime [?] (hoso´s:l), like rock, was gotten out of the ground in Drum Valley. This "turned to flour" when heated over live coals. The fire fan was used during the process to keep the heat even.

Among the Waksachi, men only took tobacco this way, but Michahai and Chukaimina women indulged in its use. It might be taken any time of the year. Some men and women took it every night: S.O. said he took it often, that is, about once a week. The process was called, pa´luwi šoga´ni nəm naha´hi (pestle tobacco my eating), according to S.O., who gave tobacco as šo´gən (Michahai, Chukaimina, Choinimni, and Chukchansi), so´´og (Waksachi, Wobonuch, Holkuma), and the growing plant as woi´yan šogən or woi´n:čən (Michahai). The mortar and pestle were koi´w:š and pa´lwi (Michahai) and koiw:š and pa´ha (Waksachi)(S.O. and B.O. respectively).

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The Eastern Mono (Yo´´ots) had tobacco which they smoked in wooden pipes. B.O. said

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siw:´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi´a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´n:č) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'eša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, 'niša´n nan wan upuš n:m (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan:č or site´lši tawan:č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

W Y 821 782 An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu ´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W Y 805 221 The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k·n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W Y 805 821 192 552 B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
- tapewa´no: daytime
- ha´nos: before sunrise
- motve´sihop: sunrise
- tukita´wena: noon
- motara´tahikup: sunset
- ure´´uñus: after sundown
- totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
- tara´ue: sun
- ta´ow": moon
- nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
- tapu´ha: morning star
- so´šso´š: Pleiades
- te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
- na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
- tuo´pade: sky
- to·´uare: clouds
- u·´´uare: rain
- paho´nop: hail
- nu´babi: snow
- pi·´b·p: earth, dirt
- pasi´wap: sand
- patigui´noba: mud
- t·p: granite
- pahe´: soapstone

Y W 823 192 Directions:
- pite´kimat: south
- quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

W Y 823 192 peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r°: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192 Seasons:
ta°´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to°´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184] B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y 773 821 Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825 Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušlıln, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773 The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

W Y 622 Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

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and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief [i.e., not only called tia'a but respected as such]. However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as ibuk [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa´o'ɩč (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto´bɩč (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si´wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'ɩk, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo´tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu´ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.[166] The order is from Wa´nuk to his son Čo'o´po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča´muč, then Wa´kɩt, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala´ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, Hɩ´lčap, was selected. When Hɩlčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

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The secondary chiefs (tuye´yi, Michähai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

[166] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

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were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotob:č (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

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The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

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The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

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The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

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Person	Tribe
K:lmišet, winatum	Michahai
Tčaod:t	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušl:l:n, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nič); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y

Totem	Dream helper
613 Dove	---
Eagle	---
619 Dove	---
Eagle	---
776 Eagle	---
778 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

Y W 778 825 432

Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles (sic). Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

Y W [766] [432]

Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

W Y [231] W Y 231 432 825 778

The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given (sic) to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

W Y 231 778 432 825 W Y [423]

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.Q. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi´š·t, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

W Y 223

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmiš·t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmiš·t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmiš·t would help hoist him up.

W Y 291

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmiš·t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini´, "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 Y [436]

<u>Bear</u>.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

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[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini´ is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown W Y away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not [431] sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit·p nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called ax· diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʼoša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was W Y called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkʻd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W Y to a forked-stick cradle (akhʻ ʼlʻč). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were x846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (ṭoʼoʼdi) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called teʼʼena ʼošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W Y 553 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a´ktač (S.O.); called we´čɨp if a boy, and wi´tɨp if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho¹ unu´malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 2346] Western Mono N525

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her

W Y [841] fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (•pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 235 9] Western Mono NS25

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Marriage

With respect to marriage, S.O. said that
582 no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be
W Y "all right to marry." Both the levirate and
[587] sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W Y At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their
584 son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they
Y W didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

When all was settled, the makši exchanged
585 gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets,
431 acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y The boy slept with the girl in her home
W for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then
606 the couple went to his home where they could re-
591 main if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home
W Y frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds
[574] from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173]

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[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnɩm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɩn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɩkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

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The Transvestite

The male transvestite (tono ´č:m, Michahai; tai´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

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The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonoč:m figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

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While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

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Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

na´na hua´čiči: newborn boy
hu´pi hua´čiči: newborn girl
na´nači: boy about two years old
si´i´sači: girl about two years old
hua´waha na´nači (or si´isači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na´nop na´nači: boy five to ten years old
hu´u´pi mo´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa´bi na´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

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moa ˈbi hu ˈu ˈpi na ˈnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ˈbi ti ˈkiñana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu ˈu ˈpi ˈtu ˈamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ˈbi na ˈnanyɛ:p: man forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi nana ˈpi ˈɛ:p: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi moa ˈbh·lɛ:p: old man
moa ˈbi hube ˈči ˈɛ:p: old woman

Death

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When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night.

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Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ˈkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ˈči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

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S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

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In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ˈlěu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ˈlěu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao ˈi ˈči (person dead); pučo ˈñ tao ˈi ˈči (man dead); muṭi ˈhoi tao ˈi ˈči (woman dead).

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Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ˈnoluč (tawa ˈtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y 783 all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

W Y 767 All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočim, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nıl (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibı´kmıč).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

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[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

W Y 775 539 there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W Y 765 [768] Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y [302 82 b] The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551 Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point B.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

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"Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´´i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

W Y [783] [571]

When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. [illegible]-sage was then given to the chief, who [illegible] sent his own winatum to get the person[illegible]ed [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

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When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nıč) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

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During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 426 There was no money exchange for interest (lakʰna´nʰč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

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doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

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There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tə́ pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nəč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

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Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

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the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

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12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

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Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tipni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha'bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

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[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W Y [606 153] [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

W [P. 241 a] Western Mono NS25

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[755] continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

756 An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Young doctors were not feared as malevo-
Y lent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the at-
[754 tainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought
156] to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W The procedure between patient and es-
Y tablished doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some
755 member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him.
756 More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

The doctor summoned would normally agree
W to visit the sick person, but he would proceed
Y to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing
755 the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for
[237 sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin,
778] owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

W Y 755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 787 [276] 755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "M:čk:t [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ain:č (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

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hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw·´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [ˌniša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo ni; ˌnsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

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787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

To accept a dream of this type, i.e.,
778 getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

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5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competi-
756 tive amount of tɨpni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except
778 to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the
787 person addressed replied in kind, "It is <u>you</u> who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he <u>was</u> following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

<u>Flying Power</u>

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A special type of power, that of jumping
791 or "flying" through space for a considerable
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[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: sma´mso pa´´anso na´mum ia´´ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

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distance, was called mai´ˈiwɛn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi˙i˙i˙i˙!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi˙i˙i˙i˙!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɛč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped: Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

W Y 613 825 saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778 The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756 The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

Y [237] A man who was a doctor (poha´gɛ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

W Y 764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683 The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683 A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

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The Yokod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter W Y [755] into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly W Y [789] those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

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Rain-making

There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mɨk and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti ̃šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

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Jimsonweed (ta ̃nai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

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At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

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796 take it at least once, and perhaps in several
276 successive years. A powerful doctor would take
it at the same time as the plain people. There
[756] were more men than women partakers: the men
[751] "took it to find out things," the women "just
to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded
as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa ´namuta" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating.
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Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons
[343] assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

W Y 796 276 taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752 Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ič broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276 At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438] The jimsonweed plants (taña ñib") was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki'leš and Koti'diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuišao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

[P. 247 a] NSRU Note NS-25

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokon:k and Pušl:l:n, who were snake doctors (te'e 'li čecisu 'm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya ''in" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ʼʼɨn, maiya ʼʼɨn."[192] They walked about close to the onlookers. Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'ha, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

W Y [789]

S.O. could not say who provided this.

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

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Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
796 Il‹´pča. (Il‹´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.---The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'‹č, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not
Y brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the
796 money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
541 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured
789 invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket
956 was laid out for money, which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.---This dance (h‹ ´ž‹šna´n‹č)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that W Y [831] he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahun ile´h:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known W Y [426] to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak:na´n:č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

W Y 769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W Y 767 783 574

W 769 574

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao´šiko).

W Y 769 184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 250 b] Western Mono VS 25

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Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

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During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´milıt. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u·narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

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The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

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The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´nčai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

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[783]

B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

W returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated
Y again before sundown. During these days S.O.
and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. fre-
769 quently talking in consoling terms to B.O.,
telling him that this was the end of our
sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu''i, i.e., the
W reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe
Y for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited,
[578] owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi n:k, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a
W basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O.
Y for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But
769 S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking,
telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased
783 from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

W
Y
[556] The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

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W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´'a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

W Y [783]

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

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[P. 253-9] Western Mono NS25
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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Mobonuch information.

W
Y
796
668

B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

W
Y
[302]

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

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BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
PMM	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
UC-AR	University of California Publications: Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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PLATE AND EXPLANATION

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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Explanation of Plate 2

Yokuts and Western Mono Specimens, Göteborg Museum

a, Wobonuch winnowing tray, burden basket; b, Wobonuch rock-lifter, mushbasket, cradle; c, Wobonuch fish basket, sieve, individual eating basket; d, Wobonuch pestle for bedrock mortar, handstone, arrow straightener; Wukchumni tobacco mortar and pestle; e, Waksachi fire fan, Wobonuch soaproot brush and "treasure" basket; f, Wukchumni gambling tray, dice, counters.

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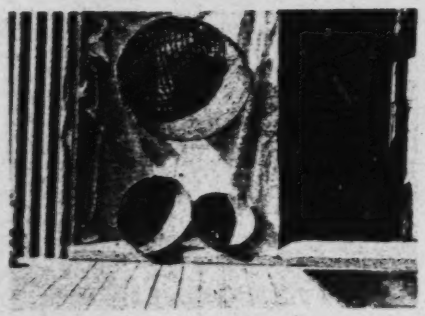

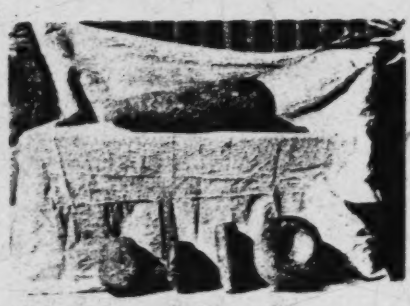

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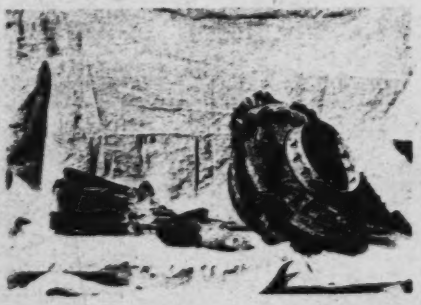

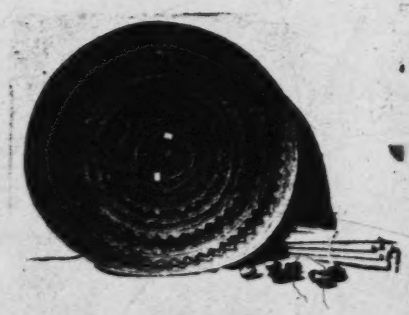

PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

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HANDBOOK

OF THE

INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY

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CHAPTER 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

Tribal organization, 474; habitat, 475; classification, 477; tribes of the Buena Vista group of the foothill division, 478; of the Poso Creek group, 479; of the Tule-Kaweah group, 479; of the Kings River group, 480; of the northern foothill group, 481; of the southern group of the valley division, 482; of the northern valley group, 484; speech and topography, 486; designations of the stock, 488; Yokuts and other California population, 488.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a
619 dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to
101 the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of
197 speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

101 Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

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Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [132]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132]

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133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary [101] logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 22] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ½; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of ½ from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

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CLASSIFICATION.

The classification of the Yokuts tribes must be made, like that of other Indians, and those of California in particular, on the basis of language. In spite of the number of the tribes, this it not difficult; for the dialects fall clearly into two great divisions, which coincide with the two topographic regions held by the stock: the valley proper and the foothills of the southern Sierra Nevada. Only in the extreme south were there three tribes speaking idioms of the foothill type but dwelling in the plains between Tulare Lake and the Tehachapi region. These three dialects, closely similar to one another, are easily the most divergent of all Yokuts forms of speech, and thus argue an unusual and peculiar history for the little remote group of people whose idiom was derived from that of the mountains while their habitat was in the valley. 101 197

The valley dialects are the most uniform, in fact remarkably similar to one another. A Yokuts from Stockton must have been able to understand considerable of the talk of one from Bakersfield—a condition utterly unparalleled for any like distance elsewhere in California; for although the Northern Paiute and Mono afford a technical exception, they are mostly east of the Sierra Nevada and hence in the Great Basin outside the natural limits of California. The Yokuts Valley dialects seem to be classifiable into two groups, a northern along the San Joaquin and a southern from Kings River south; but the former is very little known, and it is possible that fuller information regarding it might shift the line of demarcation.

The foothill dialects, though hardly more numerous and spoken over a very much smaller area, are far more diversified. This might be anticipated from the topography of their territory. Their variety may, however, also be due to the historical fortunes of the foothill tribes. The farther south one progresses along the lower Sierra, the more deviations does one encounter from the type of Yokuts speech which is numerically preponderant and therefore justly to be considered the normal and presumably original form. Now the Yokuts as a whole constitute the southernmost branch of the great Penutian family, which, so to speak, radiates in five directions from the region of the entrance of the Sacramento and San Joaquin into the head of San Francisco Bay; in other words from the lowest and central point of the Great Valley of California. That the foothill dialects of Yokuts become more and more specialized the farther they are situated from this center of influence and possibly of origin is certainly significant; though whether it is significant of successive migrations from the north, of longer contact with Shoshonean and Chumash aliens, or merely of ever reduced intercourse with kinsmen, must as yet be left to conjecture.

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101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place."
[103] From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three princi-
[103] pal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tuhohi, Tobohai, or Tuhohayi (the t is almost like English tr) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns: 114 115

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapâi	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
ta, tepa	tuhtu.
sapsi	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsol	hosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-likin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley. 101 131 [103]

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence. [191 197]

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutas (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River [103] [221]

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131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one
another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are
known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties
from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to
131 their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear
to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi.
Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tinliu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from
Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have
frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buezanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

[103] Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the Tothicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanain ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitcha, Aitisa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Alticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Apiau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

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101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
131 was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejonefios," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Woilo ("planting place," "sowing
[177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
[582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'luta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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 131 101 103 [423]

missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshuiul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechahet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'la, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowal*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more [501] intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

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101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close association between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.

103 The Tachi, Tadji, or Duchi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi,
131 Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Walna, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Waiu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehamniu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *taudj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* almost like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers." 101 103 131

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes. [197]

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

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101 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholo-
103 vomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who
131 retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on comparison with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least

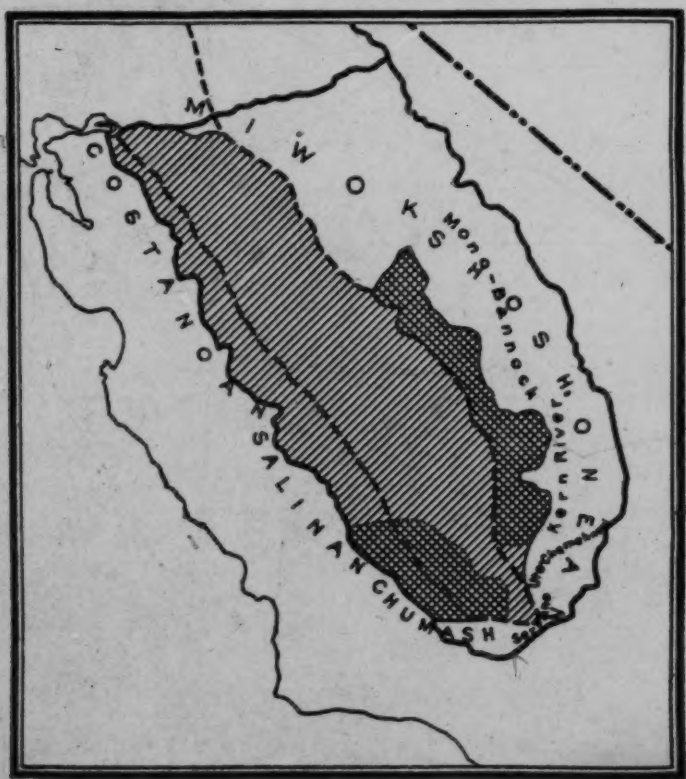

FIG. 43.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their
131 speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

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of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

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101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

161 Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
177 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

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or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process.

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain.

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

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161 too small for an estimate of the original block. The remnant may be 2 per cent or 5. It does not help to answer the question.

This uncertainty weakens one of the potentially strongest lines of 161 evidence that might bear on the problem of the ancient population 161 of California. The Yokuts held a full tenth, possibly an eighth, of the area of the State. If we knew their numbers, a simple multiplication, corrected by an allowance for productivity of the soil under native exploitation, would yield a total that would be of value for controlling estimates derived by other methods. Groups of narrower range or numbers do not justify the application of such procedure; conditions are too unrepresentative. The Yurok, for instance, owned barely one-half of 1 per cent of the area of California, the Chemehuevi perhaps 5 per cent: ratios that, with what is known of their numbers, would give in the one case well over half a million and in the other much less than 50,000 for the State.

161 However, the almost lost opportunity may be essayed. Say 18,000 Yokuts in a ninth of California: 162,000 Indians once in the State. Or, taking the highest possible figures, 25,000 in a tenth, gives 250,000 as a maximum limit.

Then comes the correction. There undoubtedly were areas more densely populated than the average of the Yokuts habitat: the Santa Barbara Islands, stretches of the shore fronting them, certain valleys in the coast region, the district of the lower Klamath. There were probably as many Pomo on Clear Lake as Yokuts on much larger Tulare Lake. But these areas of concentration were small. It was apparently precisely the fact of their confinement that brought about the density. The additions to be made to the total on account of distinctly heavier population are therefore not very great in the aggregate.

The deductions to be made for a sinking of the Yokuts ratio in less favorable regions are more considerable. A full third of the State is thorough desert, substantially desert, high mountains, bare lava flow, or dense timber. In all these environments the population was of the slenderest. Generally such regions were not even inhabited except in oasislike spots; and that the maps in the present and other volumes show continuous territories rather than these significant oases is not because the entire areas have been thought to be inhabited, but because ignorance of precise conditions of habitation has rendered other delineation impracticable for most of the State. Everything east of the Sierra, its entire upper portion, a solid three-fourths of southern California, most of the northeastern angle of the State, and a number of tracts in the coast ranges, belong to these thinly populated regions, which loom broadly enough to bring down by at least a fourth any total computed from the rate prevailing in more favored regions.

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Let us balance this reduction by the smaller additions and say that not a fourth but a fifth must be taken from the multiplicative total. That diminishes by 32,000 our apparently soundest estimate of 162,000 and gives for the native population of the State 130,000, or about eight times the present number of full bloods and mixed bloods combined. At any rate, there is a high degree of probability that the actual figure fell between 100,000 and 150,000. The maximum limit under the same process falls from 250,000 to 200,000, or less than almost all published estimates. /61

We have one check on the estimate of 300 to 400 souls per Yokuts tribe that underlies this total. In 1806 Moraga marched up half the length of the San Joaquin Valley and returned with the names of more than 20 groups and estimates of their numbers. Most of these must have been Yokuts, and about half of them can be identified.

YOKUTS.		YOKUTS OR OTHER.	
Nupchenche (Noptinte)	250		
		Chineguis	250
		Yunate	250
		Chamuasi	250
		Latelate	200
		Lachuo	200
Piscache (Pitkachi)	200
Aycuyche (Aiticha)	60
		Ecsas	100
		Ehiaja	100
		Xayuase	100
		Capatau	10
		Hual	400
Tunctache (Chunotachi)	250
Notonto (Nutunutu)	300
Do	100
Telame (Telanni)	600
Do	200
Uholasi (Wowulasi)	100
Eagueya (Gawia)	300
Cohocha (Yokol?)	100
Choynogue (Choinok)	300
		Cutucha (Coltoche)	400
Tahualamne (Yauelmani?)	200
Coyehete (Koyeti)	400
	3,360		2,260
		Total	5,620

Five thousand six hundred and twenty people in 23 groups yield an average of less than 250; or, if we divide the 3,360 known to have been Yokuts by 12, the result is 280 per tribe. The earliest observer's estimate is a fifth less than the figure of 300 to 400—say, 350—assumed above. There is thus every reason to believe that the total computed for California does not err on the side of parsimony.

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Chapter 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 498; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

10 13 The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

584 Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social divi- 616
sion. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

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616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

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bar, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *lówik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [187]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

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825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such ~~children~~—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to 622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The [562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the 616
head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity 622
of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, 624
the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. [361]
When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would [651]
gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. 624
One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, 522
Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The 838
tongochim or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they pos- 767
sessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled 624
corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally 648
to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, 727
this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after [773]
a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

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727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[831] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

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765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [174] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yandanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

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Chapter 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

000 The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

881 276 Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

171 To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlcozuhqui*, "green snake weed," *ololiuhqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. innocia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *nocoxcul* and *teloxtein*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

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ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

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881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [625]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

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796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
756 hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

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son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

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535 527 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 237 [301] The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California Indians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part [171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

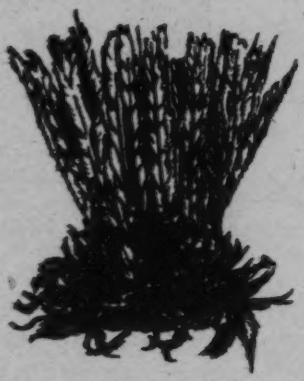

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 237 301 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 237 301 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachum* and the *notanat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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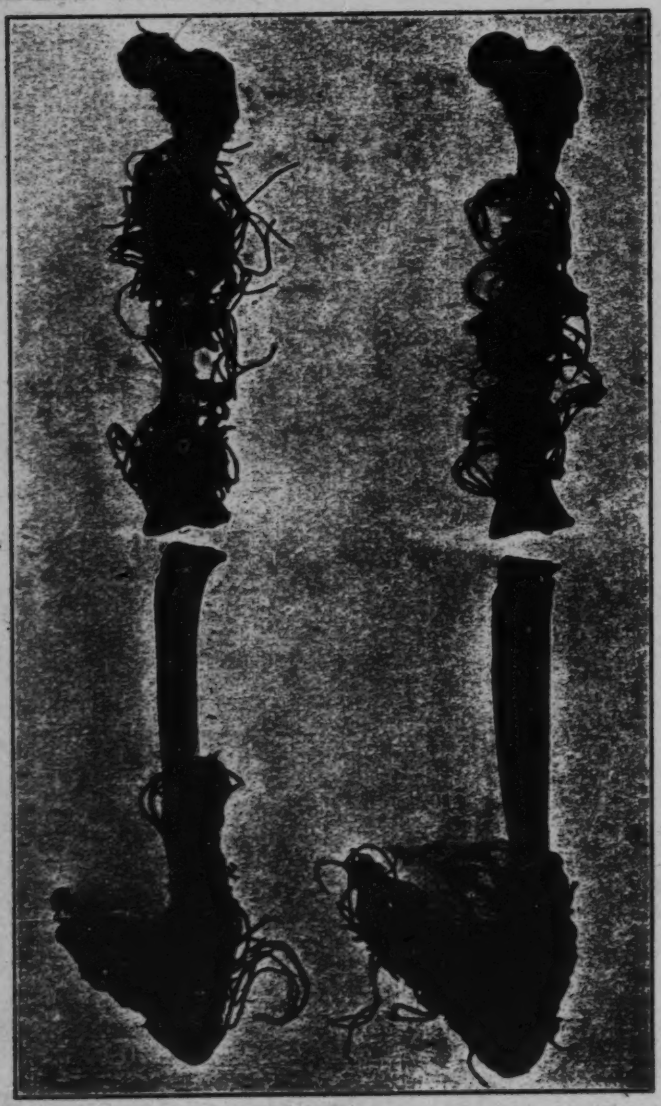

CORD-WRAPPED LEG REMAINS, BUENA VISTA LAKE

[p. 508(A)]

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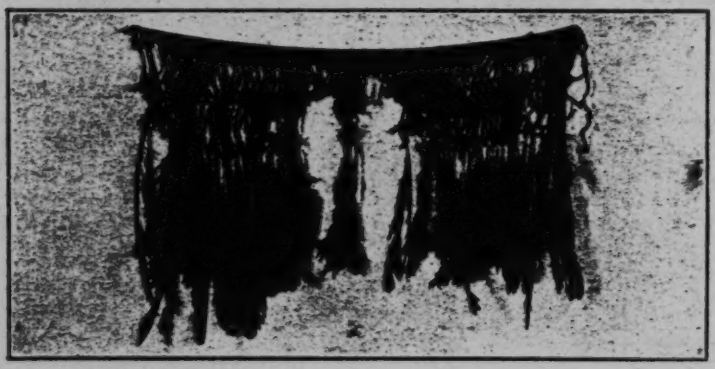
Western Shoshone NT22

Luiseno NS14

W 292 237



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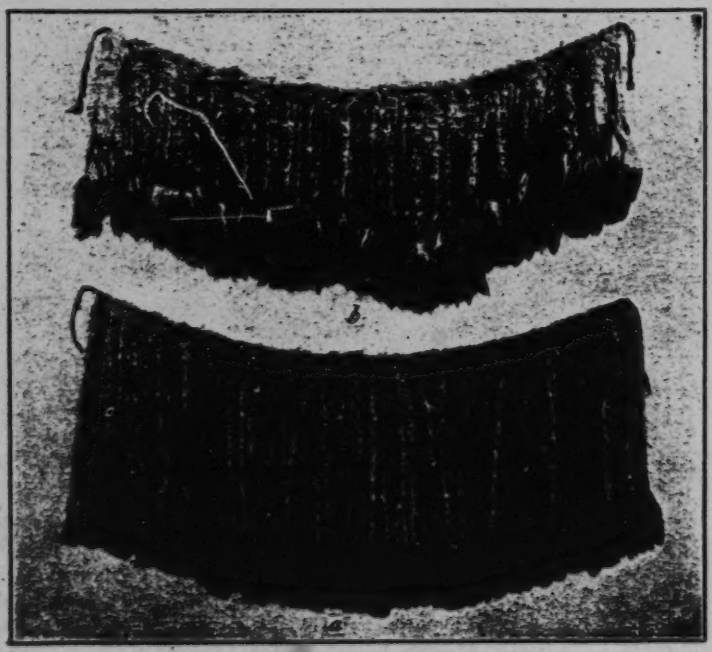

FEATHER DANCE SKIRTS

a, Kiowa; b, Yokuts; c, Luiseño

[p. 508(B)]

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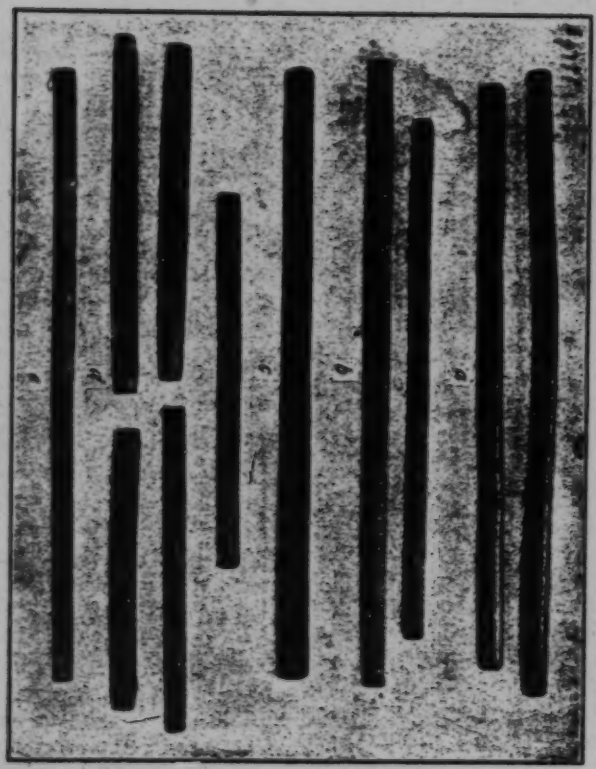
Pomo NS 18

Miwok NS16

Karok NS12

YPMK 534



FLUTES

a, Tsimshian; b, Yokuts; c, Miwok; d, Pomo; e, Karok

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[p. 508(C)]

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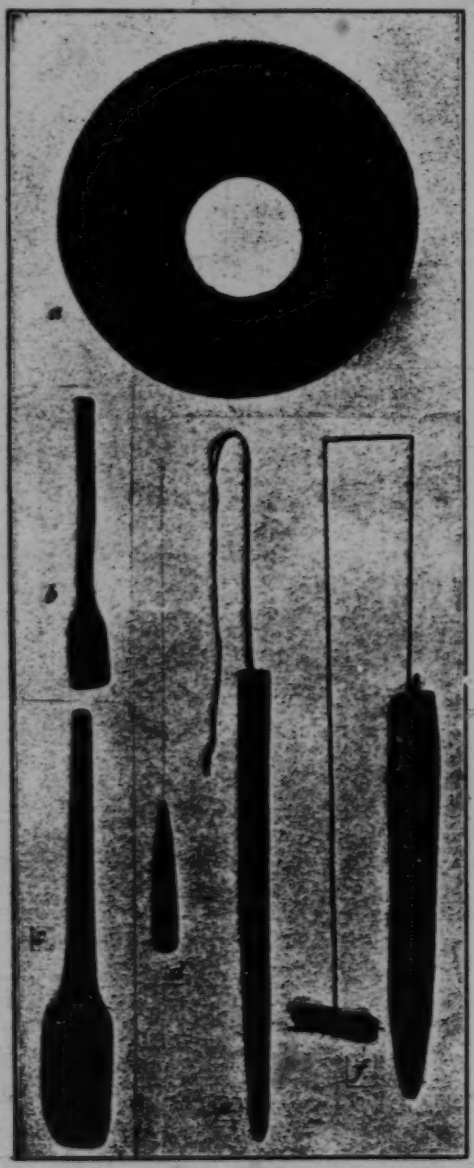
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Luiseno NS14
Pomo NS18
Serrano NS20
Wintun NS26

SW
412
YLP
534



a, Klamath mortar hopper. Acorn meal sieves: b, Diegueño; c, Northern Wintun. Baskets: d, Yokuts; e, Luiseño; f, Pomo

[p. 508 D]

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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, b.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *hahuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 8 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 861

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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread [171]

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans 177
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: [782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüllshtut!
See me, Pamashtut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tenkit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

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756 used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual
192 of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

778 Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

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756 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and
778 to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from
787 animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in
[823] pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

> Whose is this fish to shoot?
> Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wachan* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never
[539] left the earth. This is his song:

> The other says: Run in the brush;
> Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 533 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

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755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method. [276]

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little 754 thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself [533] before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of re-754 prisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. 756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove
789 his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern
[778] tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the Cali-
[428] fornia archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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304 obsidian. Chukchansi face patterns are shown in Figures 45 *h–l*, 46 *m–o*.

516 Men frequently squatted rather than sat. For longer periods they sat on their heels, with toes turned together and hands on knees. The cross-legged position, the most common of all the world over, was not used, except perhaps on special occasions like gambling. Women stretched one leg out and folded the other back; or, at rest,

[304 531]

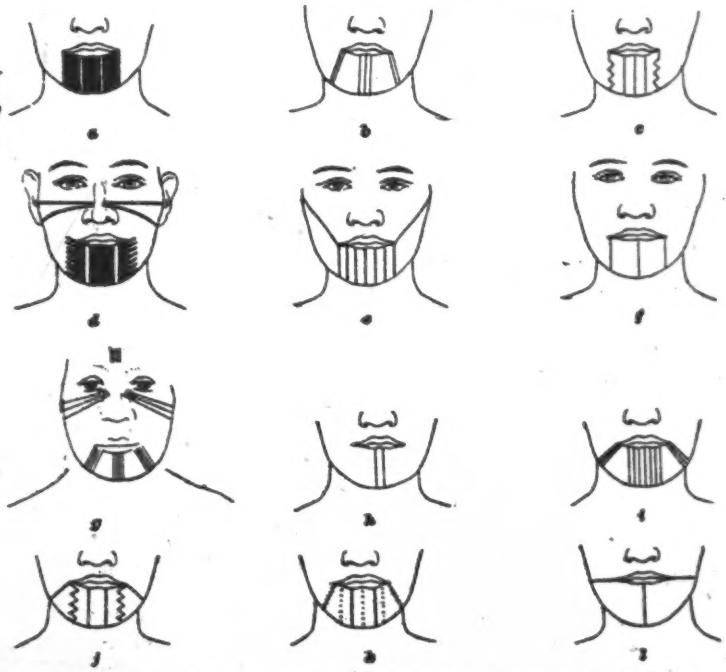

FIG. 45.—Women's tattoo. *a*, Yurok and northwestern tribes; *b*, *c*, San Francisco, probably Costanoan; *d*, Sinkyone; *e*, northwestern valley Maidu; *f*, northeastern and southern Maidu; *g*, Yuki; *h–l*, Chukchansi Yokuts. Compare the Wailaki, Yuki, Huchnom, and northern Pomo tattoos shown in Powers, Tribes of California, pages 116, 130, 140, 142, 144, 158.

drew the knees up and joined the hands in front of them. The Plains Indian woman's attitude, with both legs to one side, was not adopted. The habits of all the California Indians in these interesting matters are little known, but it is clear that custom and not inherited nature is the chief determinant. As at so many other points, nature seems at once to have furnished us a structure that permits a surprising variety of sustained positions, and to have deprived us of instincts favoring one rather than the other; so that culture has a clear opportunity to evolve the most diverse habits.

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HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings. 342

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [362] [592]

[304 531]

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: *m–o*, Chukchansi Yokuts; *p–u*, Mohave. Men: *v–x*, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber. [412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

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342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *semish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

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and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in 344
no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again.

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of 262
tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic.

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not 137
grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate 222
coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains in- 262
habited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions.

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting 222
and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources 262
of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the
year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is 132
not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot sum- 222
mer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 262

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer,
221 rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their
262 variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
222 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye
262 once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

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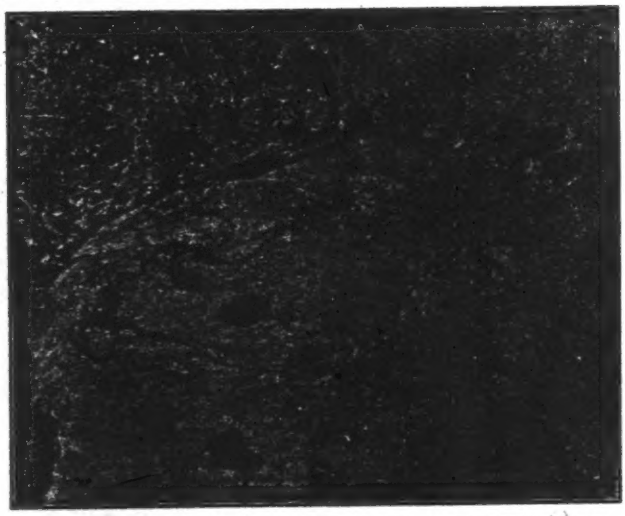

MIWOK MORTAR HOLES IN BEDROCK AND BOWLDER PESTLES

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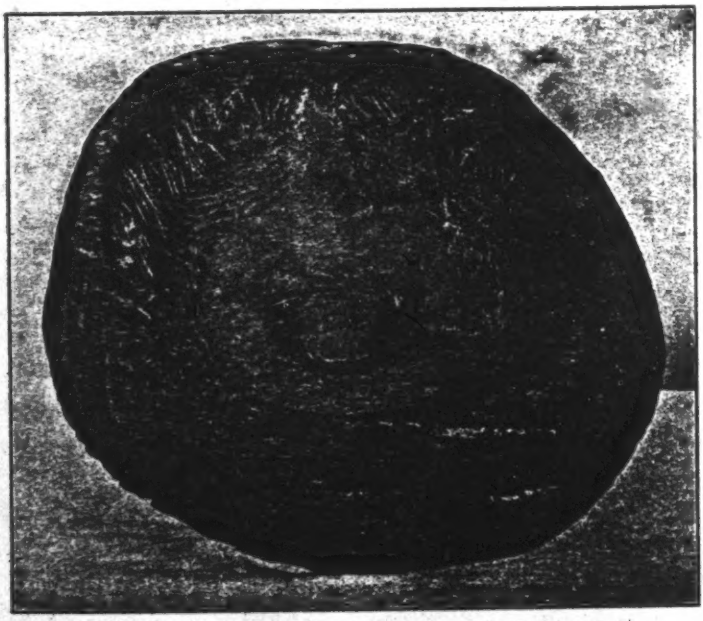

VALLEY YOKUTS MORTAR OF OAK

[Facing p. 524]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

262 222 [227] [223 224]

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

114 226

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
SERRANO NS20

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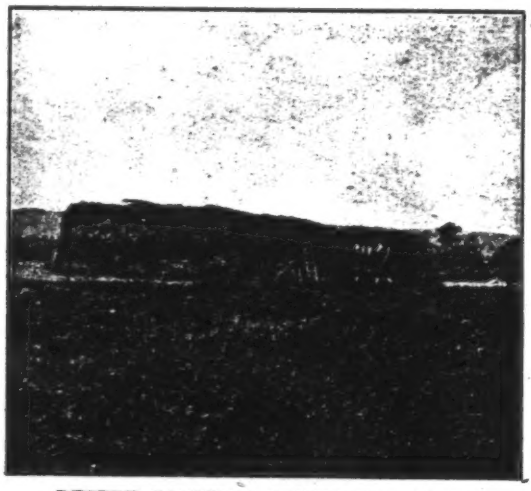

DESERT CAHUILLA THATCHED HOUSE

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SOUTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS PLATFORM
AND BOOTH FOR SNARING PIGEONS

[FACING p. 525]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture
226 of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor en-
171 vironment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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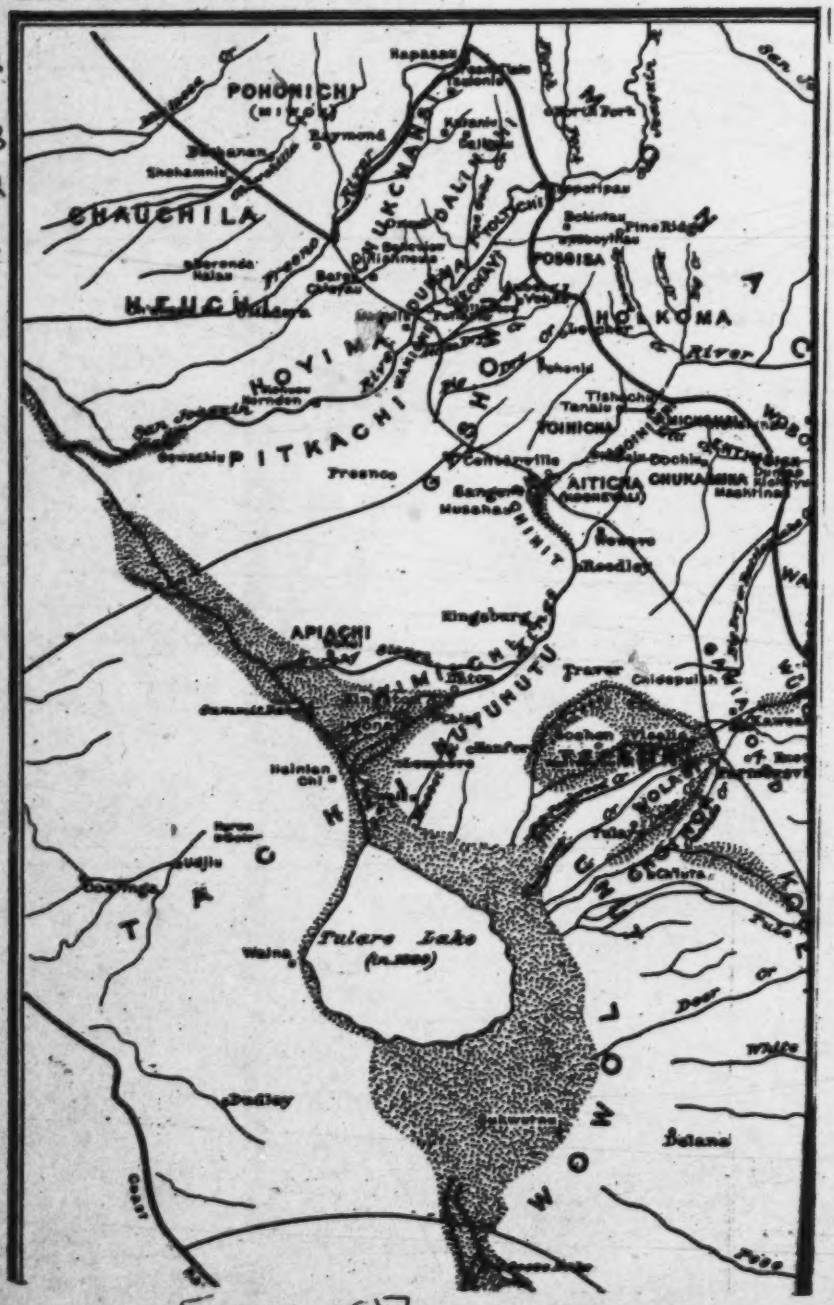
POHONICHI
CHAUCHILA
HOLKOMA
POSOISA
PITKACHI
TOHICHA
AITICHA
CHUKAMBA
APIACHI
Tulare Lake
Raymond
Fresno
Coalinga
Dudley
Delano
Porterville
Lindsay
Exeter
Visalia
Kingsburg
Reedley
Selma
Hanford
Corcoran
Tulare
Waukena
Lemoore
Kettleman City
Avenal
Coalinga
Guijito
Huron
Stratford
Laton
Caldspurgh
Cochin
Machrinda
Tishechapa
Tonkin
Pine Ridge
Bakersfield
Shafter
Wasco
Shoshone
Tipton
Pixley
Earlimart
Alpaugh
Allensworth
Porterville
Ivanhoe
Woodville
Cutler
Orosi
Dinuba
Reedley
Sanger
Kingsburg
Selma
Fowler
Caruthers
Kerman
Mendota
Firebaugh
Chowchilla
Madera
Coarsegold
Oakhurst
Bass Lake
Fish Camp
Ahwahnee
Mariposa
Coarse Gold
Raymond
Bonita
Shakeman
Shekamnio
Sheronda
Halsa
Bakersfield
Tehachapi
Mojave
Rosamond
Lancaster
Palmdale
Pomona
Ontario
Riverside
Corona
Anaheim
Santa Ana
Long Beach
San Pedro
Los Angeles
Pasadena
Glendale
Burbank
Hollywood
Santa Monica
Malibu
Ventura
Oxnard
Hueneme
Port Hueneme
Santa Barbara
Lompoc
Guadalupe
Nipomo
Arroyo Grande
Pismo
Paso Robles
San Luis Obispo
Atascadero
Templeton
Cambria
San Simeon
Cayucos
Morro Bay
Los Osos
Baywood Park
Cuyama
Maricopa
Taft
Bakersfield
Shafter
Wasco
Delano
Porterville
Lindsay
Exeter
Visalia
Tulare
Hanford
Corcoran

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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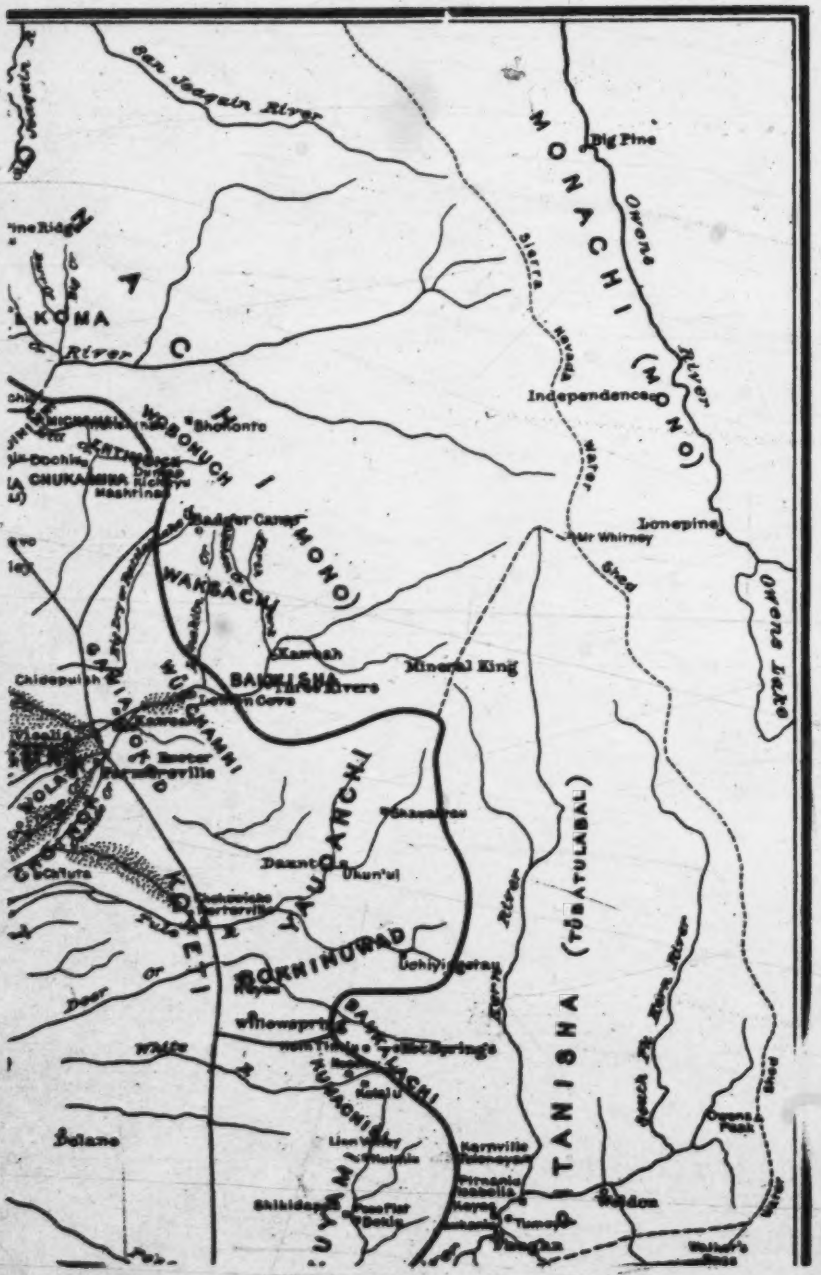

[p. 526-I(β)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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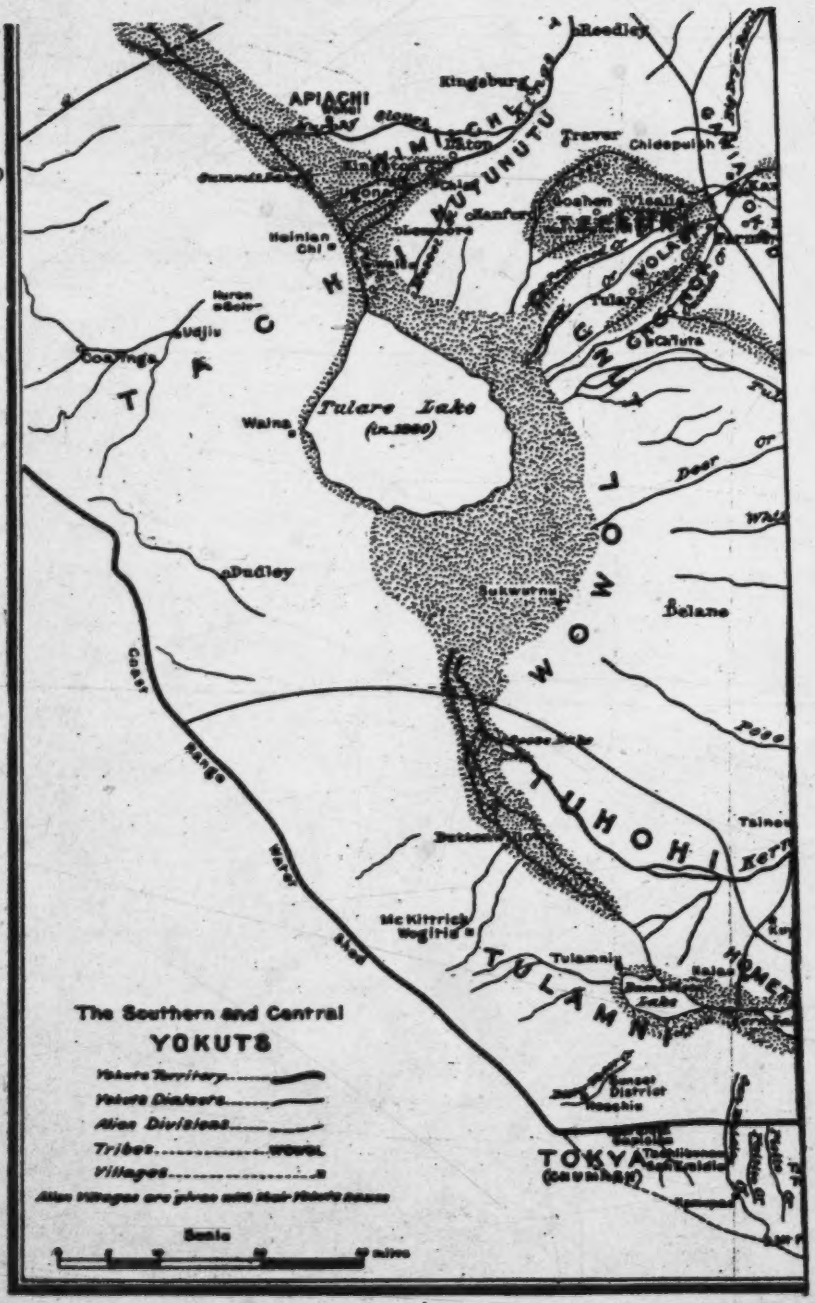

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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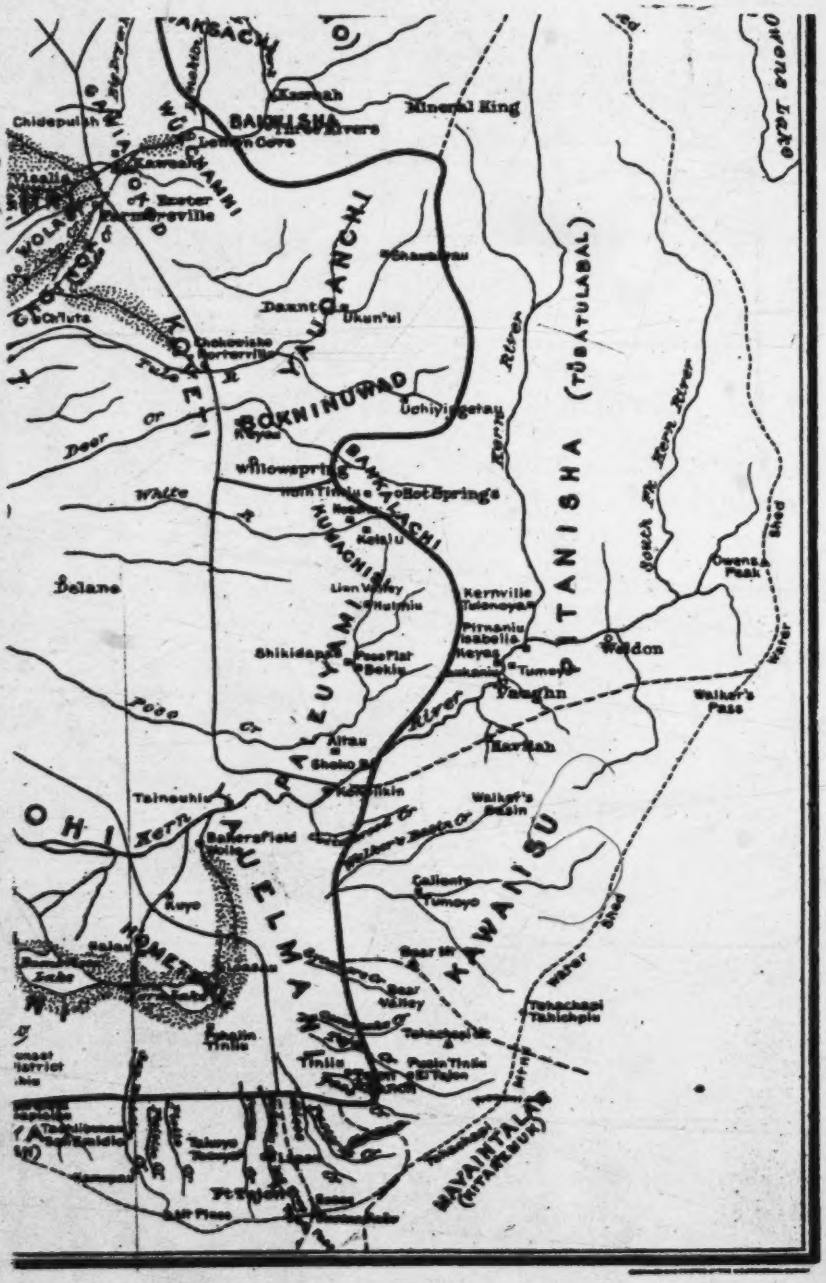
Owens Lake
Minerals King
Chidepulah
Exeter
Farmersville
Dinuba
Chowchilla
Dennt Cla
Ukun'ul
Uchiyingetau
Willowspring
Hot Springs
Delano
Lion Valley
Kernville
Tulenoyan
Pirnaniu
Isabella
Weldon
Shikidapa
Poso Flat
Tumoya
Yokuchan
Walker's Pass
Altas
Shoko
Kaviah
Tainouhiu
Walker's Basin
Bakersfield
Calloway
Tumoya
Kuyo
Bear Mt
Bear Valley
Tehachapi
Tahichapie
Tinlin
Pozo Tinlin
El Tejon
Tejon
Fr Tejon
Lost Pines
Kern River
Poso Cr
Deer Cr
Walker R
Tule R
Owens R
Rosch Cr
Kern River
Shed
Water
Shed
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2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 312, 361, 197

Chumash NS7
Serrano NS20

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C

Chart of the positions of map p. 526-II.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts

Chumash NS7

SERRANO NS20

C
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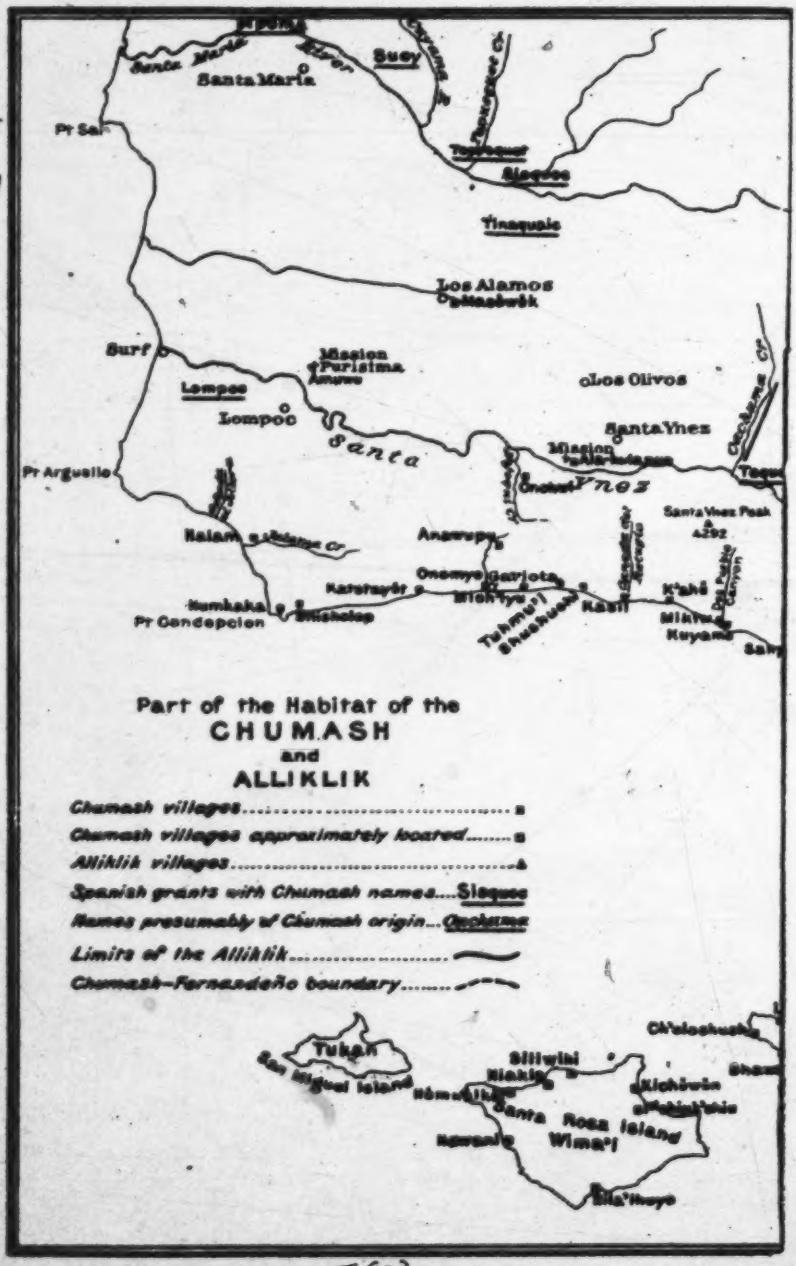
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY



p. 526-II (A)

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts

Chumash NS7
Serrano NS20

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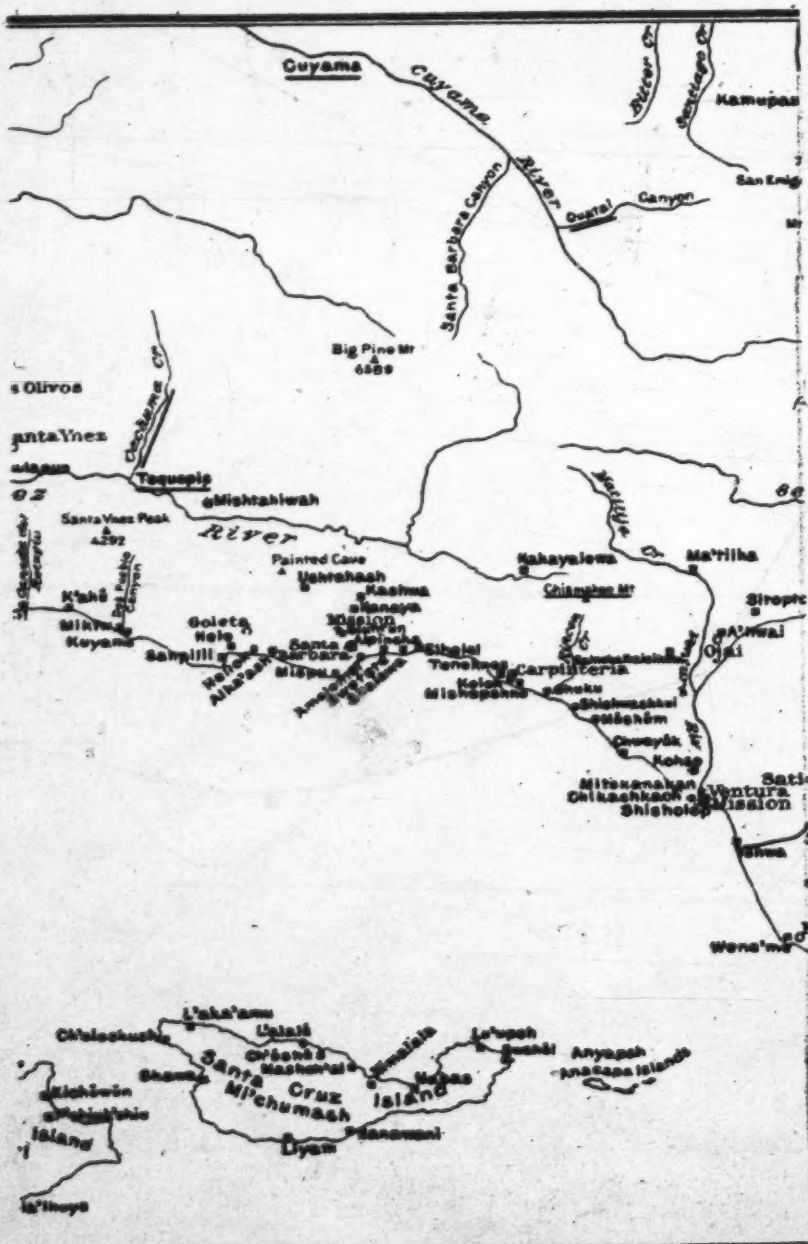

[p.526-II(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts

Chumash NS7

SERRANO NS20

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[p. 526-II(C)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with
262 a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket,
[251 pounded into flour, and cooked.
343]

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de-
[415 scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregu-
324] larly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple-
[415 ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among
177] whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwwush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for 224
dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic [789]
warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry.

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and 223
when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed.

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by
being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. [782]
You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways 226
may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could some-
times be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the [285]
women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *nademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 surface. The *t'unoi* net was fastened to a circular frame on a pole, held vertically, and raised. The more usual Californian net of this type is on a half hoop, and is used rather for scooping or horizontal lifting.

263 Salt may have been obtained at springs, but the reported cases are from the Pitkachi, whose "salt" stank; from the Chukchansi, who went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground; and from the Yaudanchi, who, with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as *alit* and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

THE BOW.

411 Common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick; good bows were carefully smoothed of large mountain cedar wood and sinew backed. The commonest type, primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.

Mention of the right and left end of the bow makes it seem to have been held horizontally, or at least diagonally, as by most California tribes.

The arrow, *shitid* generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *t'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow. The Mohave also fought with arrows lacking flint tips. The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

413 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of soft stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. (Pl. 49, *c*.) This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used this plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

SERRANO NS20

Western Mono NS25

River Yumans NT15

Diegueno US9

DRWYS 413

a

b

c

d

e

f

ARROW STRAIGHTENERS

a, b, Mono; c, Yokuts; d, Cahuilla; e, Diegueño; f, Mohave (pottery)

[p. 530(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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415

[237
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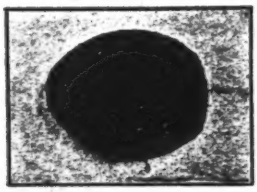
a



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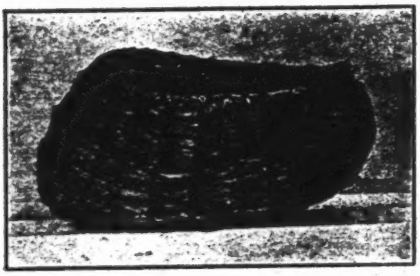

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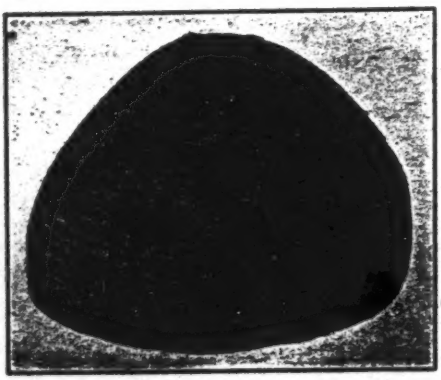

e

YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for soup-making; c, soft basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

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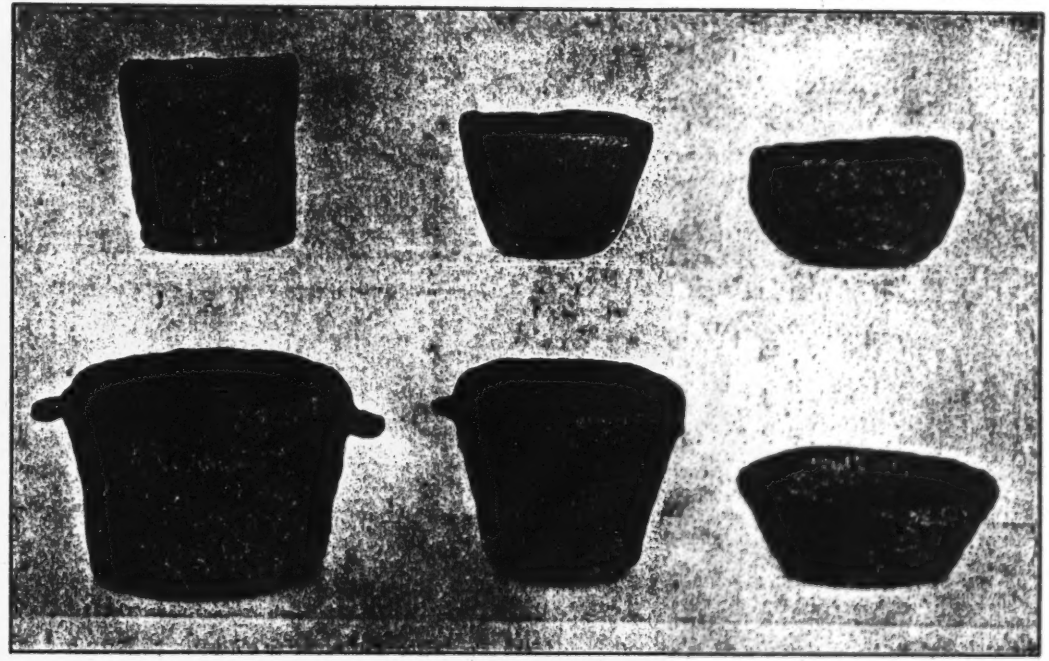

YOKUTS POTTERY

[p. 530(c)]

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411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity
285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the
531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however,
285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the
171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

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285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em- [525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

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tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [50]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

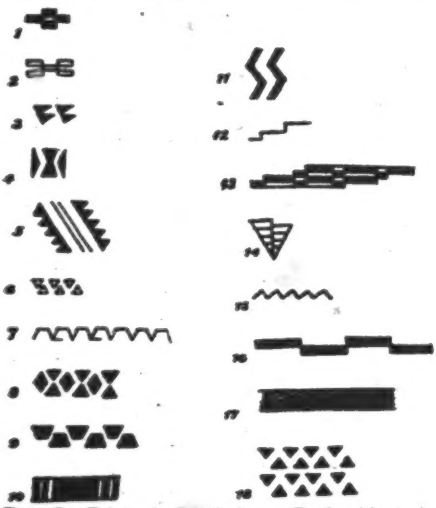

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chok, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

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283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle
352 or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is car-
285 ried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [171] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in [171] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

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by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found. 854 352 285 [171]

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

[171]

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *e*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is [171]

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854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f*
352 is found without a hood as well as with it.

Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the
285 same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
352 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
285 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*).
531 Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also. 352 285 531

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware. 323 184 171

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.) 323

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps 323 172 171 323

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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 171 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

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with one ball, but rather a form of the ball or stick race of the Southwest, each party propelling its knob of white oak with sticks instead of feet. The course, however, was short, within a definite field, the *katadwishchu;* and among the Chukchansi the ball had to be holed to win. 526

Chukchansi women played the same game with straighter sticks, and threw a hoop in place of striking the ball.

Another variant, though for men, was lacrosse, *ch'ityuish*, named after the racket, *ch'itei*. The "net" was nothing but a loop that half fitted the ball. This game was secondary to the *katduwish*.

In hoop and pole the throwing stick was called *payas*, the rolling buckskin-wound ring *tokoin*, and the carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house, *s'n*. The game itself, *hochuwish*, was substantially that of the Mohave; it extended as far north as the Chukchansi.

In the *aikwich* the pole was thrown at a sliding billet, *t'ich*. The same name is now applied to the Spanish "nine men's morris": the men are *aiek*.

A third form was the *haduwush*, in which darts were thrown at a mark hidden by a fence of brush.

There is no record of any Yokuts cup and ball game.

The guessing game was called *wehlawash* by the Chukchansi, *a'liwash* by the Yauelmani, *hi'uniwich* by the Yaudanchi. The former, like the northern Californians, used wooden pieces, or in a good set, bones; the latter, bits of cane slipped, as in southern California, over an endless string to prevent the deceit of interchange after the guess. The marked piece was called "man" and guessed for; the plain one was the "woman." The Yaudanchi shot out one finger if he meant the hand at which he pointed, but two to indicate the ignored side as containing the "man." When there were two pairs of players confronting each other, a single finger signified a guess at the hand indicated and at the partner's opposite hand; two fingers, the same hand of both players. These complications look like arbitrary elaborations; but like most such Californian devices, they spring from an intensive development of the spirit of the game. A gesture begun with one finger can be finished with two if the instant suffices for recognition of a trace of satisfaction in the opponent's countenance as he realizes an impending false guess. These attempts to provoke betrayal imply instantaneous shiftings of features and fingers and lightninglike decisions and reactions; and it is impossible to have seen a Californian Indian warmed to his work in this game when played for stakes—provided its aim and method are understood—and any longer justly to designate him mentally sluggish and emotionally 525

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525 apathetic, as is the wont. It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the supplest of muscular responses are matched; and only rarely are the faculties of a Caucasian left sufficiently undulled in adult age to compete other than disastrously against the Indian practiced in his specialty. Seen in this light, the contortions, gesticulations, [152] noises, and excitement of the native are not the mere uncontrolledness of an overgrown child, but the outward reflexes of a powerfully surcharged intensity, and devices that at once stimulate the contestant's energy still further and aid him in dazzling and confusing his opponent. There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities.

The Yaudanchi shuffled under a blanket instead of behind the back or in bunches of hay. Among the Chukchansi only women used the blanket.

Chomwosh is the guessing or matching of hidden fingers. It is too little described to allow of a decision between the possibilities of native and Mediterranean origin.

Dice was the woman's game. There were two forms. *Huchuwish* was played with 8 *huech*, half shells of nut filled with pitch or asphalt and bits of sea shell, thrown from both hands on a basketry tray, *t'aiwan*. The far-away Chemehuevi play this much like the southern Yokuts, though with 6 instead of 8 pieces; it appears to be a game of Shoshonean origin. The Chukchansi keep the name, but use 6 split acorn kernels. Beyond them, the course of the game becomes uncertain. For the Miwok nothing is known, and the Maidu seem to lack all dice. The Yaudanchi played for 12 counters, and the scoring ran: 5 of 8 flat surfaces up, 2 counters; 2 up, 1; any other number, none. The Chukchansi won by taking 10 counters, and considered only the possible combinations of falls, irrespective of side. Six to none counted 4 points; 4 to 2 or 3 to 3, 1; 5 to 1, nothing. Such variations seem to occur in all Californian games, even between adjacent areas.

The second dice game, *tachuwish*, was played with 6 (or 8) split sticks, *dalak*, of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin.

There was a generic word, *goyuwinich*, for gambler. *Gwiunaushid mak*, "let us gamble," the Yaudanchi would say.

AESTHETICS.

517 Apart from basket patterns, there was no trace of activity of graphic or plastic art in Yokuts life. The images in the mourning ceremony were symbols of the rudest kind. Anything like the trac-

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ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint. 517

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts. 517 171

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints. 517 538

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

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the larger valleys, though they were the first to crumble at the touch of the Caucasian, elaborated a more complex culture than the hill tribes; and the Yokuts were a lowland people in a greater measure than any other stock in California. 17/ 18/

But it is also evident that wherever the soil of history is really penetrated in California a rich variety of growths is found. If a little mountain group like the Yuki, placed between more highly civilized nations, has been able to evolve feature after feature of cultural distinctness, there is every reason to believe that the same would prove to be true of nearly all the California tribes, if only we really knew them; and a large, compact, and prosperous block of people like the Yokuts would be exceptional only in having carried the development of their originality somewhat farther than the majority. 18/

It so happens that in the long stretch of land between the Maidu and the Luiseño no tribe has yet been exhaustively studied with any array of information. It is therefore inevitable that the present account of the Yokuts, the first rendered in any detail, scattered as that is, should reveal many novelties. But there is nothing to encourage the belief that if the Miwok, the Tübatulabal, the Serrano, or the Salinans had happened to be chosen, there would have been any notably less quantity of interesting peculiarities revealed; not to mention that for the Pomo and Chumash, little known as they are, we have every indication of a civilizational richness greater, if anything, than that evinced by the Yokuts.

In other words, the exact understanding of the Indian history of California still lies before us. Some foundations may have been laid for it in the present work. The outlines were sketched for all time 40 years ago by the masterly hand of Stephen Powers. But the real structure will be a gift of the future; and its materials can only be assembled by investigations far more intensive, as well as continuous, than those yet undertaken.

3625°—25——36

For the collecting and processing of salt grass for its salt content, see Categories 222, and 263.

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[TITLE Page]

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HANDBOOK
of
YOKUTS INDIANS

By

F. F. LATTA

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1949

[P. i]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[facing p. i]

797

Padre Francisco Garces' Memorial in Garces Traffic Circle, Golden State Highway, Bakersfield, California. Padre Garces visited Kern River and the Southern Yokuts tribes in May, 1776.
—Photograph by Paul Adams

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1949

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To

Yoimut,
who provided the
inspiration and information
that made this volume
possible

[P. iii]
[P. IV not Processed]

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FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe defi-
nitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit-
[262] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi-
[197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means
he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an
interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of
their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long
one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and
environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he
is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy
of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the
Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

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114 their native culture still survived, in practice or in memory, than now. Yet Latta's wealth of precise facts again and again makes me aware of how much I missed that I might have recorded.

Latta's volume should be a source of pride to the patriotism of the San Joaquin Valley and a basis for its local history, as it surely is a contribution toward the general, comparative study of the cultures of the races of mankind.

A. L. Kroeber

March 29, 1948

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PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 115 124

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114 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have
115 been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first
124 white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

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CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San
101 Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the
131 upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

[161] These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less
101 than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

[619] There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

174 The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

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177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living 177 Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are 172 quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re- 361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

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the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

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10 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*.
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu*.

36 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
226 *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

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[45] 101 103 131 619 361

Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

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101 about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*.
103 Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land,
131 was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings
619 on the north slope were known by the same name and were thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

361 North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

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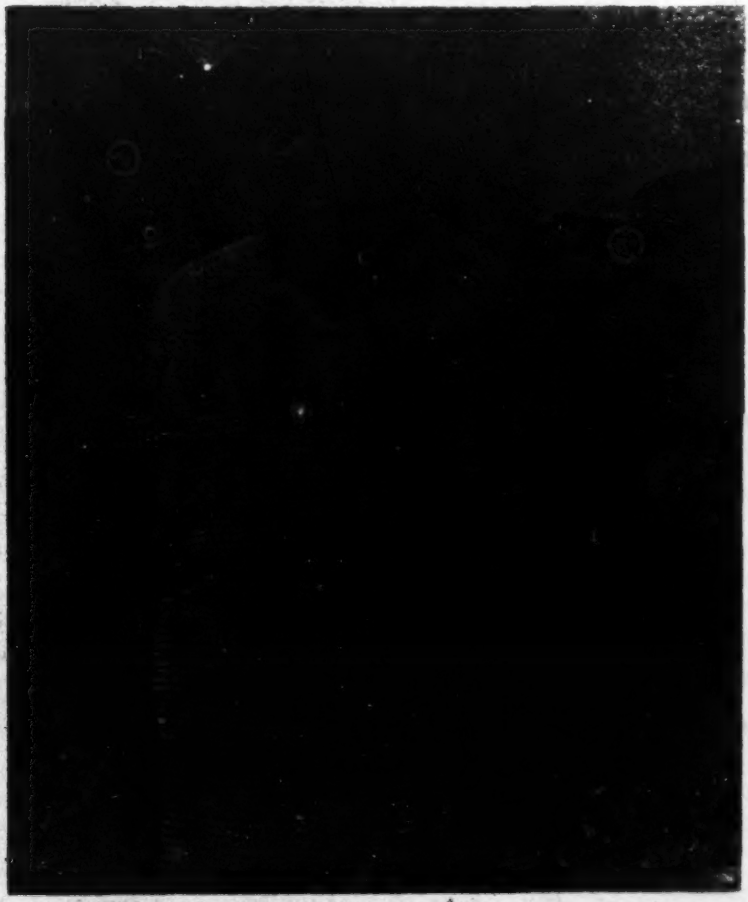

Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunutu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long
131 ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-
619 oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu*
103 (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just
36 southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-kimeen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw
[622] Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

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The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukai-mina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood Creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

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MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

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101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
619 *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
361 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823] MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619 361

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*.

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

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Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in 131
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home 361
villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 159
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 648
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

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159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian
103 to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

"We stay there one week and have dance for dead people.
[648] Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[142]

This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] when he was small boy. He call that village *Hah-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahno's old-time stories were just like ours—how Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 how the Kahwatchwah got fire. He told me lots more things
773 'bout his people, but I guess I forget 'em. It's too long ago."

During November and December of 1815, Sergeant Jose
175 Dolores Pico made an excursion into the Joaquin after Indians who had run many horses away from Mission San Juan Bautista. In his diary-report covering this expedition, Pico mentioned several Indian names which may be the names of Indian tribes, of villages, or of headmen of villages.

Pico stated that his party traveled easterly from San Luis Gonzaga, which is located definitely enough to be positively identified as present San Luis Gonzaga Rancho Headquarters at the east mouth of Pacheo Pass. Leaving San Luis in the evening and traveling eastwardly, the party arrived about midnight "at the creek called San Jose."

At first thought one might decide that the San Jose Creek mentioned would be the well known Sanjon de San Jose in the vicinity of San Jose School, Kings County. But between evening and midnight they could not possibly have traveled that far, a distance of seventy-five miles, airline, and at least ninety miles by known trails. The nearest point on that channel, now known as Fish Slough, southeast of Mendota, is fifty miles airline from San Luis, and about sixty-five miles by the old trail.

Pico's party certainly did not travel at more than five miles an hour, or at most, twenty-five miles between seven P. M. and midnight. This would have taken them to about the present Santa Rita Rancho, directly east from San Luis. They probably traveled at a rate of about three miles an hour. One can be certain that at midnight they were somewhere between San Luis Camp (seven miles north of present Los Baños) and present Dos Palos.

The Pico force rested from midnight until "time to fall upon the rancherie of the *Che neches.*" The name used could have been that of the local chief, the tribe, or the village. One would suppose it was the name of the tribe, but experience has taught that the name of the tribe was seldom obtained by such parties. Most often they designated villages and even tribes by the name of the local Headman, who was well known to them and who was on their "must" list.

Four leagues away (anywhere from nine to fifteen miles, according to the accuracy with which such expeditions estimated distance) was a "rancherie called *Nopchendies.*" The

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim*." 175

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission." [251]

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages. 101 103

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

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101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

101 When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
103 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which
648 decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, *"Oh-rays-teem'-bah,"* meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

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were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, 175
near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must 127
mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.]

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo - - - - .

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of Cali- 114
fornia, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the 127
San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name.

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West 127
Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend.

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare 101
Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up

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101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of Tipton.

From there to the present town of Porterville the channel
101 of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village
103 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on
131 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the
361 present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

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were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named *Ahsaw*. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

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101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There
103 was once a village there having the same name. Between the
131 forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which
361 was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

Soksouh (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural
[776 spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceil-
532] ing of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Bag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of Kawlpawpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'kawn Tultuh*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknow*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

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101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sik-etepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

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Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101 103 131 361

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi.*

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli.* Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu.* At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

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184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
101 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
101 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
181 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
184 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

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"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." [142 262 342]

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 462 [491]

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101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at 184 one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

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the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the lake houses. 285

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright. 342

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time. 501 [354]

To understand the reason for this difference between the method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved. 133

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days [132]

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133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [28] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were 361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a 342 sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves 291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] 522 [48]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [181] [648]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

25 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
[361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[324] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[68 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
[262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of
[181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far
184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné, Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes. [75]

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence. [164] [132]

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream. [137]

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to
131 four other large groups which once occupied almost half of
619 what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok*
131 (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life
[171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

from the deltas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers north to Trinity River were the Wintun. Extending along the western Sierra foothills from the Miwok to the Pit River drainage basin were the *Maidu* (My'-doo). 101 13

To the southwest, south, and southeast of the Yokuts were foreign blood and language groups of primitive peoples. The *Salinan* group occupied the territory directly to the southwest of the Yokuts, including the valley of the Salinas River. Practically nothing is known of them. It is doubtful if a single full-blood individual has been living since about 1890. The name, *Cholame*, is a Salinan word and is now applied to a locality which was once in their territory, which extended south to a point near the north end of the Carrizo Plains.

South of the Salinan were the *Canaliño*, who undoubtedly occupied the Carrizo Plains as far north as the Painted Rock and Soda Lake. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of Canaliño descendants at the Indian settlement in Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

Cuyama Valley was held by the Canaliño. The word *Cuyama*, taken from their language, is said to mean Clam Shell. [103]

The only known name of a Canaliño tribe bordering on the Yokuts is that of the *Tokya*, who extended from a point west of Paleta to the eastern limits of the Canaliño. Upper San Emigdio, Tecuya, Grapevine, and Pastoria Creeks are reported as having been in Tokya territory. In the Canaliño language Rancho Viejo Creek, just east of Grapevine Canyon, was called *Kwat'-lah-tah Quab'-la-quad*. Sapateria Creek was *Kahshe Nashahmo*, meaning The People There Save Things.

The name of San Emigdio Creek, and the Indian Village there was *Lashlepun* (Lash'-le-poon). The name means Cut Through, because the creek there cuts deeply through the mountains.

The *Shoshonean* Indians of Tejon Canyon called Grapevine Canyon *Shehveng Gahchah Upeh*, which means exactly the same as the white man's name for the place. The Canaliño Indians called Grapevine Canyon *Mut-tahp'-cho Whel-leh'-we*, which means Cottonwood Trees.

The eastern limits of the Canaliño across the southern boundary of Yokuts territory are not definitely established. The rugged terrain between the Cuyama and Antelope valleys shows little evidence of primitive occupation. Somewhere in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans*.

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk*. When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, "*Ah kik-ke tah nim*", meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu*. The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe*, which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe*. Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse*. At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe*. Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch*.

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu*. This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo*. Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu*, after which modern Tehachapi was named.

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North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi*. As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yek*, of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

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Les'-yah, now aged about 95 and last surviving full-blood of the Bankalachi Tribe from near Glennville, Eastern Kern County.

and helped record the names of many village sites and natural landmarks. On the site of present Kernville was the Bankalachi village of *Tulonoya*. Another Bankalachi village, *Pitnaniu*, was located where Isabella is now. Where Bodfish is now was the village of *Tumoyo*. *Haukasiu* was located where the old mining village of Keyesville was established. *Mawsow* (ow as in cow) was the Bankalachi name for a village about a mile and a half above the forks of Poso and Little Poso Creeks. It was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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on the west side of Poso Creek and was in *Paleuyami* territory. Hot Springs, on Deer Creek, was always called *Kahtil Ilkow* (Hot Springs).

Back of the Bankalachi, and extending north to present Mineral King, were the *Pitanisha*, of which the Bankalachi were a subdivision.

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On the Kaweah River, surrounding present Camp Potwisha and extending east into Sequoia National Park where the *Balwishi*, or *Pahd'-wishi*. Hospital Rock was known by the Pahdwishi as *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under, Moro Rock, the great granite dome which stands out so impressively above Hospital Rock, was known as *Wah'-ah Yah'-kow*, or High Rock. Castle Rocks on the south side of Kaweah River, opposite Moro Rock, in Pahdwishi territory, were named *Lungnotim*. The mountain known as Homer's nose, in the high Sierra south of Castle Rocks was named *Topousha*, meaning Leaning Rock.

The high, sharp peak northwest of the old North Tharp home, and also in Pahdwishi territory, was called *Ducuntow*. On the south bank of the Kaweah River, just south of Ducuntow was a village named *Hawtyunyu*. About two miles up the little valley southeast of the North Tharp home was the village of *Yumuhtow*.

The Pahdwishi had at the bridge just below the present Three Rivers store a seasonal camping site which was called *Chopaw*. The high hills across the river north of Chopaw were called *Nawhawntow*, meaning Bear Place, because a bear once killed an Indian there. Just across the road about eighty yards east of the Camp Howdy store was a salt spring called *Tushow*. The Indians obtained salt by boiling down this water. Sawtooth Peak, back of Mineral King, was called *Kah-did'-it*. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shim*. Yucca Point, just above Ash Mountain checking station, was called *Kawidow*, meaning Yucca Place. The red paintings at Hospital Rock were called *Hawyu*, meaning Red.

North of the Pahdwishi were the *Wuksache*. They occupied upper Rattlesnake Creek and the territory around present Badger. The mountain east of Ash Springs, in Wuksachi land, was called *Wehe*. Bear Mountain, south and west of Badger, and the long ridge which runs southwest from it were called *Chawhawmin*. At Stokes Mountain, south of old Ankland, there are several Wuksachi landmarks. A short distance below the old Stokely Stokes ranch home was the village of *Tungnow*.

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The small gap through which the road passes north of the Stokes ranch house was named *Wahwunow*. Eshom Valley, in Wuksachi territory, was named *Chetatu* (Che-taht'-oo), or Clover Place. (D)

Above Dunlap and opposite the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits) Yokuts were the *Wobonuch*.

On upper Sycamore and Big Creeks, north of Kings River and above the Choinimne Yokuts were the *Holkoma*.

On Pine Ridge were the *Posgisa*.

These last five tribes, Posgisa, Holkoma, Wobonuch, Wuksachi, and Pahdwishi were known collectively as *Monaches*. All of these tribes east of the Yokuts and extending south to the Canaliño are classified as *Shoshoneans*.

Readers who are interested in knowing more about these Yokuts relatives and neighbors should refer to Bulletin 78, Bureau of American Ethnology, by A. L. Kroeber and titled *Handbook of the Indians of California*.

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Yowlumne

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CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

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Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the 103 Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinchiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F 172 streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

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Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

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Yowlumne

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Wahumchah and his sister, Ihalut, last surviving full-bloods of the Yowlumne Yokuts tribe. Both were born at the village of Wawcoye (Waw-coy'-e) on the south bank of Kern River one-half mile below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Wahumchah is eighty-six years of age and Ihalut ninety.

because they have been generally thought to have been extinct since about 1920.

One of the surviving Yowlumne is *Wahumchah* (Wah-hum'-chah) known to white people living in and around Woodlake and Visalia in Tulare County as Henry Lawrence. Wahumchah is now 86 years of age.

The second surviving full-blood Yowlumne is *I-hal'-ut*, known to her neighbors at Tule River Indian Reservation as Mrs. Mary Santiago. She is a full sister of Wahumchah and is 90 years of age. Both of these people were born at the old Yowlumne Indian village of *Wawcoye* on the south side of Kern River between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. When these two Yowlumne are gone, extinction will have been the fate of the tribe of Yokuts which once occupied the territory surrounding Bakersfield.

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Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is 101
necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It 124
appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people."

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from [103] that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat."

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its*, the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as 101
did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 131

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized bound-
131 aries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private
576 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that
574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

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411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and
237 carried a longer string than other bows of the same length. The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue
[38] made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was
281 sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and repointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

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The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped. 411 224

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal. [824]

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound. [823]

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed. 411 726

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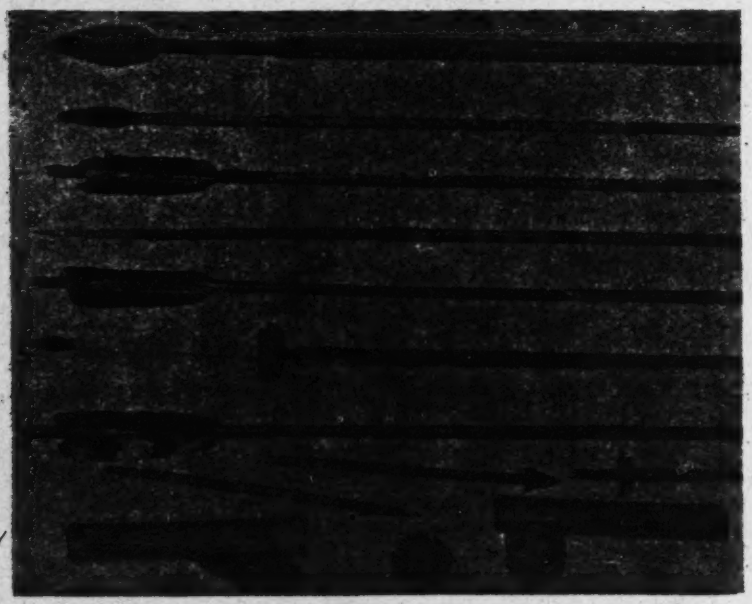

ARROWS AND TOOLS

Top shows a fore-shafted javelin. Second from top is a one-piece arrow. Third, fifth and seventh from top shop the use of red-tailed hawk feathers. Fourth from the top shows a wooden foreshaft. Sixth from the top shows the skip-bomb arrow. Eighth from the top shows, left to right, foreshafts used for squirrels, war and birds.

Bottom, left and right, shows chipped stone knives set in wooden handles by means of asphaltum. Center is a skip-bomb roll of tule for use on the javelin shown at the top.

All of the above were made by Wahumchah, last surviving man from the Yowlumne tribe.

411 223 Bird fore-shafts had a sharp wooden point with two crossed pairs of small sticks attached to it by sinews about an inch and a half from the point. Yokuts claim that this point would not glance off the feathers of the bird, but would pull many of them out, tearing the skin, and badly bruising the body. This point also often broke the wing of a bird when an ordinary arrow would not.

411 224 Squirrels were shot with a wooden pointed foreshaft having a barb attached to it about two inches from the point. The projecting foreshaft prevented the squirrel from crawling

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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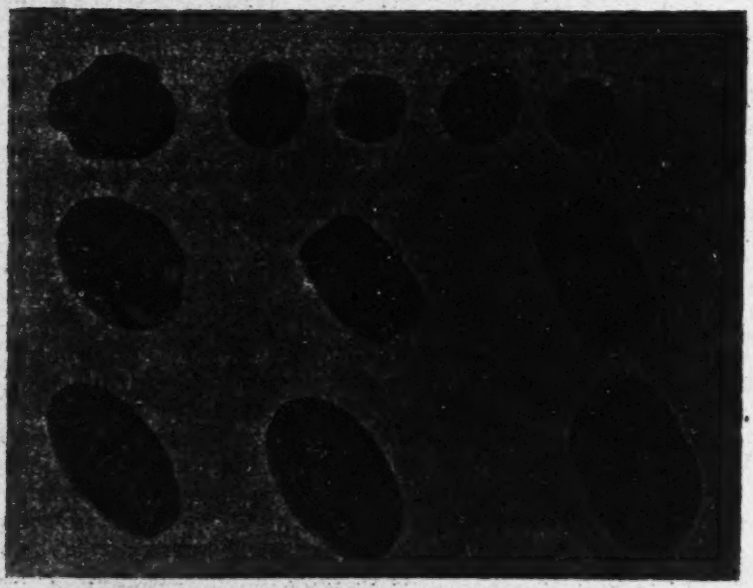

Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wukchumne. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1865, "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.
At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to peck the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary waterproofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon.

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411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a [258] crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews [823] were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

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Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish*, or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup*, the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start. 438 484 123

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials. [141]

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317 blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135] I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302] for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[824] to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

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Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such [261]
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made [484] up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chis*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Yokuts bead money and three types of measurement used by various Yokuts tribes to denote one Chok, or unit of money. At the left is shown the measurement extending around the hand. At the center is the measurement extending from wrist to fingertips. At the right is the measurement around the hand foreward of the thumb. The Indian woman at the left is wearing strings of bead money around her neck and in her hair.

Between the Wukchumne, *Pahdwishi* and *Kaweah*, the *Chok*, or unit of measurement of bead money—in other words, the Yokuts dollar—was the distance around the hand, measuring just outside of the thumb. Among the *Telumne* (Tay'-lumne), distant only twenty miles from the Wukchumne, it was the distance from the tip of the longest finger to the first wrinkle in the wrist. Incidentally, these two distances are almost equal. Some of the Yokuts tribes measured the chok around the rim of the hand. Ichow explained that in such cases the hand was placed flat on the ground and the beads measured around the hand from the last joint of the thumb to the last joint of the little finger.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
435 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of
438 average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

436 When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
172 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls. 436 172

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F. W. Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as probably being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded to the *Entimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves. 487 439 [172]

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California. 487 439 172 [177]

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaelogical evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast. 487 439

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487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

A few Yowlumne traders traveled to what is now Inyo County to trade for mineral salt, and for obsidian, the volcanic glass used in making arrow and spear points. They also traveled to the West Side to trade for asphaltum from the deposits near present Maricopa and McKittrick. Some venturesome traders traveled to the coast near Moro Bay to trade for abalone, Pismo clam, keyhole limpet, and periwinkle shells, from which some of their ornaments and money were made. 487 439

Many kinds of herbs, roots and seeds in addition to saltweed ashes and salt from salt grass, were traded, but to a limited extent, because the growth of most herbs and roots was wide-spread in the San Joaquin Valley. Dried wild blackberries were traded to the people who lived on the plains and lake shores away from the rivers, where those berries grew in abundance. [251]

Yowlumne traders traveled as far north as *Yokohl* Valley, northeast of present Lindsay, to trade for steatite, or soapstone, from which were made their cooking vessels and one variety of bead money. Chalcedony, jasper, agate, and any other stone which was easily chipped into arrow points was also valued very highly. Rare curios or oddities of any kind had a high trade value. Quartz crystals, star-fish, sea urchins, cowrie shells, the canine teeth of grizzly bears, and any other uncommon objects, were certain of a ready market by trade. [135]

To fully explain Yokuts trading and trade routes would require more space than is available for this entire article. But it is necessary to know at least something of this practice, which, because of the low mountain passes to both east and west, was probably more extensive among the Yowlumne than it was among most other Yokuts tribes.

According to old Yowlumne Indians, elk, deer and antelope skins, steatite and the salt from native salt grass were the local key articles of trade. They were scarce in much of the desert territory east of the Sierra.

Yowlumne traders would gather a pack of tanned skins, purchasing them with Yokuts money, and carry them to the desert, where there were deposits of obsidian, or volcanic glass. As there existed a set standard of values between deer skins and obsidian, it required only a short period of visiting, news exchange, and bartering before the Yowlumne trader was ready to return to his home on Kern River.

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439 It is difficult to obtain a set standard of Yokuts values
436 that white people can understand. It has also been very diffi-
487 cult to obtain from the Yowlumne an easily understood explana-
tion of such values. Perhaps the simplest of these has been that between deer skins and obsidian, a bundle of fifty tanned deer skins bringing about fifty pounds of obsidian.

In Yowlumne territory obsidian could be traded for anything, and had a very high trade value. It could be taken to Yokohl Valley and traded for soapstone, or to the West Side and traded for asphaltum. Some traders carried obsidian to the sea coast to trade for the seashells named above.

A few definite things have been learned about the value of seashells, which were the basis of most Yokuts money. One of these is that the complete shells had little value compared to the beads that were made from them. From one periwinkle, or olivella shell, at most three beads could be made and this required much labor. One tanned deerskin was worth three such beads. Beads or ornaments made from abalone, keyhole limpet, or Pismo clam shells had more value than did those made from periwinkle shells. These ornaments, or beads, were much larger than those made from periwinkle shells. From these few facts can be determined the relative values of a number of Yokuts commodities.

When the first white settlers arrived in the San Joaquin Valley they paid the Indians as much as twenty-five cents for a large, tanned deerskin. Some were purchased for as little as five cents. This furnishes almost the only data available concerning the comparative values of Yokuts and white money.

436 In 1852 a Kaweah Indian boy was brought to trial at Vi-
685 salia for shooting an arrow into a work ox and seriously injur-
ing it. For this offense he was fined fifty buckskins. The fine was promptly paid by his people. From early records and the statements of pioneers we know that an ox was at that time worth from sixty to eighty dollars. If we knew what portion of the value of the ox the fine represented we would have a ready measurement of the value of buckskins. We are probably only justified in assuming that an uninjured ox was valued at more than fifty buckskins.

439 Wahumchah's grandfather and a brother of this grand-
487 father were two of the four Yowlumne Yokuts who swam with
Padre Garcés across Kern River at the Rio Bravo Rancho (present Olcese Ranch) in May of 1776. The great-uncle lived

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to tell Wahumchah of this experience, as well as about the old trade routes. When Wahumchah was a small boy his father herded sheep on Kern River for the Jewetts. From the hills beside Cottonwood Creek he pointed out to Wahumchah the old trails over which his father had traveled in trading to the coast and to the desert, east of the Sierra. In 1937, following the powerline road south of the mouth of Kern River Canyon, I drove Wahumchah to those same hills and had him point out to me the routes of the old trails his father and great uncle had pointed out to him, more than sixty years before. After he was a grown man, Wahumchah had worked at the Tejon Ranch and had traveled over several of the trails on horseback and had heard other old Yowlumne Yokuts relate the same stories his father had told about them. So the routes were well fixed in his mind.

Here is Wahumchah's statement, recorded in May, 1937, in his own words: "In them old days the Indians got no trail up Kern River. They go up Cottonwood Creek and around the mountain the way that old wagon road go to Whiskey Flat [Kernville]. Then the trail go over Walker's Pass or out Walker's Basin by Piute Mountain to desert. One trail go up to Tehachapi and out Oak Creek Pass to desert. Another trail to desert go up Tejon Canyon back Tejon Ranchos House. Next old trail go up Pastoria Creek across the mountain south to Quail Lake. I don't remember about one go up Grapevine Creek where highway is now. Maybe it did, but I don't remember it.

"Most important old trail go over mountain where them white men get oil long time ago [Old Sunset, southwest of present Maricopa]. It go by Paleta to Cuyama Valley. All trade from Santa Barbara, and Santa Maria go that way. 'Nother old trail go by Carrizo Plains to Coast. Then one more go by the same road you go now from Bakersfield to Paso Robles. I think that's 'bout last road I know to coast.

"But they got some trails in valley too. They got one trail on each side Kern River. One from Tejon cross Kern River where Padre Garcés cross. That's the one he come from Tejon. It run on to Tule River and Kaweah River. One trail go across *Trawlawin* (Traw-law'-win), San Joaquin Valley, north of Buena Vista Lake and one south of Kern Lake. Them old Yowlumne traders use them old trails all time. They go everywhere and nobody bother them. My grandpa and his

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439 brother take big roll of tanned deer skins, maybe antelope skins, to desert, bring back maybe fifty pounds *kots* (obsidian). Then
487 he make good arrow points and sell 'em for good Yokuts money, maybe shell beads, maybe *kadis* (steatite) beads. He sell one good tanned deerskin for one good kadis bead, maybe three good seashell bead."

The preceding represents all the definite information I have been able to record concerning Yokuts trading and trade routes, but around the remainder of the rim of the San Joaquin Valley are easy mountain passes which show signs of Indian encampments and which were undoubtedly old Yokuts trade routes. The fact that early Spanish and American expeditions traveled these passes, often guided by Indians, makes it almost certain that they were so used. Some diaries kept by scribes accompanying these early expeditions actually record that they were following Indian trails.

Most prominent of these old routes through the Coast Range are the following: Coalinga to San Benito and King City; Big Panoche Valley; Los Baños Creek and via Saucelito and Quien Sabe Valleys; San Luis Creek and Pacheco Pass; Orestimba and De la Puerta Creeks; Hospitál Creek; Corral Hollow; Buenos Aires Creek; and Altamont Pass. Over most of these passes roads were established early in the settlement of the San Joaquin Valley. Old trails through them connected with others paralleling the Coast Range and Sierra foothills and the west bank of the San Joaquin River and the lakes to the south. Along these three last routes were established the first wagon roads to traverse the length of the San Joaquin Valley.

THE YOKUTS MONETARY SYSTEM

436 It will come as a surprise to many persons that the Yokuts, so often contemptuously described as "diggers" or "the lowest form of human life," were among the few Indians in North America who developed a medium of exchange worthy of being classified as a monetary system. This writer had gathered data from aged Yokuts for about twenty years before he became aware of the fact that when the Spanish arrived the Yokuts were advancing out of the more primitive trade and barter culture into that of a system of monetary exchange. True, their monetary system was very crude, but the necessary elements were there and the money could not be successfully counterfeited. A penniless Yokuts could kill deer, tan the skins, carry them

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into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor. 436

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley. [454]

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money. [301]

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well 436 324 [438]

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436 as more thousands in all stages of completion. A study of these
324 proved that the steatite was first split into thin slabs, gouged, scraped, and sanded smooth, then cut into strips by means of a chipped stone saw. I found two of these saws, their chipped
[412] edges still coated with steatite. The strips were next cut into squares. Cuts were made from opposite sides until the strip was severed. Then holes were drilled in the square blanks.

Ichow, last chief of the Wukchumne, explained to me the whole process of making steatite beads, not knowing at the time that I had already found proof of almost every statement he was making. Said Ichow, "When I was a boy I saw an old Wukchumne man make lots beads. He drive stake in ground. He sit on ground straddle that stake. He cut little square hole in top that stake. He put square bead in that hole. Then he take little stick with *kots* (obsidian) drill point on end. He spin that drill between his hands and make holes in them square beads."

Ichow went on to explain that the square beads were strung on a small, hardened rod of chamise wood and rolled between the hand and a gritty, flat piece of sandstone. This ground the corners from the square beads and left them of uniform size. This steatite bead was the most common form of Wukchumne money. Said Ichow, "Most our money was them soapstone beads. Them *Telumne, Kaweah, Koyeti,* and *Choinok* used the same beads almost all time. Them *Chunut, Tachi,* and *Wowol* people used more shell money, but they used some our soapstone money, too."

The most interesting feature of this steatite Yokuts money is that the edges of it were milled, almost exactly as are the edges of our silver dollar. The principal difference in the milling was that the Yokuts bead-money was milled at an angle with the flat sides. This milling is surprisingly uniform and will be found on this form of Yokuts money at old village sites from Paleta and Tejon Canyon on the south, to Coalinga and Friant on the north.

436 Spangles and ornaments of various forms and sizes were
301 made from abalone shell. I have several statements establishing the fact that they passed from person to person as money; but because of their supernatural power, they were valued so highly that such use was greatly restricted. They were known as *Tahp* and were used on *Tripne* (supernatural) ceremonial costumes. They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or

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They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.—Analys]

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436 From the Pismo clam were also produced nicely smoothed
321 and rounded curved objects with pointed ends. These were drilled from the pointed ends, the opposing holes meeting at the middle. I have never seen one of these objects taken any place in Yokuts territory, except from the mouth cavity of a buried skeleton.

Slender, straight-sided tubes were also made from Pismo clam-shell. They varied from three-eighths of an inch in diameter and three inches long, down to one-fourth of an inch in diameter and less than one inch long. Some were not cylindrical, being larger at the middle than at the ends. The Wukchumne Yokuts called these *Cutscotch* (Coots'-cotch).

The most valued of all clamshell money were long, curved tubes. These varied with the size of the shell, the largest being more than six inches in length. They were slightly wider than they were thick and were perforated lengthwise. This perforation is the most remarkable feature of all Yokuts manufactures.

The shell of the Pismo clam is as hard as the glaze on a piece of china. To drill two opposing holes, each three inches deep, through such material, having them meet in the middle, is a feat worthy of modern tools in the hands of a practiced mechanic. Mayfield, who was a white man raised by the *Choinimni*
[432] Yokuts, stated to me that an old artisan of that tribe obtained in trade slender objects which he (Mayfield) believed were "walrus, or sea lion whiskers." The large ends of these were pounded between two rocks, forming a sort of short-bristled brush. A shallow hole was drilled with a stone-pointed drill as a starter. Fine, sharp sand was placed in this hole. Then the brush-pointed "whisker" was placed on top of the sand and spun between the palms of the hands. Mayfield had not seen the Pismo clam money drilled in this manner, but had seen other hard objects so drilled. From Ichow I learned that an identical process was used by the Wukchumne and Yokodo. The only variance was that no "whisker" of any sort was used. The drill was made from the slender chamise-root splint used in reducing
[412] the square steatite beads to a round form. Said Ichow, "That old fellow take piece of green chamise root and scrape it just about this size [illustrating with a piece of ordinary bailing wire which he picked up beside his chair and which he continued to hold in his hand as he talked]. Then he hold this piece root over fire and scrape and dry him good and straight and hard like

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this wire." A brush was pounded on the end of the chamise-root splint and use made of it exactly as described by Mayfield. 436 321

In my collection of Indian artifacts are a number of these Pismo clam-shell tubes that had been broken before they were placed in the mouths of the dead. In a number of cases it is clearly shown that the two opposing holes did not at first meet at the middle. In the correction of this error was involved the most surprising feat exhibited in all Yokuts manufactures. The drill was diverted so that a branching hole was made and the two holes did meet. This was done so as not to be visible until the tube was broken.

The common Yokuts name for the Pismo clam form of Yokuts money is *Humana* (Hoo-mah'-nah).

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[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

[142] [177]

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

[283 237]

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302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under
[237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers
might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red,
[301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were
hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and
[301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and
302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be
291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design
[531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in
[137] the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com-
[177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

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Lowmit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wehnomkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahs'-mau*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

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302 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the
172 present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [186] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the
484 Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this annual pilgrimage to the lake shores will be appreciated. 501
We learn from pioneer white settlers that when it was possible 484
they, too, used to spend a portion of the summer at the valley lakes, Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista, and Kern.

One of the great experiences of the eighties was to be a member of an excursion about Tulare lake on the steamboat owned by Judge J. J. Atwell of Visalia. There would surely have been a marked contrast between the Atwell boat and the great tule rafts of the Yokuts, had they met upon the lake. At the sight of the smoke-belching Atwell boat the Yokuts occupants of a tule raft would probably have swum across Tulare Lake and hidden in the Coast Range Mountains.

The Yokuts raft is best described by T. J. Mayfield, whose 501
account in "Uncle Jeff's Story" is repeated here for the benefit 396
of those who have not read it. 484

"A great, long tule raft was built. The Indians used to build small tule rafts that would carry one or two persons for use on Kings river below the rancheria opposite Sycamore creek, but this raft for the lake trip was at least fifty feet long. It was made up of long bundles of tules, pointed at each end, and bound together with willow wythes.

"The bundles were made separately and then bound, or lashed together, making a sort of keeled boat with a depression along the center of the deck. The tules were lashed together in such a way that the raft, or boat, was pointed at the ends and resembled a great cigar, except that the pointed ends were turned up so that they were two or three feet above the deck.

"Along the center of this boat was piled their dunnage. 501
This dunnage consisted of supplies and camp equipment, and 484
included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, dried meat, skins for bedding and many other things. On the sides of the boat sat eight or ten Indians, generally one or two families.

"For us children this trip was an occasion of great excitement. We were all eyes and ears and could scarcely contain ourselves.

"The trip was made in the late spring when the flood from the melting snows in the mountains provided enough water in the river to float the raft over the sandbars.

"The whole rancheria did not make the trip. As I recollect, there were three rafts built the first year. They were built several miles below Sycamore creek, just how far I cannot say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

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raising clouds of dust on the prairie." Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley." 175 202

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party. 202

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah*, an aged *Koyeti*, I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin*, meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people. [619]

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648 Primitive tradition contains numerous mention of peoples living in continual fear of invading forces. This is the old story of humanity from the present time back beyond the very beginning of history.

The story of an invading host spread like wild-fire. In silent terror a few belongings were snatched from their accustomed places. Light packs of food were prepared and women and children fled to the hiding places about them. After the invaders were gone, these people returned, often to find their homes in ashes and all of their belongings destroyed.

Occasionally they were caught without warning and had no time in which to flee. They were then attacked in their dwellings. The tremendous confusion and hurried flight on such occasions is one of the most powerful forces in developing and controlling the instincts of primitive people.

861 648 White people are surprised to find that Indian children obey their parents without question and that they do not cry, except upon the most exceptional occasions. These characteristics are the direct growth of the conditions which have just been mentioned. The Indians of the San Joaquin Valley were much like their brothers, the wild animals, whose young by instinct will remain perfectly quiet when hidden by their mothers, even though they are almost trampled upon. Mere anxiety on the part of the parent is infectious.

Indian children were reared upon stories that recounted the many invasions which the tribe had suffered, and which kept ever before them this peril which might at any moment envelop them. They had no way of knowing that they would be safe for any certain length of time. The lookout on a nearby peak might at any moment signal that an invading force was distant only a few hours', or a few minutes' travel.

In this way the protection of the parent was much more a real necessity to the young child, to the young man and young woman and even to grown individuals, than is the case among civilized races. Because he knows that it is made safe for him to travel to almost any place he pleases, the young boy of today does not have this feeling of dependence toward his parents. Because of this the children of white parents are more prone to disobey than the children of primitive people. Undoubtedly this close dependence and fear of a common enemy was responsible for the fact that it was seldom if ever necessary to whip Indian children.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The children of American pioneers who were brought up in the wilderness, far from neighbors of their own kind, and in the same state of suspense concerning their safety as was common to the red men about them, behaved in much the same manner as did the children of those red men. And they kept this stoic, dry-eyed behavior through life. It was the most fixed characteristic of the Anglo Saxon pioneer.

Although I have heard a number of references to Yokuts sign language, I have been able to gather little data concerning it. *Ichow,* last chief of the *Wukchumne* Yokuts tribe, stated that his people used a sign language in talking with tribes from east of the Sierra. Most signs were made with the hands, but they were used in relation to other parts of the body.

Ichow could remember only a few signs, as their use was discontinued before he was born. Those he remembered had been taught to him by his grandfather, *Chechin,* the noted Rattlesnake Doctor. Sleep was indicated by inclining the head to one side and closing the eyes. One day, or one sun, was indicated by pointing to the sky, directly overhead. A mountain was indicated by holding the hand in front of the waist, palm from the body, and all fingers extended close to each other. The hand was then slid upward and away from the body. The height and angle at which the hand was raised indicated the height and steepness of the mountain.

A snow storm was indicated by the hand, held palm downward, and fingers extended close to each other. The hand was lowered slowly as it moved from side to side. Fallen snow was indicated by shifting the weight from one foot to the other, accompanied by a grunt with each shift. This imitated the sound of walking in loose snow.

A rain storm was indicated by holding the hand in front of the face, palm down, fingers separated and curved downward. The fingers were then wiggled, slightly for a little rain, and violently for a heavy storm.

An old person was indicated by placing the hand on the head and then giving the sign for snow. The hand held in front of the body, palm down, thumb and little finger closed, the middle three fingers partly extended, indicated a man. Two fingers extended in the same manner indicated a woman.

Wahumchah, aged eighty-five years and last full-blood man from the *Yowlumne* tribe of Yokuts, who once lived

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Yowlumne

20| around the site of present Bakersfield, had the following to say about the sign language used in this locality.

"Them old-time Yowlumne had a sign language. I knew some old people who could talk that language, but I forgot almost all of it. I don't see that kind of talkin' since I was 'bout fourteen years old.

"To say, 'I saw,' they close both hands in front of eyes. Then they open first finger on each hand and move hands ahead little ways and point ahead with fingers. The sign for deer they made with both hands. They put their wrists together and spread their fingers little bit, to look like deer horns. If the deer had big horns they raised their hands little bit when they made sign. For forked horn they put up only two fingers, for three pointer, three fingers, for four pointer, four fingers. When they go hunting, they got to keep quiet. They can't talk. When one man saw deer he make the sign for 'I see' and point his fingers where deer was. Then he made sign for deer. Then everybody knew where there was deer.

"The sign for elk was almost the same as deer. They held wrists farther apart and spread their fingers wide. They had sign for antelope. They made it like deer sign. But they put up just first finger on each hand and next finger part way. They look like antelope horns. To put out one hand with palm down and all fingers together and raise it up high meant big deer, or elk, or anything like that. To show whether deer or elk, or anything was fat they had another sign. They close all fingers but thumb and first finger on each hand. They put ends thumbs and ends fingers together to make circle. If deer or antelope poor, they made little circle, if fat, they made big circle.

"They had sign for roll over. They put hands beside each other in front of breast and move them around once. To make sign for walkin' they open just one finger on each hand and point down. Then they move hands like they walkin' with them fingers. To show that something ran they open first two fingers on right hand and work them back and forth fast, like legs runnin'. That's 'bout all I remember 'bout that sign language."

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CHAPTER V

HOUSES AND HOUSEKEEPING

YOKUTS PERMANENT HOUSES

It has been said that to know a man's house is to know him. While that statement is probably rather broad if applied to the Yokuts Indians, it is certain that to know the construction and arrangement of a Yokuts house and the village in which it was situated would afford at least a superficial knowledge of many phases of their life. 342

Early travelers through the San Joaquin Valley are quoted as saying that when they approached an Indian village the inhabitants came running like rabbits from burrows in the ground. Had we no other description of their houses and life than this we would fall far short of judging accurately the manner in which the Yokuts lived. However, it is true that some of the houses were partly underground and that these were covered with an earth, or sod roof. Over this roof grew wild grasses, covering the houses to such an extent that the inhabitants probably appeared to be coming from burrows.

From information furnished by aged Indians and white men who were familiar with the construction of permanent houses built by the Yokuts Indians, we are able to furnish a description of how they were built and used. A roughly circular hole or pit was excavated, the earth being loosened by means of pointed sticks. The earth was then placed in baskets and thrown on the ground around the hole. This formed quite a high levee, or bank, which rose probably six or seven feet above the bottom of the excavation. The holes varied in size from ten or twelve feet in diameter to a much larger diameter, and in depth to about two feet.

Around the inside of the excavation, against its walls, were placed willow or other green poles, with the smaller ends upward. They were embedded in the floor of the pit to a depth of a foot or more. These poles varied in size from less than an inch in diameter to as much as three inches, and in length from ten to probably as much as thirty feet.

At the south side of the enclosure an opening was left between the poles. At this point in the construction, a row of

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342 slender branches, fourteen to sixteen inches apart, extended from eighteen to twenty feet above the level of the surrounding ground. Next a green oak pole or shoot was bent upon itself and lashed together, forming a hoop probably thirty inches in diameter. The tips of the standing poles were pulled together at the top and lashed to this hoop.

Then other poles were bent around this frame-work parallel with the ground and lashed to the upright poles by means of bark or milk weed fiber cord. These horizontal pieces were spaced from twelve to eighteen inches apart. By this time the house resembled very much a rustic or wicker-work affair, roughly semi-spherical in shape. It had a circular opening at the top and a rectangular door, facing the south and probably two feet wide by five feet high.

[361] As these houses were almost invariably built along the shores of streams or lakes, an abundance of tule was available, and a tule thatch was laid on top of this frame work. The larger ends of the tules were placed against the ground on the outside of the frame work and lay with their tips extending into the opening at the top. When first applied, the thatch was probably from six to twelve inches in thickness.

Then the loose soil, which had been removed from the excavation, was thrown on top of the tule thatch. It formed a sod covering, varying in thickness from three or four inches at the circular opening at the top to probably several feet at the level with the surrounding ground. We are informed that in some instances the tules were first covered with a layer of mud approximately three or four inches in thickness. The writer is inclined to believe that this was the practice at many places. The evidence indicating such practice exists in old house pits in the form of fired clay which shows upon one side very plainly the marks of the tules and small branches.

The heavy earth covering compacted the tules until they were probably about an inch in thickness and by these tules was kept from falling through into the house below.

As most of the houses were destroyed by fire, the mud covering hardened and fell into the pit below. The floors of several old house remains have been found to be covered with such debris.

At the doorway, an inclined floor led from the level of the floor of the house to the level of the surrounding ground, the house being entered much as one would enter a shallow cellar

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A permanent, earth-covered Yokuts house under construction. It was built in 1929 on the Kaweah River by Wukchumne Indians. The willow poles were later bent together at the tops and lashed to the oak ring which lies on the floor. Then the framework was covered with a layer of tules and last with a layer of mud and dirt.

or dugout. The door being considerably lower than the head of the average man, it was probably necessary to bend quite low in entering it. During bad weather this opening was closed by the skin of some animal, or by a tule mat.

Until about 1935 there were numerous remains of these houses existing in western Tulare county. South of Waukena they still exist on ranch property owned by Adolph Sweet, and south of Paige they were on the W. H. Wilbur ranch, but have been destroyed by farming. Several of these were excavated by the writer. The findings verified the statements made by aged Indian and white pioneers.

YOKUTS TEMPORARY HOMES

In considering the various types of houses used throughout the breadth and length of the San Joaquin Valley, we find that the Yokuts built at least five different types of dwellings. The most pretentious of all these houses is the permanent house, which has already been described and which was often used

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342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol*, *Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni*, *Tuhohi*, and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told 342 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied 592 one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. [352] These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This 342 shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi*, *Nutunutu*, *Wowol*, and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy [362] for anyone in the tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

for anyone in the tribe. This type of structure brings home to one more forcibly than any phase of their culture the fact that the primitive Yokuts were all city dwellers. Country yokels were probably unknown among them. 342

The *Yowlumne* of lower Kern River, as well as the other tribes to the east of the tule lakes, built structures somewhat like that described above, but much shorter, and kept each family separated by partitions. [184]

One of the most interesting descriptions I have ever received of this Yowlumne house was given in 1943 by the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of the City of Bakersfield. Here it is:

"When we first came here [Bakersfield in 1863] the Indians were living mostly in brush shelters, four posts with poles across them and brush piled on top. There were one or two tule houses. They were not round and not square, but were sort of oval shaped; about ten feet wide and fifteen feet long with a small door in the middle of one side. They had round ends. They had two posts inside, and a short ridge-pole. I never paid much attention to them, but I believe they had poles leaned against this ridge pole. The tules were stood on end around this pole framework. I don't think the tules were made into mats. I think they were stood around the framework loose. Maybe they were tied down to the pole framework.

"The ridge of the house was not closed tight. There was an opening in the ridge in the form of a slot about eight inches wide and about six feet long.

"I was in these tule houses a number of times, but I remember very little about them. I do remember that there were strings of acorns and dried fish hanging from the pole framework. There were also baskets and bags of all kinds of Indian things on the ground inside. Everything was so smoked up inside that you couldn't tell what most of it was."

The *Yowlumne* of Kern River, the *Wechikit* of Kings River and probably the *Apaichi* north of Kings River built a small tule house of an oblong shape. The ends were rounded, but almost vertical. A short ridge pole was erected on two upright crotched poles. Poles were leaned against this ridge. This left not the wedge-shaped house, but a rounded affair, probably much like the one described above by Thomas A. Baker.

There was only one door. In some instances there was no ridge pole. The poles were then bent all the way over and

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[415]

A typical Yokuts camp. In the foreground is the firepit and the woodpile for outside cooking. In front of the house is the universal tule-mat shade. The oblong tule covered house has a slot shaped smoke hole directly over the door. Beneath the smoke hole is the firepit for indoor cooking and heating. The ends of the house are round. Wokumchah, eighty-five years of age and last surviving full-blood man from the Yewluumne tribe, appears at the left. He lived in such a house until he was sixteen years of age. He supervised the construction of this camp.

lashed together. These houses were probably not larger than ten by eighteen feet. As in the case of the other temporary houses this house was also covered with tules and was called *Che*.

On Tule River the *Yaudanchi* built their winter house of tules in a cone shape. The house had a hoop at the top to which the poles of the leaning framework were attached and which left an opening for the smoke arising from the fire pit directly below.

[285] The framework was covered by sewn tule mats. The houses were placed in rows with brush covered shades in front. These Yaudanchi houses more nearly approached the tepee of the plains Indians than any other Yokuts houses. The Yaudanchi also built a larger house, which had a ridge, two fire places, and a door at each end; but we have no details of the construction.

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Yowlumne

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Wakumchah, aged 85 and last surviving man from the Yowlumne Yokuts who once lived about present Bakersfield, showing the use of the tule-mat door in a tule-thatched house.

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Yowtumne

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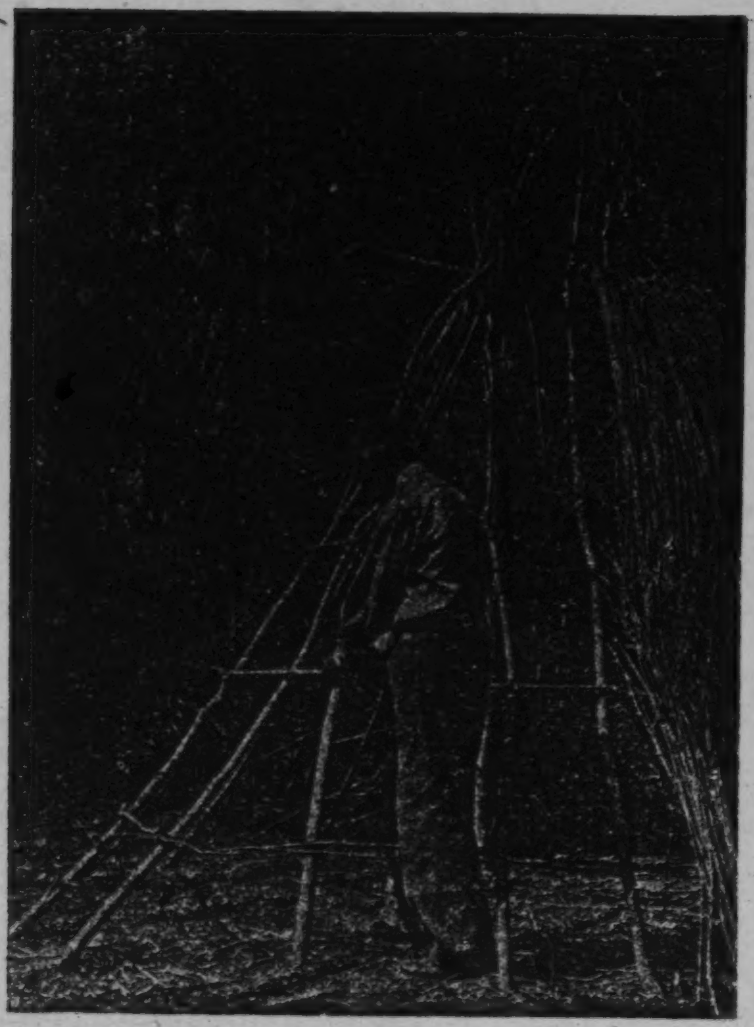

View of a Yewlumne Yokuts house under construction, showing Wahumchah tying the horizontal poles in place with willow bark. The ends of this house are round; the sides straight. There are two posts with one ridge pole. It is thatched with loose tules, tied in place with milkweed fiber string. A portion of the tule mat cover shows in the upper right corner.

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A Chukaimina house which stood in Squaw Valley, Fresno County, about 1900. Except for the boards and metal stove pipe, it is like those built by that tribe before the white people came to Squaw Valley.—Photo by courtesy of Mr. A. D. Overholtzer, Squaw Valley Corners.

The *Chuk'-chansi* and *Gashowu* on Fresno and San Joaquin Rivers built a cone house similar to that of the Yaudanchi, but covered it with thatch. The floor of this house was generally lowered about a foot with a digging stick. The door faced the south. The house was about twelve or fifteen feet in diameter. It was called *Ho*, meaning to live, or sit. They also built a house covered with bark and brush thatch, which they called *Siamsh*.

When camping or traveling, the Yokuts built smaller and less permanent structures. These were formed by leaning poles together and covering them with bark or brush. They were the temporary shelters so often described by early settlers in the San Joaquin and were practically the only houses built after the Indians had been dispossessed of their permanent village sites.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

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The sweat house was oblong and generally excavated to a depth of two or more feet. It had a heavy ridge which rested on poles at the ends. Over this ridge were laid poles which were

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water 515 was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

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lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the 515
water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally [578] came to regard it as sacred.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley
353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

354 "In the center of the single room, directly under the small circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

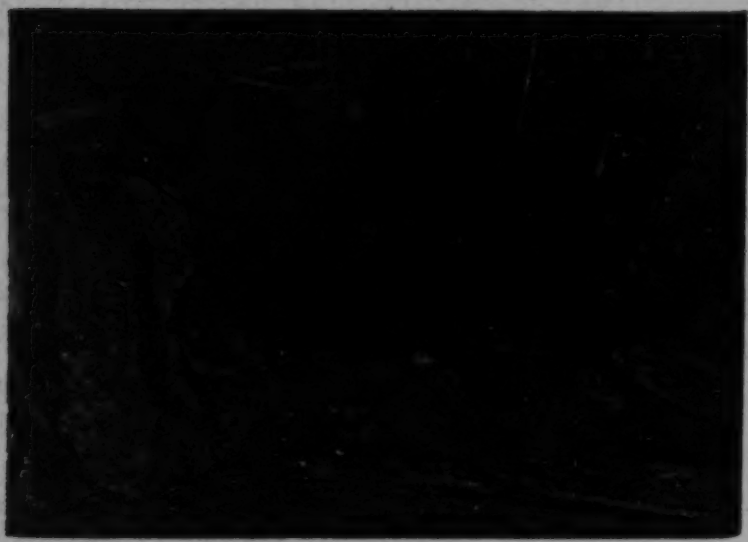
352 "The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

"In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into
352 the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules,
513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

251 "With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored
353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



Wah-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ickow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

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It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the perma-
342 nent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

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abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Wisatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

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600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-
624 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was
591 their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked
574 for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

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Upon learning that the basket maker was gone, the caller decided to return to his car, but being quite thirsty, asked for a drink of water. This immediately created for the host a real problem. There was no water in the house. It was approximately one-fourth mile to the spring. He could not very well leave his guest there while he went to bring water. Neither did he consider it hospitable to tell his guest to go after it. The elderly lady was his mother-in-law. She could not understand the English conversation, and he could not talk to her at all in any language. 606 574

After studying for a moment, he walked out of the house. Standing quite close to the wall near where the mother-in-law sat, he placed his hands to his mouth, and in a very moderate tone, called in the Indian language to his wife, who was from two to three miles up the canyon, "Mary, come and bring the white man a drink of water." Then he immediately came back in the house, sat down and began to entertain his guest.

The mother-in-law immediately arose, picked up a bucket and, as her son-in-law had intended that she should, brought water from the spring.

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CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of [482] acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs [462] of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[462] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[Text continues on p. 107]

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Wahsemhet demonstrating the use of ahng'-uik, the cone-shaped Yokuts carrying basket. When loaded it was balanced by means of the shoulders and hips. In her hand she holds hiete, the winnowing tray. The carrying strap is twisted so it will not slip from her head when she is walking.

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threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

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Acorn granaries and a Chukuisiana Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wih'-sid*, by the In-

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dians. This same stone was used as a rubbing stone and was generally flat on opposite sides. The ends were kept rough by pounding them with a jagged rock. This was done so that the mano would not slip off of the acorn while it was being hulled. 252 412

A second rock was often used in the hulling, it being embedded in the soil in front of the worker and having drilled in it one or more shallow holes. The acorn was placed upright with the point in this hole and the large end struck with the rough end of the mano. A slight tap was sufficient to break the hull loose, and it fell away from the acorn. The hulled acorns were placed in a basket, the process being carried on until several gallons of hulled acorns had been obtained.

The sweet valley acorn had a very thin hull, which often split while drying. It was not necessary to crack them with a mano. The cracked hulls were pulled off with the fingers. The other hulls were removed with the teeth. As these acorns were badly eaten by moth larva, they were smoked after being hulled. Holes were drilled in them. They were then strung on hemp strings like beads and hung from the inner framework of of the house where the smoke from the fire prevented the moths from depositing their eggs. The acorns were next taken to a mortar. These mortars, along the streams, often existed in the large earth-bound rocks, and remain today as almost the sole evidence of many Indian village sites. 252 [412]

Away from earth-bound rocks, portable stone mortars were used. Some of these were excavated in very rough boulders. Others were nicely shaped inside and out. A few were so finely shaped and polished as to appear to have been made on a potter's wheel. In primeval days many wooden mortars were used. Pioneer white San Joaquin Valley settlers tell us that when they arrived in Yokuts territory the trunks and large limbs of fallen oak trees were cut full of holes where the Indians pounded acorns. A double handful of acorns was thrown in the mortars, which the Indians called *puh'-wus. Pahd'-uh-we*, the pestle, a slender stone, was grasped between the hands and the end brought down on top of the acorns. Repeated blows pulverized the greater portion of the acorns, which, by reason of curing in the granary, were dry and brittle. 252 412

Sifting of the pounded acorns was done with a flat tray called *ki-o'-to*. The powdered material was brushed from the mortar onto the tray by means of *tro'-kote*, a brush made of 252 415

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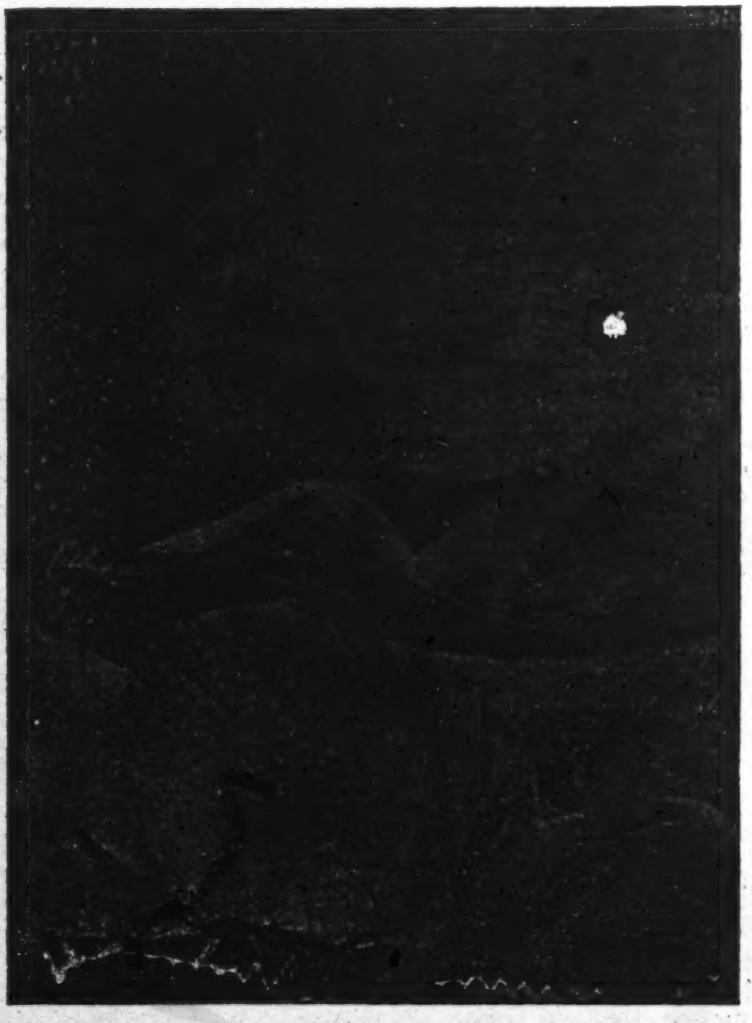

A Chukuimne woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

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Weh-puk'-ia showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine 252
material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it.

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

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[415]

Wek-puk'-in showing the method of heating water and cooking acorn gruel with hot rocks. Rocks are removed from the fire with green wooden tongs and dipped quickly into the small basket of water at the right. The resulting flash of steam removes the coating of ashes and burned acorn gruel. The rock is then dropped into the large basket of water or acorn gruel and is stirred about with the looped acorn stirrer. When the rock has lost its heat it is lifted from the basket in the loop of the stirrer and replaced in the fire. The design on the basket at the left shows "coming night." The one at the right shows "measuring worm."

At the present time we find the Indians lining the holes in the sand with cloth, generally an empty sugar sack, but we are assured by most old Indians and pioneer whites that in early days only leaves were used.

It is of particular interest to note here that *Wahumchah* is positive that the old-time *Yowlumne* lined the leaching holes in the sand with cloth. As the southern Kern County tribes *did* make cloth, it is more than probable that his statement is correct.

Much acorn bread was eaten raw from the loaf. As needed, pieces were broken off and given to the children, or eaten by their elders. [264]

From this cake was made a thick acorn soup, or mush. By the Wukchumne Yokuts it was called *ta'-pin*. To make this

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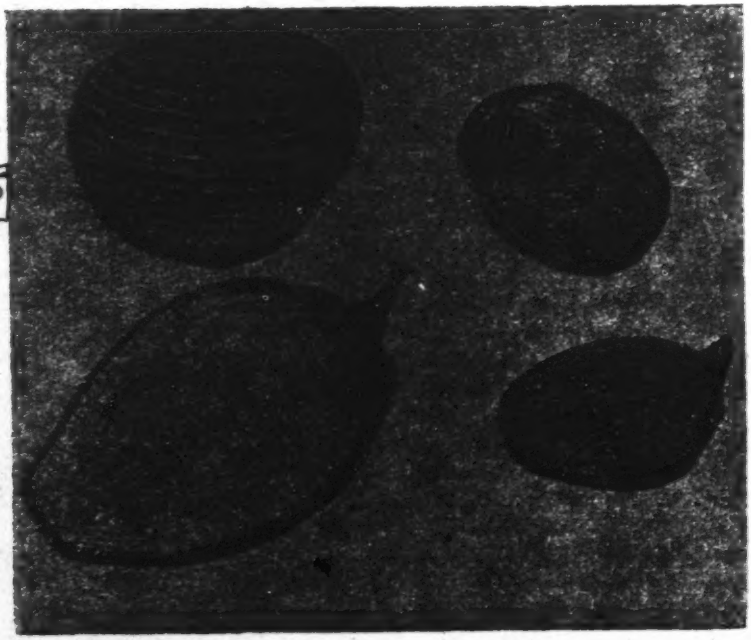

Four Yokuts harvesting and camp wicker utensils. The two at the top are tuh'-meuks or simple collanders. Those at the bottom are seed beaters. With one of these in the right hand a woman was able to beat the seeds of oats, wild rice and other standing grasses into a large wide mouthed basket held under her left arm.

mush, the cake was pulverized in a mortar and placed in a basket. Water was added, and the whole cooked quite thoroughly by means of hot rocks (*chak-toy'-tuh*). The rocks were placed in the basket by means of two green sticks used as tongs and removed from it by a looped stick (*shi'-ow*) which was also used to stir the soup. When first removed from the fire by means of the green tongs, the rocks were quickly dipped in a basket of water. The flash of steam caused by this removed from the surface of the hot rock most of the ashes and burned acorn meal with which they were coated. The Wukchumne used soapstone cooking rocks, claiming they were superior to any others. Much of the cooked mush was allowed to harden into a loaf, or cake, of bread.

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Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

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Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **toh'-mauk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

moist to be brushed from the leaves. So the Yokuts harvest crew enters the field. The workers kneel and break the grass off close to the ground, placing it in shallow wicker baskets. They then very carefully stack it with the stems resting on the ground and the leaves upward. This whole process must be very carefully executed, otherwise the salt will be dislodged from the leaves and wasted upon the ground. 222 263

By two o'clock in the afternoon the salt globules are very dry and easily dislodged, so the pulling of the grass is discontinued and the Indians begin threshing. During the preceding four or five hours, while the grass has been stacked with the leaves uppermost, the salt has completely dried and hardened, but the leaves of the grass are still tough, although somewhat wilted.

It is important that the threshing or flailing of the grass be done at this precise stage, because if delayed longer the grass itself becomes brittle and is pulverizd and mixed with the salt. If threshed too soon the salt is not dry and is not easily removed from the leaves of the grass. It is because the grass is stacked with the stems down and the salt exposed to the sun that the salt dries faster than the grass itself, which remains tough for the threshing.

Small quantities of the salt grass are now thrown upon a deer or elk skin, which is spread upon the ground. Three or four Indians seat themselves about this pile of grass and begin flailing it lightly, using small willow poles from which the bark has been stripped. Care is taken not to pound the grass heavily, but merely to tap it so that the salt is dislodged from the leaves and sifts through the grass to the deer skin below.

When it is seen that the salt has all been removed, the grass is gathered loosely in the hands, is shaken thoroughly, and discarded. This process is repeated until a layer of salt approximately one inch in thickness is deposited upon the deer skin. This salt is then placed in a basket and the process repeated, until several hundred pounds have been obtained. The Indians move very slowly, but methodically and a family of four Indians will gather during the harvest season approximately six fifty pound flour sacks full of this crude material. By sifting and winnowing, after the crude material has been taken to the rancheria, approximately four fifty pound flour sacks full of salt will be obtained. The Wukchumne Yokuts call this salt *ah'-dit*. Other Yokuts tribes call it *ahlit* or *ahlet*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

263 The salt obtained from salt grass does not taste like common table salt. It has a sour, salty taste much like that of a dill pickle. Although it is not acceptable to the untrained palate, surviving Yokuts Indians still use it for seasoning, almost to the exclusion of all other salt.

263 The salt is not all placed in cooked material. Some of it is eaten separately. A little of it is kept in a small basket or 264 clay receptacle and occasionally a small pinch is placed in the side of the mouth. This may be done while the meal is being eaten or while housework is being carried on. Some of the salt is mixed with water and cooked. After it is reduced to a thick consistency it is formed into small cakes. As needed, small pieces of this solid salt are placed in the side of the mouth and dissolved like an all-day sucker. The Tachi wet the dry salt and form it into lumps about the size of a golf ball. The children run about the camp licking these lumps.

RIVER JUNGLE GROWTH

137 Persons who have not lived along the San Joaquin Valley rivers prior to the time when they were cleared for farming and in running cattle and sheep upon their bottom land, will scarcely believe the stories told by pioneers about the wild plant growth along those streams. As late as 1900 some of this growth still existed along the Merced River and along the nearby San Joaquin, but only enough to suggest something of its previous rank nature. This jungle consisted not only of trees, but of wild grapes, several varieties of tule and willow, wild blackberries, nettles, grasses, and many other plants too numerous to mention.

It was not until the fall of 1925 that the writer became familiar with the last remaining jungle along the Kaweah river, which he was assured had been almost destroyed at that time, but which was even then beyond the belief of many persons who had lived for years within a few miles of it.

During the spring of 1931, while searching for material to be used in constructing two California Spanish-type oxcarts, I made an exploration of the remaining jungle between Lemon Cove and Visalia. A dense portion of this area lay approximately six miles east of Visalia and near East Mineral King Highway. This territory had been burned over the previous fall and did not present one-third of the growth which had existed the year before.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The search for large cottonwood trees, from which to make ox-cart wheels, revealed several trees approximately four feet in diameter and of great height. Surrounding these large trees were great areas of wild blackberries and wild grapevines. Some of the grapevine trunks were six inches in diameter. They reached to the very tops of the tallest trees and then hung to the ground. 137

By the latter part of September and the middle of October, the grapevines were loaded with grapes which were gathered by many nearby white and Indian residents for use in making jelly. Some areas, an acre or more in extent, were piled twenty feet or more in height with wild blackberry vines. During June, these had born a tremendous crop of berries. These were about the size of the Himalaya variety of tame blackberry and tasted much like it. In addition to the cottonwood and other trees mentioned, a variety of ash was quite common. There had also started a rather thick growth of young oaks. [222]

It would take several hours to catalog and describe the many varieties of grasses and water plants that in 1931 were growing in the tangled jungle along the banks of the main Kaweah River and its sloughs. Two or three varieties of these grasses are used by the local Indians in basket making, many of them growing to a height of eight feet or more and so thick that passage through them was made with difficulty. Great patches of nettles covered some portions. At other places wild hemp was quite thick.

Over the burned area a young growth of blackberry and grapevines gave evidence that the next year would see several more acres covered to a great height with these plants. During the succeeding fall, (1931), this last jungle area was again burned over and, with the shortage of water and the confining of what remained to the artificial channels, such growth will probably never return to this area.

The descriptions of some pioneers are easily believed by one who saw this last remnant of river jungle, which was soon gone. I have been assured by these early settlers that in some areas the oak growth was so thick that a team and wagon could not be driven between the trees, and that the branches overhead formed a closed canopy which shut out the sun entirely and offered refuge for countless numbers of birds and animals of all varieties.

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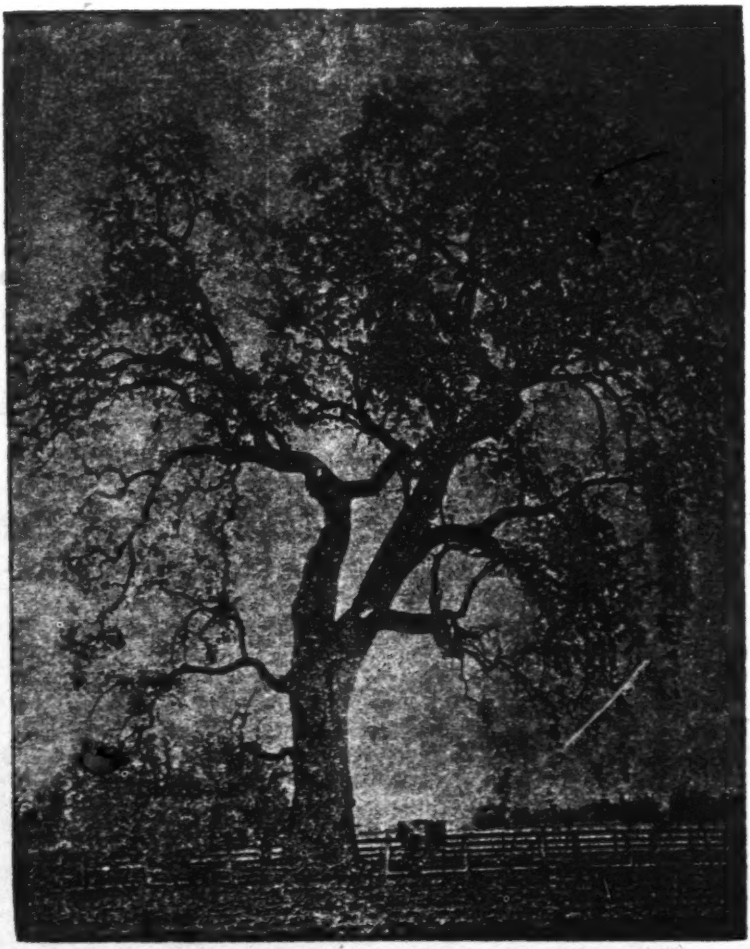

The giant oak, at the Giant Oak Ranch east of Farmersville, in 1910. It was then one hundred and seventy feet tall and forty-five feet in circumference two feet from the ground, having a diameter of fourteen feet and three inches.

With the broad, slow-moving streams, and the numerous Indians who lived along their banks, this entire territory formed the most delightful refuge in the entire San Joaquin Valley, but it can never be appreciated by one who did not see it.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The following incident will probably impress upon the reader something of the immensity of the growth along these rivers. In the search for cottonwood timber to make the ox-carts already mentioned, a tree was cut which surpassed in size anything of its kind I have ever seen along San Joaquin streams. The tree was a cottonwood, more than five feet in diameter, and measured, as it lay upon the ground after being felled, 115 feet in height. The trunk of the tree was perfectly straight and free of all branches for twenty-four feet. 137

This is certainly remarkable for cottonwood growth, but I have been assured that many of the oak trees which were cut for rails and log houses during the '50's and '60's measured eight feet in diameter and were straight as an arrow for more than thirty feet. Some of these trees undoubtedly stood more than 170 feet in height.

Believing the Indian names for the various San Joaquin Valley landmarks and natural attractions will be of interest in connection with the sketches in which they are mentioned, an effort is being made to insert them in their proper places. As the names varied somewhat from tribe to tribe they are all taken from the Wukchumne tribe, which once occupied the little valley of Lemon Cove. 192

Following is a list of the Indian names involved in this sketch. They were thought to be too bulky for inclusion in the text of the article.

Ash—*Wah'-shick*
Basketry grass—*Chaw'-kish*
Basketry root—*Hoo'-pud*
Blackberry—*Mah'-mid*
Cottonwood tree—*Dah'-pah*
Grape—*In'-suh Naw'-tip*
Hemp—*Shock'h*
Nettles—*Tro'we*
Oak tree—*Trah'-tah*
Tule—*Suey'-yow*
Willow, black—*Shah'-dum*
Willow, button—*Ki'-one*
Willow, common—*Shock'-otch*

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BLACKBERRY JAM

262 Many persons, including those who have lived near San
137 Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that black-
222 berry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly
[231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the
222 Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries
262 still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food
222 preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gath-
415 ering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket
[482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pull-
262 ing the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in
222 forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached.
[412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon. 262 222

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary. 251

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house. 252

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

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CHAPTER VII

GAMES

SHINNY

526 It comes as a surprise to many persons to find that a number of the games played by pioneer white children were well known to the Indians. One of the most characteristic of these is Shinny. Shinny was probably the most wide-spread of any of the athletic-type games, and is said to have been common over the greater portion of North America. "Shinny on your own side" is not a new expression in the San Joaquin Valley. The game was called *Kah-dah-doo'-itch* by the Wukchumne Yokuts.

The shinny game was an extremely rough game among the Indians. We know this to be true of the game played by white boys, but we are assured that it was much rougher as played by young Indians. They would yell, push and shove, and strike each other on the shins with their clubs. They entered into the game in the most aggressive sort of way. In spite of all this, we are told by pioneers that they never saw a fight or quarrel in connection with an Indian game. This conforms very [157] well with what we know of Indian characteristics, as, except when under the influence of liquor, they possessed far more self-control than most white persons.

We are told by native Indians that several highly prized shinny clubs were included in the equipment of every well-regulated household. A great deal of labor was often expended in preparing the club, and it was very carefully preserved. Indians yet living say that when they were children they hunted along the banks of the streams for small saplings having a curved root exposed. The roots and lower portions of the saplings were carefully cut away and taken to the rancheria. They were then carefully whittled and scraped to shape, seasoned and hardened in the fire. The result was a smooth, nicely balanced club, resembling the hockey club now in use by white people.

A wooden ball, generally made from an oak burl, was used. It was about the size of a baseball, and was called *hupduish* (hoop-do'-ish). Two Indians started the play about as boys do

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 in a shinny game, often placing the ball on a small mound of earth resembling a golf tee. We are told that in some instances the ball was buried in the earth and that the two who started the play were required to dig it from the ground with their clubs before striking it.

I remember well that when I was a boy in the San Joaquin Valley I visited relatives who used this last method of starting the play in shinny. It was with great surprise that I afterward learned that the Indians had used the same method many years before, and that we had probably obtained it from them. Many pioneers have been surprised to find primitive Indians playing shinny. Few of them ever realized that it was originally an Indian game and that the whites first learned it from the Indians. [177]

On May 2, 1943, I for the last time interviewed the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of Bakersfield. He told me of playing shinny with the Yowlumne Indian boys who lived in a village located in Bakersfield between where the Santa Fe passenger station and Mercy Hospital are now located. It is typical of the pioneer accounts of Yokuts shinny: "I remember that I used to play shinny with the Indian children. They used a block of wood about the size of a tennis ball, and almost any old stick they could find for a club. They were surely hard to beat at shinny, and were as rough as could be in their play. I have always been amazed that the Indians learned to play shinny so well so soon after the white people came here."

In playing the game most like ours, which was called *Daht'-k'hoo Nun-coo'-ish*, the goals were established about four hundred yards apart and consisted of two holes in the ground. The play was begun in the middle of the field, equally distant from each goal. Sides were chosen and the play began. One side attempted to take the ball to one of the goals and the other side tried to take it to the opposite goal. The game might continue for four hours and was ended as soon as the ball was goaled by one side.

The game most commonly played and called *Kahdahduitch* (Kah-dah-doo'-itch), was in the form of a race, and was elaborately staged and carefully managed. A paid umpire was necessary in conducting this game. He was dressed in Indian finery, consisting of feather headdress and feather skirt. Compared with one of our present day football officials, he would have been a striking figure. [292]

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Kahdahduitch was played by two contesting teams of from three to seven men. Each team had a ball. A single goal, consisting of a hole in the ground, was established on a long starting line. The balls were placed on the starting line and the umpire yelled, *"He'-am tahn'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Each team then struck its ball and the game was on. The balls were taken around an outpost, a tree, rock, or stake, about two hundred yards distant, and then returned to the goal. During the play the umpire followed the teams close enough to the outpost to be sure that the ball passed outside of it and then ran back to the finish to supervise the goaling. During the whole time he kept an eye open for any interference of one team with the other, which was not allowable. Throughout the contest his warning cry of *Low'-ill, Low'-ill, Low'-ill* was constantly repeated. 526

When both arrived at the goal at about the same time, the umpire watched the goaling and decided which team had precedence. His decision was final and indisputable.

The play was continuous, an immediate teeing off being made, until one team had goaled the ball the third time. When the third goal was made, the goaler held up his club and yelled a long drawn out *Co-cooooo*. This indicated that the game was over. If the play of his team had been fair, the umpire awarded the game and with it the prize of buck-skins, beads, or like treasure.

THE FOOTBALL GAME

As among the white people who now occupy the San Joaquin valley and compete for athletic honors, often on the very gaming grounds of the Yokuts, the most strenuous athletic game of the primitive Yokuts was football. Most persons are surprised to hear that the Indians were great gamesters and that there were generally games of all sorts going on at the rancheria at all hours of the day and evening. We are assured by old Indians, that foot racing was carried on long before the white people entered the valley, and that when a man was established as champion of a rancheria he was sent to neighboring rancherias and distant tribes to race the best men at those places.

The game of football varied slightly from tribe to tribe. We are assured that some tribes used a large wooden ball, *odud* (oh'-dud), about five inches in diameter, much larger than the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, *"He'-am tan'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

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The game was a race between the two teams. The ball was taken to the stakes, set about 400 yards away from the goal. It was passed between the stakes and then back to goal.

The field umpires saw that there was no unfair interference upon the field. To count a goal the ball had to pass between the posts in the direction in which it was brought to the goal. It could not cross the starting line except between the goal posts.

As soon as the ball was goaled, it was immediately replaced on the starting line and the whole performance repeated. The umpire announced the goal and saw that the scorekeepers moved over one counting stick.

The game went to the team which took the football around the distant post and brought it back to the goal three times ahead of their opponents. The scorekeeper, called *Cu-puh'-utch*, used three short sticks, called *weched* (we'-ched), for each team. The game was not won until one side had won at least three straight goals, and had three wched to their opponents' none. In this way the game might continue with slight favor to either side until one team began to weaken. Their opponents could then run three straight goals quite easily.

The writer has received descriptions of other variations of the game from several persons who settled in the San Joaquin Valley during the fifties. In addition, he has talked with a number of old Indians concerning the game. But the most interesting account, although different from the Wukchumne game, was given by T. J. Mayfield, who as a boy, and later as a young man on upper Kings River, often took part in it. His account is given herewith:

"One of the most amusing games played by the Indians was a sort of football game. A round stone about two or two and one-half inches in diameter was used. This stone was often very round and nicely polished. The stone was not kicked, but was thrown. The toes were caught under and it was pushed, or thrown forward. Sides were chosen and goals arranged. Sometimes two trees about two hundred yards apart would be used for goals, or sticks might be planted for goals. Everyone played, and they surely made a rough house of it. One person started the ball. A point was scored when the stone was brought in contact with the goal of the opponents. They used to push, shove, hold, trip and wrestle. Sometimes one side would find that they had one or two more players than the other. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 they would each hold one of the opposite side. This would leave one or two of their players to make a goal unhindered. Sometimes, when the ball was near the goal, both sides would crowd close, like a band of milling sheep. Then the ball might come rolling out between the many feet and some one would pass it to the other goal before the mass could break up and stop the play."

THE WOMEN'S DICE GAME

524 Among the common Yokuts games was the dice game, called *Hnuchuish* (Hoo'-utch-oo'-ish), and played by women only. The game varied slightly among the San Joaquin tribes but was practically the same throughout that territory. It was played by four women, two pairs of partners.

The players were seated upon the ground, partners side by side and their opponents opposite. Between them was placed a large flat tray made of basketry material and having slightly upturned edges. This tray was called *ti'-wos*. The dice, called *hoo'-utch*, were thrown upon the tray.

In some localities we were told that the dice were made of acorn caps, but in most instances they were made from nuts of the native black walnut. The nut was split in half, the kernel removed, and the hollow filled with pitch or asphaltum. Into the pitch were pressed small bits of abalone shell or white shell beads. In this way the dice were numbered from one to eight; in some instances to as many as twelve.

Considerable work was expended to make the dice accurate and attractive. The walnut shells were very smooth on the outside. I have seen these dice, after they have been used for years in gaming, when the edges have been worn round from continued shuffling.

As was the case with many Indian games, score was kept by means of small sticks, or *weched* (we'-ched). Twelve sticks were sometimes used in the dice game. The dice were gathered from the mat between the two hands and sometimes rolled together. They were then thrown upon the mat.

Four combinations were recognized in scoring. Three flat sides remaining up counted one point and one of the twelve sticks was awarded to the partners making the point. Two flat sides up counted one point. All flat sides up or all flat sides down counted five points each and awarded five of the counting sticks. When only one dice lay upon the tray with the flat side

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524 [285 531]

Wahnomkot, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huuhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 tions of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up. The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims, *yet'-ni* (equivalent to one-y), or *wi-atak,* or *kimai-eh,* which are simply a kind of sing-song chant."

GUESSING GAMES

Almost the only vice possessed by present-day Indians which was not brought to them by the white man is that of gambling. We are assured from many sources that the Indians, almost without exception, were inveterate gamblers. A game might continue for days and nights and at the end of this time an Indian might have gambled away all of the food and clothing he possessed, and, possibly, as is maintained by some authorities, even his family.

One of the most characteristic Indian gambling games is the guessing game. This type of game is the most common [171] of all primitive games. Various forms of the guessing game are reported from the Aleutian Islands to Cape Horn. There is probably less variation between them than there is between most other games. The Yokuts game was sometimes played by a group of as many as eight, composing two sets of four partners each. The opponents sat facing each other, with a blanket on the ground between them. The main object of the game was to guess in which hand the opponent held a marked stick, or a piece of bone or shell. However simple this game may seem, we are assured by persons who have played it, that one uninitiated to its many possibilities, could not win one time out of ten. Surely, if this is true, the Yokuts Indians were able to realize to a remarkable degree the possibilities of a comparatively simple contest.

During the game a constant sing-song was kept up by any or all present. The two sticks, or dice, one black and one white, or one marked and one unmarked, were shuffled from one hand to another, or were placed behind the back, and then the two hands were brought to the front. After considerable manipulating, the opponents were allowed to guess in which hand the blackened, or marked stick, was held.

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Guessing was done by pointing at the hand, and although it was possible that the black stick had been seen in that hand the fraction of a second before, it was quite likely to be found in the other hand when the guess was made. As the Indian guessed, he yelled *"Tah-chah'-min"* (It is in your left hand), or, *"Pah-dah'-min"* (It is in your right hand).

When the hands were presented, and before the guess was made, they were often moved about in a circle near each other in such a way that the marker could be shifted from one hand to the other. By means of this, and other sleight of hand, the marker was made to appear in the hand where it was soon found not to be. If the guess was correct, the dice passed to the opponents and the shuffling continued. One of the counting sticks, sometimes twelve in number, and common to many Indian games, was awarded to the successful guesser.

In this manner the guessing continued until all sticks were on one side. This often did not occur for many hours, but when it did the prizes were then awarded and a new game started.

The variation in this game consisted principally in the manner of concealing the markers and the method of shuffling them. We are told by some of the Indians that it was not uncommon for an opponent to introduce two blank markers, and that great care had to be exercised, or this would be done. To prevent this, in some instances, the markers were strung on a string and the opponents allowed to hold the string. In some cases the markers were wrapped in grass and laid on the ground in front of the players. This eliminated a great many of the possibilities of making the game "interesting."

One record states that the players are forced to hold a deer skin in their teeth and stretched tightly between them. The markers were shuffled below the skin and then brought above, where the guessing was done. In this way it was made certain that no one saw how the markers were being shuffled, but it must certainly have eliminated the vocal portion of the game.

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The passion for this game among the Indians was so strong as to be almost entirely unappreciated by white persons. Possibly an incident mentioned by Dr. Saxon Pope of the University of California, who worked for several years gathering data from *Ishi,* will be of interest. Ishi was a wild last survivor of the Mill Creek Indians. He was found about 1911 by white

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526 persons. The incident will serve to illustrate quite forcibly the Indian addiction to gambling.

115 Ishi was taken to the University of California and saw for the first time all of the wonderful inventions of our civilization, telephone, telegraph, motion picture, street cars, railroad trains and steamboats. Dr. Pope said that Ishi was only mildly interested in all of these things; that there was only one thing that impressed him and in which his interest continued. This consisted of several little sleight of hand tricks which the Doctor himself was able to perform.

Ishi would watch these tricks for hours and have them repeated again and again, trying to imitate them himself. These alone, of all the wonders about him, Ishi would have been able to realize upon in his primitive state. If he could have performed one of these miracles whenever he desired and produced a blank marker whenever he wanted it, he could have owned all of the deer skins and beads and other Indian finery on Mill Creek.

THE POLE AND HOOP GAME

Yo 526 There were two games played by men and young boys upon the gaming court. One of them is known to white settlers as a pole and hoop game and the other as an arrow game. The best description of the pole and hoop game is furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choi-nim'-ne* Yokuts on upper Kings River. Mayfield's account of both the gaming court and the game itself follows:

"Each rancheria had a gaming court at, or near, its center. This court was made by smoothing the earth and tamping it solid. It was then covered with fine sand, and many games were played upon it.

"Here was always an excited, shouting, yelling, laughing group, generally including men, women and children, all intent upon their game and as carefree and happy as it is possible for human beings to be.

"The game I remember best was played with a hoop and a pole about ten feet long. The pole was about the same size as one of their fish spears. The hoop was made of bark coiled into a flat disc and held together with slender willow shoots.

"The disc was about one and one-half feet in diameter and had a hole in the center about two or three inches in diameter. Any, and everyone played this game.

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"Sides were chosen and one person selected from each side to roll the disc. These two persons stood about twenty or thirty yards apart and at each end of the game court. They rolled the disc back and forth between them. 526

"The game was to throw a pole through the disc as it rolled by. For each pole thrown through the disc two points were awarded to the side having the lucky, or accurate player.

"If the pole passed only partly through and knocked the disc over, it counted only one point. The players lined up on each side of the course where the disc was rolled. They laughed and yelled and made a great deal of noise at this game and did all they could to rattle the opposing players when they were about to throw a pole.

"This was a great deal more exciting game than you might think just from reading about it. When the disc was rolled across the court as many as thirty or forty poles would go flying through the air and the biggest problem in the game was to dodge the poles that came from the other side.

"They kept the score by calling it aloud much as we keep score in a game of horseshoes."

Like many other Yokuts games, the arrow game varied slightly from tribe to tribe. The *Wukchumne* on the Kaweah River played the game with wooden pointed arrows and a disc similar to that described by Mayfield for the pole and hoop game, but somewhat smaller. They described the disc as being about a foot in diameter and having a hole in the center approximately two inches in diameter. This disc was rolled back and forth between two men, one at each end of the gaming court. The players lined up on opposite sides and shot arrows at it. [184]

The disc was rolled six times, one point being awarded for each hit, a hit consisting of striking the disc with the arrow. The contestants who obtained the most hits in the six rolls won the game. The Yowlumne called the game *Taw-poi'-un* and the hoop *Taw'-poi*. The game court was called *In*. The scorekeeper was called *Trih-pa'-itch*.

Mayfield described a similar game as played by the Choinimne. This one used instead of the willow-bark disc a perforated stone about the size and shape of an ordinary doughnut. His account of this game follows:

"For another game a small perforated stone was rolled instead of the disc. This stone was about three or four inches in

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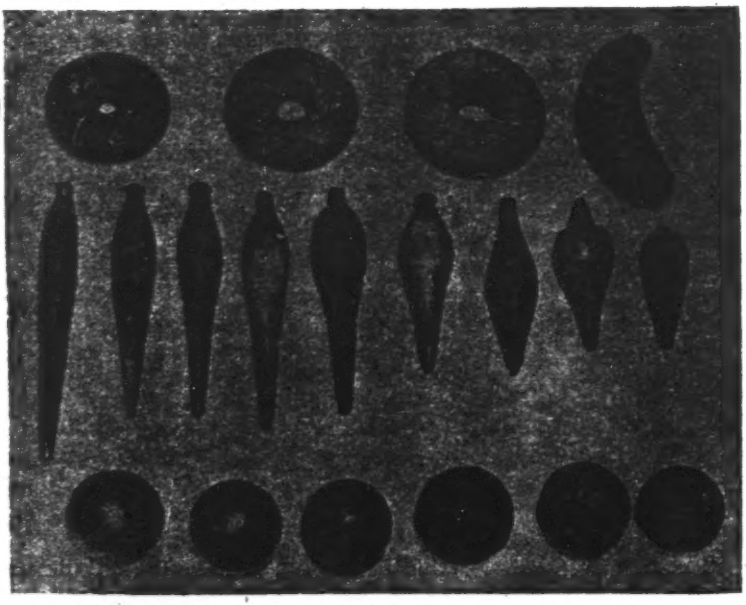

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concern-
ing the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers
526 who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

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a gaming court was maintained at each village site. As has already been described, this court generally consisted of a smooth, level place, free from rocks and generally covered with a thin layer of fine sand. From numerous remains over the valley it is known that the court was longer than it was wide. Remains of such courts have been found which were fifteen to thirty feet in width and from twenty to sixty yards in length. 526 361

Upon these courts a number of games were played. Some of the games were participated in by old and young. Some were played by men only, and some played by children only. The writer has heard of no Yokuts athletic type game played exclusively by women. 526

Pioneers in the vicinity of Hanford and Lemoore have said that the Indians played a game upon these courts which resembled very much the white man's game of pitch-penny. Circular thin rocks were pitched at a line. The writer has been able to find no data concerning this game and is of the opinion that it was an imitation of the practice of soldiers and whites of pitching money at a line.

Another game consisted of rolling round rocks at a hole in the ground and resembled the "purgatory" game played with marbles by white boys.

A typical children's game was called *Mohoo* (Mo-ho'-o), meaning Bear game. The game began with one child, who was called Mohoo or bear, pursuing the rest of the players.

As soon as Mohoo was able to catch or touch one of the other players, that person also became a bear and helped to catch the rest. This was carried on until the last person was caught. This person became bear for the next game. It was considered an honor to be caught last and also to be the bear for the succeeding game. In playing this game the children ran about the rancheria, climbed upon houses, into trees, and even plunged across the river.

Another similar game was played entirely in the water, and called *Hwwidwush* (Hoo-wid'-wush). It was really the bear game, engaged in while the youngsters were swimming, and was a game of water tag. Swimming races took place between the bear and his opponents. Diving, remaining under water, and other methods were used to elude the pursuing bear. [481]

It is unfortunate that a great deal of information concerning the Yokuts games will probably never be forth-coming, for the reason that those Indians were thoroughly disturbed by the

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526 white settlers before such data was gathered. When such work was begun, gaming had almost passed out of existence, and as a result, rules, names and other details had been forgotton. However, it can easily be seen from the amount of information [181] presented upon these pages that the Yokuts were not the sullen, undemonstrative people we imagine them, but were, instead, a laughing, carefree, gaming race.

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CHAPTER VIII

HUNTING AND FISHING

THE MANUFACTURE OF CHIPPED POINTS

There are many traditions about the North American Indians which persist with surprising uniformity and which are also quite characteristic of that noble race. There are on the other hand certain traditions which are even more persistent and which are certainly not generally true, and some possibly with no foundation in fact. Probably the most dogged of these last traditions concerns the manufacture of arrow and other chipped points. The most common tradition concerning this type of work holds that the chip was removed by heating the stone and then applying water, or some other cooling agent. 324

Some stories state that the stone was heated in the coals, and the water applied with a small wooden stick, or brush. Other accounts state that the moisture was applied from the mouth by means of a milkweed string which was allowed to come in contact with the heated stone. Other variations of this account are too numerous to mention, but they all depend upon the supposed reaction of heating and sudden cooling. It is probable that such a chipped point has never been manufactured since the beginning of time, but no amount of reasoning or scientific research or definite statements by Indians seems to be sufficient to put an end to such stories.

The most common method of chipped point manufacture depended upon the breaking from a large piece of stone of a suitable flake. This flake was thrown off from the stone by means of a heavy blow. The hammer generally used was a heavy piece of bone, often the shin bone of a deer or elk, the blow being struck with the end of the bone. [412]

By some manufacturers the large fragment of stone was held against a lump of stiff clay and the flake thrown off between the clay and the stone. It is explained that this kept the blow from fracturing the flake itself. If the flake was quite large and a large spear point or knife was to be made from it, it was placed against the same lump of clay and further reduced by blows. These chips were removed with the bone hammer in

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324 the same way that the first flake was obtained. In this manner the flake was roughly reduced to shape.

The remainder of the chipping was done by pressure and not by blows. The method by which this was done probably varied, but the principle was always the same. It is stated by one authority that the Indian squatted with his knees on either side of an up-right stake which had been driven securely into the ground. The work was rested on the top of this stake. The [412] implement used in pressing off the small flake was generally the tip of a buck horn.

The selection of materials like bone and horn for the work of chipping brittle stones, or obsidian, which is really a volcanic glass, shows thorough understanding of the nature of the material. The horn or bone is hard enough not to be broken in removing the chips, but at the same time is yielding enough that the edges of the chips cut into it and are not shattered, as would be the case with a steel or stone implement.

The flake which was being reduced by shaping was held in the left hand between the tips of the fingers and the base of the thumb with the edge toward the worker, the hand being protected by a piece of buckskin. The buck horn was held in the right hand. It was sometimes lashed to a stick, which extended up as far as the elbow and was held between the upper and lower arms, with the elbow bent almost double.

The side of the flake was placed upon the edge of the top of the stake, which extended several inches above the knees of the worker. The buck horn was placed across the opposite edge of the stake with the tip resting upon the edge of the flake where the chip was to be removed. The point where these two met was elevated approximately one half inch above the top of the stake.

By bearing down strongly on both buck horn and flake so that they could not slip on the stake and then raising their outer ends gradually, the worker could secure tremendous leverage, and bring great pressure to bear upon the edge of the flake. As the flake cut into the buck horn, and as both were lowered toward the top of the stake, the pressure became so great that a chip was thrown off the flake. By varying the direction of the pressure exerted against the flake, the direction of the fracture could be controlled. The fracture was almost directly in the line of pressure.

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The writer has seen arrow and spear points made in this manner. In less than four minutes of measured time a flake was removed from a large piece of obsidian and reduced to a finely worked point. During this time complete explanation was made of the entire process. 324

I know that this method will be questioned by many laymen, but not by persons who have investigated these methods of manufacture. A popular bit of misinformation will always survive. I have a very distinct recollection of searching through a vineyard for arrow points and Indians beads and of collecting a mixed handful of them only to be told by one of the natives (white) that they were not beads or arrow points, but were pumped from the irrigation well and that they could be found in all parts of the field.

THE ANTELOPE SURROUND

One of the most interesting methods of taking game, common to the Yokuts Indians, is that of the "surround" or "drive". In some cases, as in taking jack rabbits, a net and Indian fence were used. 224

Probably the largest game taken by driving was antelope. Before the coming of the Americans the San Joaquin Valley was covered with vast herds of these animals. If the descriptions of early travelers and settlers are to be credited, there were probably hundreds of thousands of these animals within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. They ran in herds and covered the surrounding country like a moving tan blanket. 136 224

The pronghorned antelope of the San Joaquin Valley is undoubtedly extinct. In the northern portion of California there is a wild game preserve upon which have been placed what are said to be some Great Plains antelope. They are also said to be the same as were those of the San Joaquin Valley.

The horns of the antelope were not shed like the antlers of the deer. Both male and female carried horns. These horns were about ten to twelve inches in height and stood almost erect. The tops curved sharply together in the shape of large question marks. Near the base of each horn was a small webbed point, or eye guard. The base of the horn was rough, but the tip was smooth, like the horn of a cow.

Antelope were probably possessed of more curiosity than any animal with which we are familiar, unless it is the more or less domesticated mule. It was this curiosity which made the

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136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

101 The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

224 The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

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to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [251] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the sur- 224
round. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding 825
the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the [533 Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or profes- 769] sional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual ceremony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224
methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

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224 over to the trigger. Rabbits were snared in run-ways, or by rocks where their trails were constricted and where they could not escape the noose. Larger game, such as foxes, coyotes, and raccoons were snared in much the same way, but by means of much larger and stronger equipment. The Indians blocked with brush all trails except the one on which the snare was set. A limb of a tree or a bush was then bent downward and fastened by a trigger.

Elk were snared where they were in the habit of approaching water among the tules and where it was easy to confine them to a narrow path. A large willow or oak was selected and one of the upper branches bent downward and fastened to a lower branch by means of the same kind of trigger used in snaring smaller game.

The noose was suspended from the end of the upper branch and was fastened so as to become entangled in the horns of the animal. When the trigger was released the upper branch sprang upward and held the elk until the Indians arrived and dispatched it with arrows.

223 The most interesting system of snaring known by Yokuts Indians was that used in taking wild pigeons. It was done from a blind by means of a long stick which had attached to it a small loop of stiff milkweed string. The pigeons were generally baited in front of the blind for several days before the snaring was begun. The Indian entered the blind early in the morning and attracted the pigeons by means of a decoy pigeon.

The decoy was sometimes a stuffed pigeon skin, but it was more often a live bird, blindfolded and perched on a stick similar to that used in making the snare. One leg was attached to the stick by a short string. The Indian held the stick a short distance from the ground and moved it about, causing the blindfolded pigeon to flap its wings in order to keep from falling. The flapping wings attracted other pigeons.

The snare was allowed to lie on the ground with the loop over the bait. When a pigeon was standing over the loop the stick was given a slight twist. This caused the loop to rise around the feet or neck of the wild bird. The stick was then quickly jerked into the blind, bringing the pigeon with it. The Indian broke the neck of the pigeon between his fingers and held it between his knees while he removed the snare and placed the pigeon in a sack to keep it from further disturbing the other wild birds by struggling.

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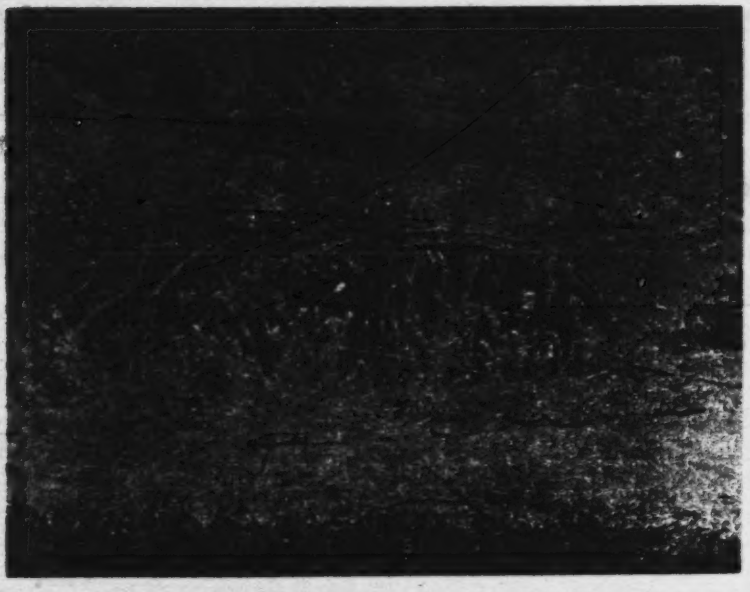

Pidgeon blind built by Chamsuh, a Koyeti, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it. The wild birds would almost imediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously. 224

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

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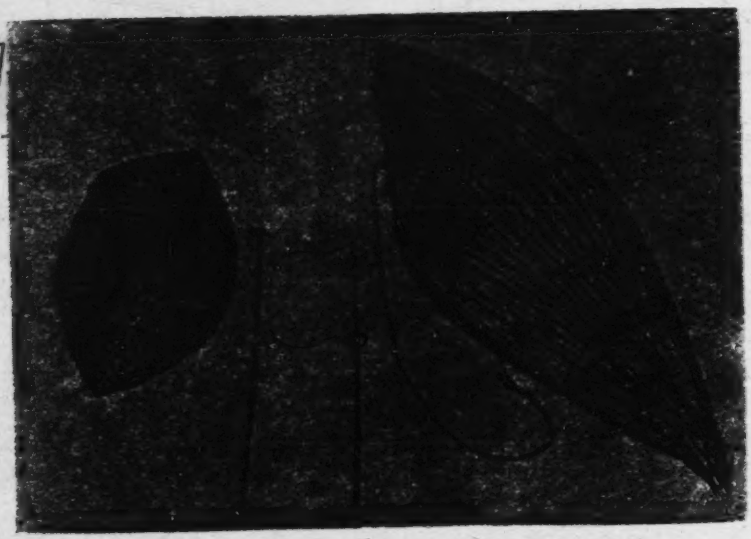

At the left is a Koyeti, and right a Wukchumne decoy pidgeon cage. At the left center is a Chukcimne pidgeon snare, having a spur to prevent the ring from sliding down the pole and closing the loop. At the right center is a Yowlumne pidgeon snare. These snares are about six feet long.

tailed and interesting description of this practice was that furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choinimne* Yokuts on upper Kings River and who left a more or less detailed account of his experiences. The Mayfield story follows:

"When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over themselves.

"The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter.

"A short stick was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand.

"They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing the horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game.

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"Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer. 224

"After men began to hunt with guns and could kill a deer at long range, stalking had to be discontinued, as several Indians were mistaken for deer and were shot. Such hunting was always dangerous, even when there were no guns in the country. [177]

"An old Monache Indian once told me of an experience he had had, which I think is interesting. He had stalked a deer for several hours and had finally approached close enough so that he was preparing to shoot.

"Just as he was about to draw the bow he saw something move. He glanced to his right and there on a big rock, as he said, 'There's one mountain lion, he's going to jump right on me. Fool 'em deer too good—fool 'em mountain lion.

" 'Deer go one way, horns go one way, bow and arrows go one way, Injun go one way. Injun no more fool 'em deer!' "

TULE FISHING RAFTS

Pioneers who were on Tulare Lake in the early days say that loose tules used to float on the surface of the water and were drifted by the wind along the lee shore of the lake into thick, floating mats. These mats were sometimes three feet or more in thickness, thirty to fifty feet across, and from fifty to more than one hundred yards in length. 501

When hogs were placed upon the lake shores to fatten, the tule mats caused a great deal of trouble. They were buoyant enough to support several hogs. Sows with young pigs liked to nest on these mats. During the night it was not unusual for the wind to change direction and drift the mats some distance from shore. Then it was necessary to wade, or row a boat into the lake and take the sow and pigs from the mat.

After the mats had accumulated windblown dust and sand and trash they became known as floating islands. At time of low water they would rest upon the ground, but at time of high water they would separate from the bottom of the lake and float away. It is believed that it was from these floating tule mats and tule islands that the Indians first learned to make fishing rafts, and also the rafts which were used on the rivers. The fishing raft varied in length from ten feet to probably twenty, and in width from six feet to eight feet. They were probably from two to three feet, or more, in thickness and were lashed

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501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

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"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus.

SPEARING FISH

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear?

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

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227 shorter, and blunt on the end. It was lashed opposite the first, making the two projecting pieces about an inch apart.

"On the blunt end of the second piece was fitted by means of a socket a short, sharp piece of bone or hardwood. It was attached to the pole by means of string through a hole near the middle.

"This string had several inches of slack in it. When the fish was speared, the unjointed tip would pull out, and the socketed tip would be disengaged and turned crossways inside of the fish.

"The fish was then attached to the end of the pole with a short piece of string and could be hauled in without any danger of breaking the gig with its struggling.

"I believe that the unjointed point was necessary in order to keep the other point from slipping off the fish.

"In using the gig they built a sort of scaffolding over the water. A deep place in the stream was selected and two long poles set on end ten or fifteen feet from the bank.

"These poles were about ten feet apart at the bottom and crossed at the top about level with the bank. Where they crossed they were lashed together.

"Then the ends of two more long poles would be placed in the crotch above where the first two poles crossed, with the other ends resting on the bank about ten feet apart.

"This formed two V shaped arrangements with the points of the V's together, the open part of one on the bed of the stream and the other on the bank.

"Across the horizontal poles were laid smaller poles and branches to make a dense shade. The fisherman lay on his stomach on top of the branches and dropped the point of the gig down through an opening in them.

"When the fish passed into the shade below, it could be seen and was promptly gigged."

226 Many of the fish obtained in this manner were known as
136 steel heads; they were large fish resembling both the salmon
251 and the trout. The meat of these as well as many others, was dried and smoked in large quantities. Being cured in this way, the fish could be preserved from one year to another. Along the San Joaquin river, we are assured that many tons of salmon were taken each year during the annual "run" and that the bushes and banks about the rancherias were red with drying fish.

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Earlier in this account attention was called to the great 226
numbers of large spear points found on the beds of Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista and Kern Lakes when those bodies of water first ceased to exist. From statements made by old lake Indians we know that many of these points were lost from Yokuts spears when those people were hunting raccoon, mink, otter and beaver around the old lake shores. But that is not the whole story. Some of the points were eight inches in length and thousands were more than six inches long, all too large to be used on a spear.

Actually, tens of thousands of beautiful spear points were found where the deepest waters had been, ten and more miles from some of the old shore lines. Although most white pioneers classified these old points as fish spears, we know that the Indians *did not* spear fish with such points. Said *Tawp'-naw,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "Mr. Latta, I betcha you spear five hundred fish with one them *kots* [stone] spears, you don't catch *one,* I betcha." And Tawp'-naw was undoubtedly correct. There had to be some other answer.

It was many years before I found an Indian who could 226
speak from actual experience of the whole lake culture, and who 115
could describe accurately and in detail the practice of taking fish from tule rafts on the San Joaquin Valley lakes. This aged Yokuts was Josie Alonzo, or *Yoi'-mut,* last survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe, which once in great numbers occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake.

After Yoimut had answered a thousand questions and I was amazed at the wealth of information she had and the accurate way in which it checked with data gathered from other aged Yokuts, I showed her several dozen large spear points, asked her the use to which they had been put by the Chunut. This was her answer: "They use 'em to catch fish."

That was the only one of all answers given me by Yoimut that I would have questioned for a second. I didn't know what to say.

Yoimut quickly saw that I didn't know how the spear points were used and that I didn't believe her. So she described to me the following practice, something I might have deduced, but which would not have been known as a fact without her statement:

"Sometimes when them Chunut went fishin' on them tule 226
rafts out on Tulare Lake, they didn't catch any fish. Maybe

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226 three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top 226 789 [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

"That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of [782] weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

224 San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

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it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves. 224

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed. [283 286]

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish. [286 326]

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

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224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 237 [513] "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

[291 294] "Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

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CHAPTER IX

BASKETRY

YOKUTS STITCHED BASKETRY

The Yokuts tribes will probably be noted throughout all time for the wonderful basketry which they manufactured. There were several types of this basketry, as well as a number of forms. These baskets, mortars, steatite vessels, round wooden boxes, dried animal bladders and crude bags were the only containers known to these Indians. 285

Practically all of the Yokuts baskets were of coiled construction. They were not woven, but were stitched together. This process was much slower and more difficult than that of weaving, but produced a basket as strong as though it were made of sheet metal. Many Yokuts baskets were used for cooking and, when completely dry, would become water-tight twenty or thirty minutes after they were placed in water.

The filler, or coiled material, was obtained from a tall grass which grew in clumps along the valley streams and sloughs. To pioneer white cattlemen of the Joaquin this was known as bunch-grass (Epicampes Rigens). It had no joints, being perfectly smooth from one end to the other, and attained a length of more than four feet. The Indians called this material *chaw'-kish*. 285 824

The white, or light, straw colored material with which the stitching was done, came from the root of a swamp grass (Cladium Mariscus), which was at one time quite common throughout the entire overflow area of the valley

Cladium roots attain a diameter of about three sixteenths of an inch and a length of three or more feet. Yokuts women still dig it from the ground by means of pointed sticks. The bark is removed from it and it is split into two, three, or four parts. [412]

The splitting of this material requires great care and much practice. One piece is held between the teeth, the other two between each thumb and the next two fingers. By equalizing the pressure between the two hands and the teeth the root is split into three equal parts. In this way Yokuts women can split a root four feet long into three parts so even in size that the dif- 285

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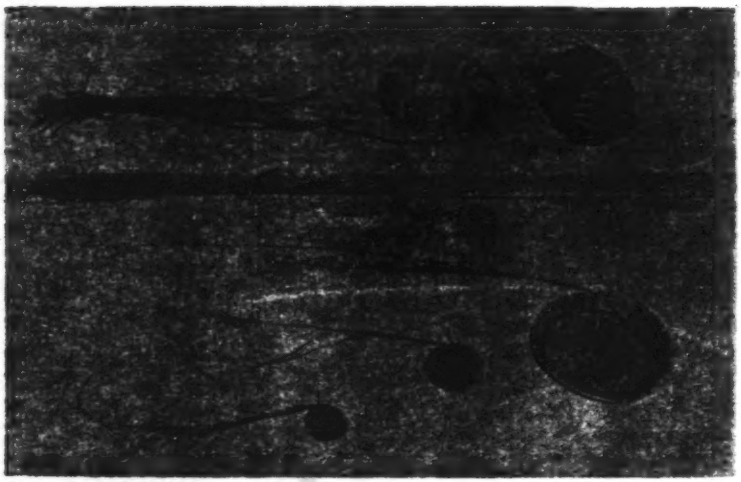

Here are shown Yokuts basketry materials and the beginning steps in making a basket. Top left shows the cladium root (cladium mariscus) after the bark has been removed. Top center is a standard sized trade bundle of split root. Top right is a similar bundle of red bud. Center is a long bundle of the bunch grass used as a filler. Bottom left shows the beginning of a basket, using cladium root for both stitching and filler. Bottom center shows the introduction of bunch grass. Bottom right shows the use of bunch grass alone as a filler, also the bone awl used in stitching.

ference cannot be detected by comparing them side by side. If a root is large enough to make four splints, it is first split in two and then the halves are split.

By means of the sharp edge of a rock, or blade of a caseknife, the split roots are scraped smooth and made into rolls of uniform size for use in trading for basket materials that do not grow in the locality where the roots are harvested. This root is called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

In beginning the basket, short lengths of hupud are twisted into a small coil and stitched together. When the coil becomes large enough, generally about two inches in diameter, the chawkish is introduced. The chawkish cannot be used in beginning the coil because it is too brittle to bend to such a small diameter. The basket is built from this point to the rim by stitching one continuous coil of chawkish to the previous one by means of the grass root called hupud, or by colored stitching materials.

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The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

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285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yah-*
[222] *mah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
48] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

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Wahsimkot about 1928. In her right hand she holds a basket made to be suspended from the neck, leaving both hands free to pick blackberries. Leaning against her is a boy's baby cradle. In her left hand is the flexible cradle, made before the child is born and for use until the other is completed.

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285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
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They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find
[353] much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[222] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

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YOKUTS BABY CRADLES

One of the most interesting phases of Yokuts culture is 854
their method of handling and carrying their children. Many 285
of the things to be discussed here vary slightly among the 352
Yokuts tribes, but the general scheme was once much the same from the Cosumne River and Martinez on the North to Tehachapi and Paleta on the south. By far the most effective Yokuts artifacts, at least as regards the rearing of children, are these baby cradles, or baskets. The most detailed account concerning this interesting piece of equipment was that furnished by a prominent family of the *Wukchumne* tribe.

Among the Wukchumne it was customary to hold a cere- 851
mony, or meeting, practically identical with the modern baby 854
shower. Even though many of the primitive customs have held 352
over into civilized life, and persons who have studied primitive 285
life are more or less accustomed to such parallels, it comes as a surprise to everyone to find that such an interesting custom was so well established among the primitive inhabitants of the San Joaquin Valley.

The materials used in the construction of the baby cradle 854
varied slightly among the numerous tribes. The Tachi, who 352
occupied the north shore of Tulare Lake, wove a very inter- 285
esting cradle of tule. It was soft and pliable and formed a good mattress for the child. The *Choinok* and *Wolasi* attached a tule pad to the bed of a wicker cradle.

The plains and foothill tribes made a very light and strong cradle. Some tribes used slender willow wythes. In the construction of their cradles the Wukchumne used cottonwood twigs.

Among the Wukchumne two separate cradles were used for each child. The first cradle was sometimes made by the mother, although a grandmother, or some other old lady of the tribe, often made it and sold or presented it to the mother. This cradle was about thirty inches in length and so woven of cottonwood twigs that it could be rolled up like a piece of matting, the cross stitching being made of pliable cladium roots. This was a temporary cradle and the baby was kept upon it for a matter of three or four weeks.

As soon as the child was born, materials were assembled and construction started on a large, permanent cradle. This was not possible before, because the design used in weaving the

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Left: A Wukchumne infant cradle, used until the larger cradle was completed, and then tied high in an oak tree until the child learned to walk. Right: A Yaudanchi infant cradle with hoop to support the covering over the face of the baby.

cradle for a boy differed from that used in weaving a girl's cradle.

At the time when construction of the large cradle was started, all the grandmothers and older women of the immediate family group held a meeting. They called upon the mother and her child and brought with them all sorts of materials, including toys and play-things for the baby.

The mother never constructed the larger, permanent cradle. No reason is given for this, except that the mother had many other duties in caring for the child. It is said that the maternal grandmother took a considerable pride in preparing this permanent cradle and I have observed this always to be the case among the Wukchumne.

When the temporary cradle was discarded it was rolled tightly and tied securely, high in an oak tree. It is explained

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by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854 352 285

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections.

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

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854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, 353 smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.
285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

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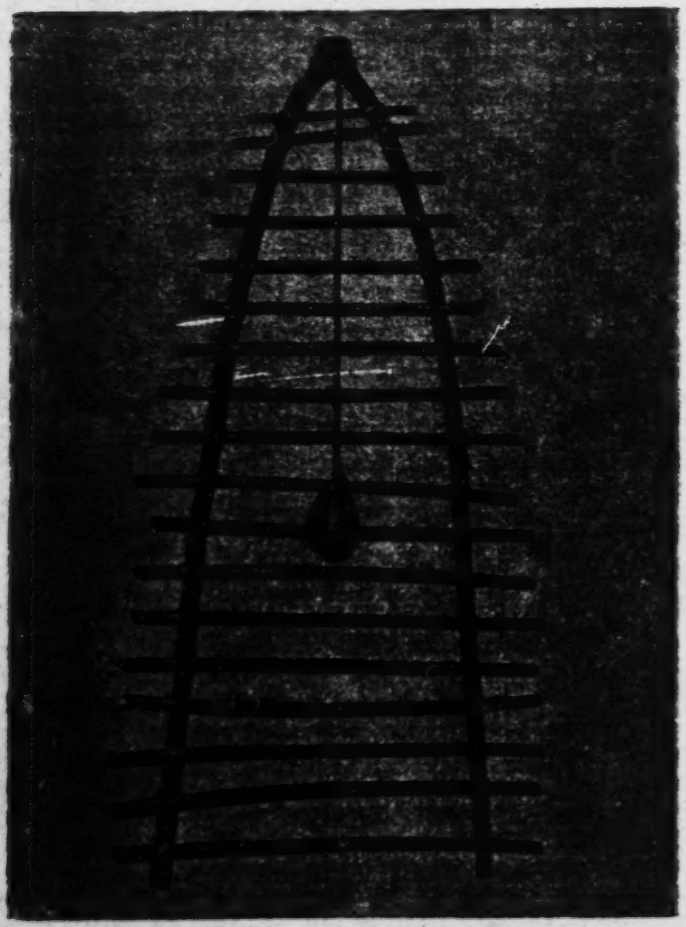

Type of baby cradle used by the Keyeti Yokuts on Tule River. Suspended by the string is a piece of soapstone from which was scraped talcum powder to put on the baby when the grass or moss diaper was changed. This cradle, together with the soapstone, was collected in 1902.

Verily, there is nothing new under the sun.

The *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, could leave her baby cradle leaning against a bank, a rock, or a tree, and be gone for hours with the certainty of coming back and finding the child

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Left: A Wukchumne Yokuts baby cradle with milkweed fiber tie-strap and hemp fiber carrying-strap. Suspended at the right of the sunshade is a steatite reel-shaped stone from which talcum powder was scraped for use when changing the baby. Right: A Nutunutu Yokuts baby cradle padded with tules.

exactly where she left it. It is said by persons who have been close observers that it was often customary to keep the children on these cradles long after they were able to walk. Why the white persons who first settled this country failed to appreciate and appropriate this effective article of primitive culture is beyond understanding.

Probably more interest is shown by whites concerning the Indian name for baby cradle than concerning any other thing relating to Indians. Among the Wukchumne and other Kaweah River Yokuts tribes, the name was *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se). Almost every other tribe of Indians in the western hemisphere had a different name for this article. So did they have different names for *moccasin, squaw, tepe,* and every other primitive article.

000 The word squaw, was adopted from the Narragansett Indian dialect. *Papoose, chuck* (meaning food), *moccasin* and *tomahawk* were taken from an *Algonquin* dialect. Tepe was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

adopted from a *Dakota* dialect. In our early literature we incorporated these Indian names into English. The result has been that no one knows the other tribal language names for them. Even the Yokuts Indians have found it necessary to learn these names from distant tribes.

At no time in our history did we adopt an Indian name for baby carrier. So the reader must learn the word from each tribe.

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CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first
285 considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is
531 the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown
531 with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winat-*
531 *un*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of
825 the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were
776 not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a
531 messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out
825 punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant
773 had the most painful sting of anything about them. The
story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these
three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who
[776] turned in the names of good people who were called in by
Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters,
who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to
death and ate him.

285 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs
531 and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow
points. They are generally represented by two small slender
triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close
together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

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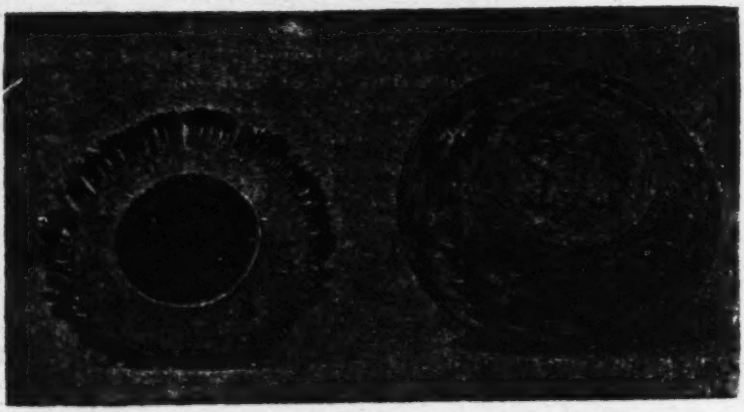

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Left: Top view of a Wakchumne creation basket with quail top-knot feathers as decorations around the edge. It was made to be burned at the periodic pageant which reenacted the creation of world. The stitches are very fine, some almost fifty to the inch. In the bottom is Cheitus, the morning star. The world was finished just as the morning star was beginning to fade. Around the side is a design taken from the pattern on rattlesnake's back. Rattlesnake was the agent of Tihpiknits, Yokuts St. Peter. It was his business to crawl about spying on bad people whose names should be sent in to Tihpiknits. Around the rim are the bow and arrows, sent to the earth by the sun when he went to live in the sky. To the right is the new moon. The world was created during the new moon. Next is Yehk, the watersnake, first water dweller. Next is Sahwekit, the turtle, who brought up from the bottom of the universal water the mud from which the world was made. Next is Wyness, the first man, swimming up from the water. Next is bow and arrow, repeated. Then is Tsah-tsah, the oak tree, first tree in the Yokuts world. Next is turtle repeated. Last is mah-min (blackberry), the first fruit. Right: On the bottom is Cheitus, the morning star. This is another creation basket, one of the most difficult patterns the author has seen. It shows Eagle, the Yokuts Creator, in white, with a red border, which creates another eagle, the white spaces between the four eagles making another eagle. It is an all over pattern which dovetails so as to allow of no waste space. The stitches are fine, about thirty-two to the inch.

among the old baskets a representation of either the bow or arrow in a form resembling their true shape.

Houses are often shown by a small low triangle which makes no attempt to show either the smoke opening in the top, or the door-way. Houses may be shown in any color.

Among the many traditions about basketry designs which are, according to the experience of this writer, clearly in need of correction is the one which states that purposely none of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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the old Indian basketry designs were made complete, or without imperfections. Old basket makers say that there is no foundation whatever for the above statement. They say that broken places in the design or places where parts of the design do not match exactly are simply the result of a lack of skill or forethought on the part of the basket maker. When, over a period of weeks and often months, one has watched the developing of the basketry design while the tedious work has been in progress, he can readily appreciate the above explanation.

The Indian woman begins her design at the base of the basket. As coil after coil is added and the circumference of the rim of the basket where the design is being worked out becomes larger, no small amount of ingenuity and mathematics is necessary to make that portion of the design near the top of the basket conform to that which already has been worked out on the smaller portion near the bottom.

In all of this work no pattern is used. The upper portions of the design are left entirely to the imagination and it is often quite difficult to bring them into proper position upon the flaring side of the basket. This whole matter would be comparatively simple if the basket were the same size at top and bottom, but new stitches must be added every few inches as each coil is added, and this not only increases the surface area upon which the design is placed, but also makes necessary with each coil a new count and division of stitches.

In the solving of this whole problem an Indian woman will display a truly amazing amount of ability, not only in placing the design itself, but in the mere mathematics of dividing the various portions of the basket into equal parts.

The writer has in his possession a small basket, illustrated in this chapter, which is about eight inches in diameter and two and one-half inches deep. This basket is of very close weave, having certainly more than 30,000 stitches, spaced about thirty to the inch. Upon its flaring sides are reproduced four conventional eagle designs, about which is quite elaborately worked out a wide border in two colors. The borders about the eagles make more similar eagles which dovetail so that the design covers the basket completely, and there is on the entire side of the basket no space not involved in representing an eagle. The entire design is worked out from start to finish without a single flaw and shows perfect uniformity, not only

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

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rectangles construct an amusingly accurate fly, and resemble a head-on view of an airplane. Five small rectangles create an unforgettable water-skater. Small wavy or straight lines are caterpillars. Small groups, or long, winding strings of small squares represent ants. 285 531

In the selection of her materials, in the dyeing, preparation, and assembling of them, in the accurate weaving of myths and historical events into the designs on her baskets, it can truly be stated that the Yokuts Indian woman was one of the most versatile artists in the world. She was mythologist, craftsman, weaver, designer, historian, mineralogist, botanist, mathematician, and poet. 285 517 531

YOKUTS ART

The mere mention of Yokuts Indian art seems a challenge to most persons. The thing farthest from their thought is that a Yokuts Indian could have developed anything which in any way could be termed true art. This is not the case. It is true that many of the old forms of Yokuts art are gone, perhaps never to be known, but it is due only to our destructive powers that there is not today more evidence of several forms of their art. 517 531

The Yokuts were developing to a point where art was appearing in their manufacture of pottery. True, this had advanced only to the stage where simple ornamental forms were being attempted and where borders and designs were being applied with the thumb nail or a sharp stick. But the beginning was there and there have been found within Yokuts territory several pieces of pottery which were banded with interesting designs and which probably were not traded into this territory. Border designs were also cut into the large steatite cooking vessels around the opening in the top.

Indian art was applied to many articles. The small apron on the front of the breech clout was sometimes painted with designs symbolic of the local tribe, or clan. The colors and pigments used were the same as those used in rock painting, being earth colors mixed with the juices of plants, most commonly chilicote oil, mixed with the juice of the tall milkweed, the fiber of which was used for making string.

Of all the art common to the many Yokuts tribes, that which has made famous the Yokuts *moke* (mo'-ke, woman) throughout the world, has been applied to their several forms of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Indian. Here again natural colors, often earth colors, were 302
used and the paint was applied in thick coats, not only to the 531
face but often to the arms, legs and bodies. Different designs were used in connection with different ceremonies. These varied somewhat among the numerous Yokuts tribes. In this way a great variety was worked out.

How common was painting on buckskin will probably 531
never be known. In several graves where bodies had been 517
cremated, I have found fragments of charred buckskin which showed quite plainly a painted design using at least two colors. How much of this sort of evidence has been destroyed by careless "digging" will never be known, but I am of the opinion that such art was at one time quite extensive.

Another form of art was developed in connection with the handles of soap root brushes, dice, wooden utensils, knives, ceremonial equipment and stone mortars. This consisted of coating the articles with asphaltum, or pitch, into which were pressed beads and bits of abalone shell. The beads used were generally of white sea shell and contrasted quite nicely with the black asphaltum. The writer has seen many examples of the above art, although almost all of them were in an advanced state of decomposition. The rims of mortars were sometimes coated with asphaltum and covered with beads and abalone shell and must have presented a rather pleasing appearance.

Due to the perishable nature of much of the old Yokuts equipment, a considerable amount of their art will probably never be known. How many other pieces of paraphernalia and peculiar but artistic creations have not been recorded can only be imagined. However, enough is known about their art and painting and applied designs to be certain that at least upon occasion the Yokuts Indian was able to dress himself up quite colorfully and was not the sombre, drab person that we perhaps imagine.

YOKUTS PAINTINGS

When white settlers first came to the San Joaquin Valley, one of the things which attracted their attention was the many Indian paintings which were common upon the walls of the rock shelters and caves along the Sierra foothills and at some places in the Coast Range. These paintings have been the subject of much speculation and some investigation, and a ready topic for many writers. From time to time various persons have claim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 517 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

[824 386] The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 317 386 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick. 531 317 386

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted. 531 517

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These Wukchumne Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 symmetrical mortars and pestles for grinding Indian tobacco,
517 or costumes for tribal ceremonies, were often concealed near these paintings.

The idea furnished was that the paintings added prestige to the spot and served to awe the lesser characters of the tribe and instill in them a respect for the equipment concealed there. The Wukchumne stated that such places were *Trip'-ne* (supernatural). Among the Wukchumne, paintings in general are called *Copch'-ke.* Red paintings, such as are common at Hospital Rock, were called *Haw'-you.* Paintings using mixed colors were called *Hoo'-cha-ing-utch.*

This writer is very skeptical about interpretations of Indian paintings, at least about those found bordering the San Joaquin Valley. His opinion is that the only person who could interpret those paintings is the man who painted them.

The above opinion is based upon two facts. The first and most important is that there is no common character which appears with any degree of regularity throughout the territory in which the paintings occur. Second, with the knowledge which the Indians have concerning the paintings, there should appear an interpretation of some sort, which would be more or less consistent among the various tribes.

The Indians readily recognize the characters which represent animals, but they offer no other explanation for the geometrical designs and line drawings than to give the Indian name for circle, triangle, square or other common figures. In exception to this they do identify drawings of the sun, moon and *Chapet* (Chah'-peet—the Indian doctor's magic tray), and a few mythological characters.

531 In each tribe there were probably one or more persons who
517 amused themselves by placing paintings upon the rocks and other objects surrounding the camp site. These parties prob-
463 ably developed skill beyond the average, and it is undoubtedly their work which we see today, placed there for the amusement of the painter, for the awe of the other members of the tribe, and for the interest and speculation of white invaders.

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CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND NAMES

YOKUTS LANGUAGE

The most fascinating feature of any primitive people is almost certain to be their language. Primitive language has many characteristics which appear peculiar to persons who speak written languages. Most noticeable of all features of primitive language are the many sounds which do not occur in modern tongues and which are difficult for us to produce. 191

Primitive sounds consist of clicks made by the teeth, grunts, clucking and snapping with the tongue, and blowing through the throat. In the Yokuts dialects a coughed H is met with. These sounds are also sometimes accompanied by grimaces. In addition there are practically all of the sounds included in a civilized language. We are told that the dialects of some of the tribes of South Africa contain almost all of these primitive sounds. One word may involve, in addition to gutturals, a click of the teeth and a snap of the tongue. 194

Primitive people are generally able to reproduce practically all of the sounds of a civilized language, but it is surely amusing to hear a person who speaks a modern language attempt some of the more involved primitive sounds. It brings quite forcibly to one's mind the fact that the tendency of civilization has been to simplify the sounds involved in languages.

Consider for example the *K'hoo'-sheem* (north) of the Yokuts. The first syllable was pronounced with the mouth and throat open and was accompanied with cough and a blowing sound deep in the throat. When a white person opens his mouth and throat, the sound stops. The writer practiced for many months before he could say K'hoo'-sheem correctly and loud enough to be heard ten feet away. An Indian could yell it so as to be heard distinctly two hundred yards away.

The word *T'hoo'-k'wheel* (west) is even worse. It is accompanied by two coughs, with the throat open. When attempted by a white person, it generally results in two almost noiseless efforts.

The word for distance is most interesting. In many Indian tongues it has the same characteristics. If you ask a

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194 *Wukchumne* Yokuts where he has been he is likely to answer, "*Wah trip-in Kaweah,*" meaning up the river a short way. If he has been gone a day or so and absent over night, he will say in a higher key, "*Wa-a-a-a-h trip-in.*" Should he have been gone a week or more he will turn his head in the direction of his travels, twist his mouth to one side, and, in a still higher key, say "*Wa-a-a-a-a-a-h hah' trip-in.*"

This method of expressing distance was most effectively expressed by William Lewis Manly in his book, *Death Valley in '49.* Upon the meeting of the Manly party with Chief Walker, after they had started down Green River, Walker tried to induce them to abandon the attempt. Making a small ditch, he likened it to the river at the point where the conversation was taking place. Then showing how, as they passed down the canyon the walls grew higher and higher, he raised his hands to some distance to represent the height of the canyon walls farther downstreem. This motion was accompanied by the exclamation, "*E-e-e-e-e*", meaning high.

Then Walker went farther down the ditch and raised his hands above his head, again saying, "*E-e-e-e-e-e*" (higher). Again he repeated the performance, standing on top of rocks and raising his hands as high as possible, saying "*E-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e.*" In this way he was able without a single word of English, to clearly and unmistakably illustrate to the travelers the tremendous height of the canyon walls. This account is typical of others related to the writer by persons long familiar with Indians.

The Yokuts to a certain extent, like many other primitive people, spoke a bow-wow language. By this is meant that many of their words were imitative of the sounds or objects they were to represent. This is obviously true of some of our own words. If it were possible for us to investigate many others at their source, it is probable that we would find much of our language of that nature. Lisp, whisper, whistle, blow, stumble, stammer and swoop are typical bow-bow words. The word swoop has the sound of a bird diving after prey.

Let us pause for a moment in connection with this last word, and consider the widely used Yokuts word for the once common red-tailed hawk. It is "swoop" and is drawn out even more expressively than our word, swoop. The Yokuts undoubtedly developed this word through the same process that we developed our word.

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The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill.* It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we.* It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila.* However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit,* Wukchumne, *Kaweah, Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "I" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne, Chunut, Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip.* The Wukchumne call this *chadip.* They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik,* name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

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THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

Renaming was in some instances done several times. An [553] Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

551 The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They 775 believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis,* care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina,* who died in Squaw Valley

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many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

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274 551 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel 192 at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the 197 *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

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it is safe to substitute an "l" whenever a "d" appears in the following Wukchumne words. 197

The San Joaquin Valley was called *Chaw-daw'-no.* The Wukchumnes recognized the great central valley as a geographical unit and spoke of various valley landmarks as being "*Wah kayo Chaw-daw'-no* (Away down the valley)". Tulare Lake was known as *Pi-ah'-se.* Some tribes are said to have simply called the lake *Mi'-ak Ill'-ik,* or Big Water. 103

Along the Kaweah River all of the prominent landmarks were named. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shin.* Yucca Point was called *Kah'-wid.* Yokohl Creek bore the name of *Yo-kod'-o.*

The great granite bluff on the Sierra skyline known to us as Homer's Nose was called *Top-aw'-shuh,* or leaning place. Sawtooth Peak was *Kah-did'-it.* A more complete list of Wukchumne place names is given elsewhere in this volume.

The following list of names will give some idea of the extent of the Yokuts vocabulary and of their close contact with every feature of the landscape, as well as with the native plants, birds, and animals. 192

Blue jay	*Trah-ush'-nah*
Black bird	*Chouk*
Buckeye	*Top'-pong*
Blackberry	*Mah'-min*
Breakfast	*Wah-ah'-dua*
Badger	*Tuh'-now*
Bee	*Hi'-neh*
Bumble Bee	*So-way-way'-heh*
Bear	*Mo-ho'-o*
Coyote	*Ki'-yu*
Cottonwood	*Dah'-pah*
Crow	*Ah-duh'-wut*
Chamese	*Co'-toon*
Cherry	*Shup*
Chipmunk	*Che'-we'-yeh*
Chaparral	*Tah-dow'-ud*
Cottontail	*Tay'-yoo*
Cedar tree	*Chow-uh'-puk*
Cat-tail	*Tro'-wuh*
Castle Rock	*Lung-no'-tim*
Cone, pine	*Chung-o'-kish*
Duck	*Hi-eh'-neh*

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192 Deer	*Hoey*
Dust	*Poo-troy'-tuh*
Doctor	*Trok-oh'-din chi'-yeh*
Dinner	*Duh-yohn'-mi*
Eagle Ridge Point	*Oo'-toy yah'-shid*
Eagle	*Tro'-khud*
Earthquake	*Woke-ed'-pahn*
Fly	*Pah-new'-ski*
Goose	*Cu'-su*
Gopher	*Oon'-cut*
Gooseberry	*Show-ship'-in*
Gravel	*Pun-in'-huck yah'-kow*
Hill (by Lemon Cove Depot)	*Ti-up'-in'-ish*
Horned Toad	*Toe'-tuht che'-uh*
Hornet	*Choe'-chup*
Hospital Rock	*Pah'-din*
Hawk	*Shaw'-shuck*
Ice	*Pu'-yung*
Lizard	*Con-cha'-chuh*
Lion	*We-hay'-sit*
Mortar	*Coi'-wus*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow*
Mocking bird	*Vop-sin'-its*
Meadow lark	*Jah-kod'-uh*
Magpie	*Aw'-chutch*
Mosquito	*Kaw'-scrope*
Mud	*Tuh-puk'-ud*
Mohogany	*Home'-nuh*
Maple	*Wah'-shick*
Moon	*Oop'-esh*
Oak tree (valley)	*Trah'-tah*
Oak (black)	*O-uh'-shun*
Oak (maul)	*Truh'-kah*
Oak (blue)	*Sue'-tut*
Oriole	*Taw-taw'-ish*
Pestle	*Pahd'-uh-way*
Pine tree	*Id'-gnid*
Quail	*Ho'-mud*
Rock	*Yah'-kow*
Slick Rock	*Pod'-now*
Jack rabbit	*To'-pul*
Road runner	*Oi'-oi*

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Rat	*Tu'-mau te'-much*
Rattles (from snake)	*Hang-ah'-sid*
Rattlesnake	*Trah'-ud*
Raccoon	*Ket'-chuh*
Shell (periwinkle)	*Chah'-wik*
Shell (abalone)	*To'-trud*
Shell (Pismo clam)	*Hu'-mana*
Shell (soft mussel)	*Che-u'-nim*
Cave	*Dop'kaw*
Sunflower	*Wah'-suh-wi*
Sagebrush	*Show'-vom*
Thank you	*Wook'-nud een'-sheesh*
Tule	*Suey'-you*
Turtle	*Sah-wah'-kits*
Terminis Beach	*Coach-nah'-mew*
Tarantula	*Law-la'-nuh*
Trout	*Pah'-chick in-tahd'-im*
Trout (Kern River)	*Pas'-nit in-tahd'-im*
Venice Hills	*Kaweah*
Venice Hills Indian Village	*Kaweah*
Water (singing)	*Tum-mu'-dah idik*
Water (still)	*Yung-mu'-dah idik*
Water (shallow)	*Ah'-tah idik*
Water (deep)	*Wah'-ah idik*
Water (shining)	*Wah'-ah muh'-tah idik*
Waterfall	*Wo-ho'-dah*
Whirlpool	*Wool-l-l-wah'-dah idik*
Willow (button)	*Shook'-hotch*
Willow (common)	*Sha'-katch*
Willow (black)	*Shah'-dahm*
Woodpecker	*Pah-dah'-dut*
Weasel	*Po-haw'-ut*
Wild cat	*Tong'-ud*
Worm (measuring)	*Haw'-nick haw'-nick*
Worm (glowing)	*Chaw'-eh chaw'-eh*
Whirlwind	*Moy'-yuk*
Wind	*Te-duh'-shuh*
Weed (tumble)	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yellow hammer	*Tro-peese'-nuh*
Yellow jacket	*Traw'-coy e'-seh*

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NUMERALS:

1. *Yaet*
2. *Pu-noy*
3. *So-uh-pin*
4. *Hop-pu-noy*
5. *Yach-e-nil*
6. *Chu-luh-pe*
7. *Num-chen*
8. *Mu-nosh*
9. *Nah-nip*
10. *Treo*
11. *Treo yaet*
12. *Treo pu-noy*
13. *Treo so-uh-pin*
20. *Pu-noy treo*
21. *Pu-noy treo yaet*
22. *Pu-noy treo pu-noy*
23. *Pu-noy treo so-uh-pin*
30. *So-uh-pin treo*
31. *So-uh-pin treo yaet*
33. *So-uh-pin treo so-uh-pin*
50. *Yach-e-nil treo*
100. *Treo-treo,* [or ten tens]

192 The above list represents approximately one-twenty-fifth of the Wukchumne words collected by the writer, which in turn represent half of the complete vocabulary of the Wukchumne. They present only the common names which have not already been presented elsewhere in the text and serve to indicate how complete was the Yokuts vocabulary.

YOKUTS WILD FLOWER AND PLANT NAMES

824 One of the most amazing things concerning Indians is their extensive knowledge concerning their environment. This includes not only a knowledge of the geography of the country in which they live and the use to which the many things about them can be put, but also a vast fund of cultural information which to many persons of the white race seems useless.

The average Indian possessed a remarkable store of information about the varieties and species of plants and flowers with which he was surrounded at the different seasons of the year. The writer knows several educated Americans who have studied for years the wild flowers and plants of California, but

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who do not possess an amount of information concerning these same plants and flowers equal to that which was once possessed by an intelligent ten year old Indian child. 824—

The story was once told to me by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, noted authority on California Indians, that he obtained the name of a third and unknown species of manzanita from a *Miwok* Indian woman in the Sierra foothills below the Yosemite Valley. Two species of manzanita had already been studied for years and Dr. Merriam was attempting to find how far into the mountains the low-land manzanita grew. As both species were well known to the Indians, it saved much time to gather this information from them. He came to a little hut near a stream and asked the Indian woman who lived there how much further up the stream the low-land manzanita grew and whether the up-land tree extended down as far as her house. She hesitated a second, looked him in the eye, and answered, "They all *three* grow right here." 824 114

Dr. Merriam was sure that he had been misunderstood. While he was trying to explain to the Indian woman what was meant, she spoke two words to her eight year old daughter, who immediately left, and returned in less than one minute with three branches of manzanita. These the Indian woman took, and by means of the flower and leaf, pointed out to this noted scientist that they were from three different species of manzanita. He was dumbfounded. The means of identification used by the woman was that used by scientists and she had clearly identified a third species of manzanita. This noted man was kind enough to name this third species *Miwokiana,* after the tribal name of the Indian woman who first identified it.

Continuing in the vicinity for several days, Dr. Merriam became impressed with the amount of information possessed by the little eight year old girl. He found after continued questioning that she was able to identify more than 300 plants, birds, and animals common within a few miles of the cabin where she was born and was then living. Her mother knew more than 500 varieties.

Both the mother and daughter knew not only the names of the plants, but also where they grew, when they ripened, and whether the plant had any food or medicinal value. If it was of any value they knew what it was good for, how and when to harvest it, how to prepare and administer it. They could also

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824 identify it among all other plants. If it was poisonous they
114 knew that, and were careful not to mix it with other plants being gathered. This knowledge extended to the birds, animals and even to the surrounding rocks. This meant that for each thing identified the mother and daughter knew approximately ten related facts. The number of facts furnished to this noted scientist numbered many thousand. Of added interest is the fact that the data furnished by the daughter checked accurately with that furnished by the mother, a record never attained by white school teachers in formal education. What educated person belonging to the "superior" white race has an equal store of information about his immediate surroundings?

192 In the belief that the names of the various wild flowers
824 and plants common in the San Joaquin valley will be of interest to readers, the following list is appended:

Amaranth, California	*Choi-ni choi-ni*
Brodiaea, Purple Harvest	*Ho-lo'-wih*
Brodiaea, twining	*Kang-wah wid-dah*
Baby Blue Eyes	*Ah-du'-trun shesh-ch*
Bush, Button	*Cu'-chuy*
Brickellia	*Kaw-wats-ah'-puh*
Bush, Silk Tassel	*Shin-way*
Bamboo or cane	*Kod-kid*
Columbine	*Dum-tin'-un in-dip'-its*
Calycanthus occidentalis	*You-mut*
Daisy, Yellow	*Chaw-wung*
Ericameria	*Chaw-dud'-pot*
Fern, Great Chain	*Mun-no'-kits*
Fern, Maiden Hair	*Le-wit'-tah*
Flax, blue	*Kah-wah*
Fern, California Golden	*Yaw-kow'-ho*
Houses, Chinese	*Tawk-haw'-daw*
Honey Suckle, wild	*Ti-you la-ou*
Harebell-Satinbell	*Tah-pu'-you*
Lotus, Hill	*Shah-dum'-its*
Lily, Leopard	*Yah-am'-yuh*
Mustard	*Tro-mud*
Mistle Toe	*Taw-do*
Milkweed	*Chet-tik*
Milkweed, woolly	*Che-tik*
Milkweed, narrow leaf	*Shock*
Monkey flower	*Chaw-ahcu'-dah*

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Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-ch me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

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755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

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Fungus, Indian Paint	*Trah'-tah In-o'-poke.*
Fungus, Large mushroom shaped	*Caw-ho'-mik.* Dried and then stewed.
Grass, dry powdered salt	*Al'-leet,* or *Ah'-dit.* Eaten as a seasoning and as candy.
Gooseberry, prickly	*Shaw'-ship in-wah'-yeh.*
Gooseberry, red	*Tong'-e*
Grape, wild	*In'-suh naw'-tip*
Lettuce, wild (Miner's Lettuce)	*Haw'-dum.* Eaten raw with salt.
Lichen, stag horn	*Puh-tri'-chuh*
Lucidum, Ganodenna	*Shok-nud'-uh.*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow.* Used for sweet wine.
Milkweed, tall	*Hung'-uts hung'-uts.* Used for chewing gum.
Nightshade, purple	*Paw-mo'-i-ush.*
Onion, wild	*Sung'-co.* Eaten raw.
Rush, scouring	*Suk'-kaw sick-id'-it*
Strawberry, wild	*Dum-tin'-in mah'-min.* Eaten raw.
Salvia Columbarial	*Kaw'-wah.*
Tobacco, Indian	*Sahw'-kaw.* Smoked and eaten.
Tree, Alder fruit	*Hi-eh'-nen.* Eaten raw, or dried.
Yucca	*Kah'-wid.* Tender shoot baked or roasted.

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CHAPTER XII

STORIES AND CEREMONIES

THE BOYS' INITIATION CEREMONY

881 Undoubtedly one of the most interesting customs of the Yokuts Indians had to do with their initiation of the young men into the tribe. Among small tribes it is probable that this was not held at regular intervals, but was performed at any time when a young man was considered to be of an age mature enough to take up the full duties of citizenship. In larger tribes it appears that in order to reduce the number of times that the initiation ceremony would have to be performed during the year, it was held only once and at a regular season. At that time several young men would be initiated.

[184] Old Yokuts men state that some tribes required the initiate to kill a deer single handed before he would be taken into the tribe. An old *Wukchumne* stated that his people often required the boy to break the ice and bathe in the Kaweah river before he would be admitted. This test is also reported from the *Yowlumne*. These are the only reported requirements which involve a test of courage or hunting ability.

881 Among scientists the initiation performance among the southern Yokuts was known as the *Toalache*, or *Jimson Weed* 276 *Ceremony*. The plant used was the Datura Meteloide. The southern Yokuts called this plant *Tani*, and the ceremony *Tani-yu'-wish*. The ceremony was centered about the drinking of a tea made from the root of the Jimson weed and the period of intoxication which followed, during which the unwritten work of the tribe was imparted to the new members.

The Jimson weed will be readily recognized by natives of the San Joaquin as a large, low, bushy bluish-green plant which at the proper season of the year produces a large white bell-, or trumpet-shaped flower. This flower is about six inches in length and three inches across at the opening. It is possessed of an objectionable odor. The root when reduced to a tea is a strong narcotic.

For several days before the drinking of this tea the young men refrained from eating any solid food. Acorn soup or other liquids were the only things partaken of during this week of

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Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Cemetino Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

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THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about
302] a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
778 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

these magic stones to vary much in size and proportions, but to be all of the same general shape. They are often referred to as plummets, or plumb-bobs, and are commonly known to collectors as charm-stones. 789 778

Charm-stones have been found throughout Yokuts territory. Along streams and about the shores of valley lakes they have been discovered in great numbers. Away from the old bodies of water they have occasionally been brought to the surface by plowing. When the waters of Tulare Lake began to recede during the late 1880's and early 1890's these stones were found by hundreds along the lower shores. Dr. Ed. Smith of Hanford made a large collection of them along those shorelines and in the lowest portion of the dry lake bed. He once told me that during one week-end, traveling with horse and buggy, he gathered one hundred and eighty-four Yokuts Rainmakers' charm stones.

Pioneer San Joaquin Valley residents have furnished numerous parallel data, stating that these stones were used to bring fish up the streams and to bring success in fishing. A few have stated that they were also used in connection with a rainmaking ceremony. Zachary T. Blankenship, of Visalia, once told me that they were used to bring water into streams during drought, and to induce the large trout of Tulare Lake to migrate up the various branches of the lower Kaweah River. Said "Zac", "Soon after it left the Sierra foothills the Kaweah River divided into six branches—Outside Creek, Deep Creek, Cameron Creek, Packwood Creek, Mill Creek and St. John's River, which, in its lower course, is known as Cross Creek. Sometimes the heads of some of these creeks would choke with sand and brush so that the water could not run down them. Then the Indian Medicine Men had to get busy with their plumb-bobs and put on a song and dance calculated to bring the water back. [226]

"Each year the large lake trout would run up some of the Kaweah Creeks, but they did not always run up all of them. This cut some of the Indian camps out of their fishing. They hung those plumb-bobs on the willow trees in order to make the fish come up to them. I never saw this done, but I know it to be true, for I was told about it by an old Indian who lived on Outside Creek. I found one of those plumb-bob stones hanging on a tree. It took my fancy. There was no one in sight, so I cut it loose, put it in my pocket and took it home. We had sev-

[text continues on p. 204]

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Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-
124 blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 533] *Toke'-un lih'-nuh* (west side) *Wa-tin-hin* (straight path) *nah* (me) *Yo'* (to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne (Wo-wol village) *Ah-he* (this is I) *oo-nook* (charm stone) *mi-uh'-wah* (over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

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never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne. 789 778

"An old *Nutumutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago." 124

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery. 172 778

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield, and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

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Nine charm stones, replaced in the soil as they were found in an Indian mound-campsite about two miles southwest of Rio Bravo school in Kern County. They were uncovered by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell while leveling land in April of 1948.

Finally, at a depth of about eight feet, a carryall, operated by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell, scraped off the top of a finely polished stone. Investigation brought to light seven finely made serpentine charm stones and two made of fine-grained banded stone. They stood with their points down and were arranged in the form of a circle about sixteen inches in diameter.

While an account of the above find was being added to this chapter, I became acquainted with a person who has probably had more experience than anyone else in uncovering charm, or rainmaker's, ceremonial-stones. He is Mr. A. L. Threewit, of Buttonwillow. Mr. Threewit has leveled many hundreds of acres of land in the vicinity of Buena Vista slough. In this work he has uncovered no less than six clusters of charm-stones.

He has uncovered numerous other deposits of these stones, but they were disturbed by earth-moving equipment before he saw them, so he could not be certain of the exact position in

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which they had been buried. He has also uncovered dozens of single stones. In 1946, on the Crawford Ranch, about eighteen miles north of Buttonwillow (Section 21, T27S, R22E) he uncovered a cluster of about ten charm stones. As the situation under which they were found was almost identical with the others, Mr. Threewit's description of their position will suffice for all.

"In the fall of 1946 I was leveling a piece of land for Mr. Clinton B. Crawford. On it was an old abandoned slough channel with a large mound beside it. The top of the mound was at least ten feet above the bottom of the slough. The mound was composed of hard, alkali-saturated soil. The old slough channel was about one-fourth mile east of the main channel of Buena Vista Slough, which had been deepened into a drainage canal.

"At the depth of about one and one-half feet below the surface of the mound my scraper uncovered a cluster of plumb-bob shaped stones. They were standing on end and were arranged in a circle about a foot and a half in diameter. Inside this circle were three rocks showing signs of fire. The three rocks were lying in a bed of ashes and charcoal. The plumb-bob shaped stones did not appear to have been burned. The fire had been kindled in the middle of the circle formed by them.

"I have uncovered at least six clusters of these plumb-bob shaped stones, all buried at about the same depth, and all in the same position as the one I have described. I have picked up many other groups of them but did not see them until they were in the scraper. Together with the scattered ones, I have uncovered many dozens of these plumb-bob shaped stones in the area between Tupman and Lost Hills. They have always been uncovered in knolls beside old, dry water courses. In at least one instance a cluster of them was found beside a human skeleton."

Although I have heard numerous other stories of the finding of nests of charm stones at other points in Yokuts territory, accounts concerning the ten mentioned above are all that I have been able to substantiate satisfactorily. Then, about two months after the find west of Bakersfield, while interviewing Mrs. Mable Stricklett of Santa Cruz, I made the most important find of all.

In 1894, Mrs. Mary J. Gates, mother of Mrs. Stricklett, had published verification of all I had gathered, as well as the

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172 key to the nest burials of charm-stones. This appeared in a
778 pamphlet titled, *Contributions to Local History,* and gives the history of the territory surrounding Mountain View, in northern Santa Clara County. Here is her account:

"The most interesting specimens of rude aboriginal art are charm or sorcery stones. Ray Dexter has one with the polish worn off that he found in the slough, and Frank Francis has another and highly polished one of a fine-grained, hard stone that was found on the Rev. Mr. Crittenden's ranch. Many charm stones are reported from Mr. Summer's ranch. These stones are of various shapes and sizes. The purpose for which they were used, at what time, it seems not easy to make out. But our comparatively recent Indians finding these stones attributed to them magical powers.

"No less than six theories have been advanced with regard to their use. They have been found in too many forms for games; too heavy for personal adornment; as plummets they would have been of no use to a people who lived in huts, or no shelter whatever; sinkers they need not be, when many stones in the creek would answer fully as well; the small knob on the end of nearly all of them caused them to be of less service than the common pestle; and the investigators came to the conclusion they were used for religious purposes, and in this way they found they were correct, as a few old Indians confirmed this idea.

172 "The Indian medicine man used to collect twelve or maybe
778 twenty charm stones and arrange them in the form of a circle, with another very different stone in the center, and over these
789 he sprinkled the seed of the wild sage, feathers and red ochre, when war, sickness, drought or famine came to the tribe. He would next thrust the stones violently together, all the time muttering his incantations - - - - -.

"These charm stones were also suspended by a string over the water where they were fishing, hung from trees to call the fish up the streams, and at points in the mountains favorable for hunting."

It would almost seem that Mary J. Gates had actually interviewed Mr. Zachary T. Blankenship, quoted above. And does her article not explain why our San Joaquin Valley charm-stones were buried in nests? Were not all ten burials described above located on streams that had changed their channels? Can

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the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172X

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778X 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the *Tulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

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796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind 796 when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to 825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw,* an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw,* no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary 776 of *Tihpiknits,* keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more 825 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On [285 some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back 531] rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water [237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar. 796

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

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796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

796 "When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
159 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
756 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
[151] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

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756

Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live.

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on downfeathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. [522]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattle- 198
snake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

O, Chochin witche pah
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah ------ yah!
(Everyone hear me).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik*, long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf,
657 live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes;
[461] pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut
159 tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch
173 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high;
648 wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat on river take white man across water. Then lots white man come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutunutu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief, Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Then Tomkit talk Major Savage. He tell him, "It's summer now; it's hot; it's long way Kuyu Illik, Kings River, where Choinimne live; it long way Nutunutu Indian; lony way Chauchile Indian; long way *Kahwatchwah* Indian. Take long time see all them Indian. I think maybe take my men three, four weeks see 'em. They run long way; they sweat lots. Why you want us do this? What they gonna do that paper we got sign?" 159 173 648

I hear all this. Tomkit say, "You be next chief, Pahmit. You hear what white man say."

Then Major Savage he tell Tomkit. Major Savage, he say, "I big medicine man with big father at Washington. You haf do what I say. I hurt you if I want to. I make all your people die. I make all fish go out river. I make all antelope, all elk go 'way. I make dark. You do what I say, nothing hurt you. But you no hurt me. You shoot me with bow, arrow, I live. I do all thing I tell you 'bout. You shoot me with pistol, you no hurt me."

Major Savage have nice six shooter. My people never see six shooter before. They see rifle; they see pistol. One, two my people know how shoot 'em.

Major Savage put white handkerchief side oak tree. He load six shooter one, two, three, six bullet. He put powder; he put paper; he put bullet; he stand close tree. He shoot handkerchief, one, two, three, six time. Every time he make hole in handkerchief.

My people all stand 'round close, see. Major Savage load six shooter 'gen. We see him put powder, paper, bullet. Then he give our man. "Now, you shoot me. You shoot me; you no hurt me. You no kill me. Don't you 'fraid. You go 'head, shoot; you no kill me." Then he stand close our man. Our man shoot, bang! Then Major Savage he grab in air with his hand. He don't fall down. Our people look each other. They say he big medicine man. Then our man shoot 'gen. He shoot six time. Major Savage, he grab in air six time. Our people all come close, look. Then Major Savage hold out hand, open it. We see six bullet our man shoot. Major Savage catch 'em all his hand.

My grandpa, Tomkit, he see that. He b'lieve 'em. I see that. I b'lieve 'em, too. All my people see that. They all think Major Savage big medicine man. They all think they better do what he say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Then Major Savage he talk. He tell us, "Now you do what
I say. You bring chief all Indian tribe here. You bring 'em
173 here ten days now. You bring two Indian each tribe. You
648 bring one chief; you bring one *moke* for me. I want one wife each Indian tribe."

My grandpa, Tomkit, he send men bring all Indian chief; tell all Indian chief bring one Indian wife Major Savage. Indian chief all come Kuyu Illik. They bring Indian wife Major Savage. I think they bring seventeen. I think some run 'way. I think seven stay work for Major Savage.

After all chief come Kuyu Illik, one, maybe two days, big man from Washington come with paper. Lots 'em come. I think they fifteen, maybe twenty horse-back soldier. They three soldier on four horses wagon. They stop wagon Kuyu Illik on big open place south my grandpa's house. All Indian crowd 'round, look. All chief set 'round on ground.

Some soldier take three big box out wagon. They put 'em in open place, each one up top. Then Indian get on top, way up high. He talk our people. That Indian belong our people long time 'go. When he little boy, Spanish preacher take him Mission at San Juan. At San Juan he learn read, write, talk like white man. Big white chief call him Charlie. Our people call him *Yo'-ho*. White chief talk him. Then Yoho talk us long time. He talk, 'n talk, 'n talk. He turn 'round, 'n 'round, 'n 'round on box. My people all hear him. He say we got give big Father at Washington all our land. We got go down valley, live. He say big white Father at Washington send us clothes; send us flour, send us blanket, send us horse. He say big white Father send us teacher, so our people go school like white man.

Our people no like that. They think all right send things. They no like go down valley. No acorn there; too many Indian there. They think have fight with Indian there. My grandpa, Tomkit tell Yoho. Yoho talk long time big white chief.

Then Major Savage he go wagon. He bring whisky; he bring tobacco. He tell all Indian set down, they gonna smoke. Major Savage fill tobacco pipe. He make one puff, he give pipe Indian. All Indian make one puff. All white chief make one puff.

Then Major Savage give 'em lots whisky. Then Yoho talk long time 'gen. Our chief all set 'round, listen. Then they make sign mark on piece paper. *Co-toom'-se*, chief with *Chuck-*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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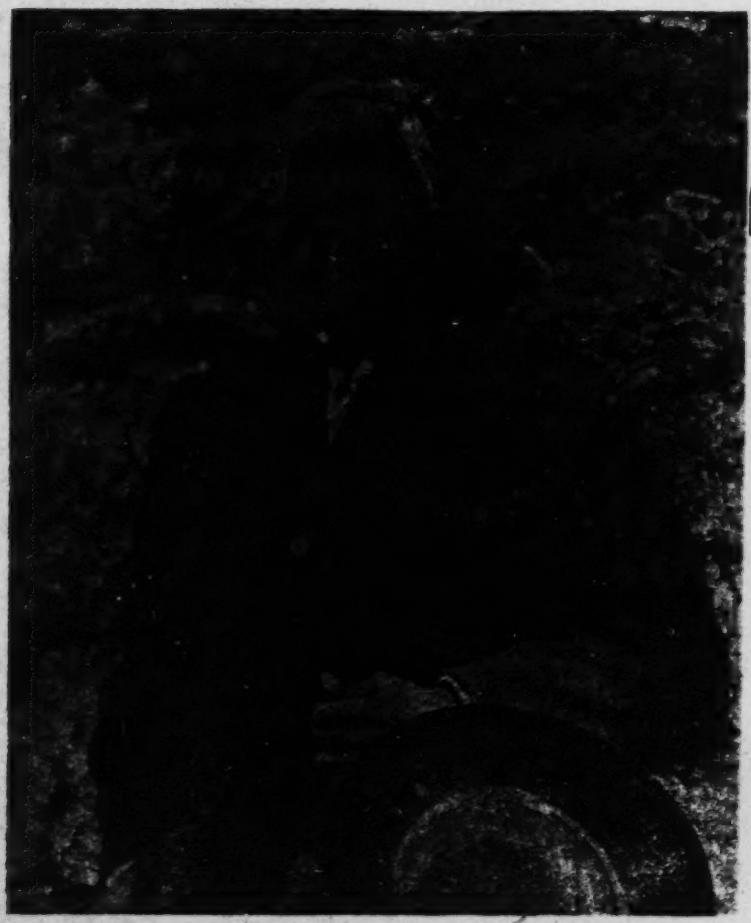

Pahmit in 1929, aged about 100 years, by the wall of the old stone guardhouse at Fort Miller. Pahmit helped to build this wall about 1854.

chas'-se. He sign 'em. My father, *Dawk-taw,* he chief with Dumna tribe Indians. Some people call him *Tap'-pah.* He sign 'em. My uncle, To'-mas, he chief *Kit-cha'-ye* tribe. He sign 'em. Lots Indians sign 'em. Take long time. Then white chief go 'way.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Major Savage go 'way. He go Kings River. White man
173 there shoot Major Savage like our man shoot 'im. Major Sav-
648 age he die. Ha! Ha! Why he no catch 'em bullets?

Then white man come; they mine gold in river. They shoot Indian. Soldier put Indian in jail; they whip Indian. They run all Indian 'way from village Kuyu Illik. They burn all Indian house.

They smooth ground where Indian house burn. They play music there. Blue clothes soldier march, march, march there. They make Indian dig dirt, mix mud; make adobe brick; make white soldier big house. White men call big house Fort Miller. They take Indian by tree over river. They hang 'em there; they cut rope and dead Indian fall in river. My grandpa, Tomkit, he tell white soldier, "You better look out." He tell white miner, "You better look out. Indian spirits no like you do this. Pretty soon bad things happen you."

Then high water come wash 'way all white man's store; wash 'way lots white man; wash 'way lots, lots Chinaman. Then pretty soon white soldiers all go away. My people think Indian spirit make 'em go. They glad. They dance. They
[165] sing. Not many Indian left. Lots Indian die whisky; lots Indian die bad white man sickness. Just few Indian left. Indian live Kuyu Illik 'gen. White miner still whip Indian; still shoot Indian.

Then by 'n by, white man all talk fight. They say long way off, white man shoot white man. Lots white man go long way off, fight. Then white soldier come back Fort Miller. This time white soldier pretty good man; they no shoot Indian, they no whip Indian too much. Some Indian work for white soldier; white soldier give 'em flour, give 'em tobacco, but Indian pretty near all gone. White soldier stay this time maybe three, maybe four years. Then all go 'way. I never see no more white soldier.

159 My father, Dawktaw, gone. My grandpa, Tomkit, gone. My uncle, Tomas, gone. I big chief now, but no got Indian tribe. Just me; just my sister left. My sister got one boy, got one girl. I blind; I no see. I no see maybe ten, fifteen year. I got one boy; he got three, four, baby. We work hard, we don't have 'nough eat. Big Father at Washington no send flour; no send horse; no send clothes; no send blanket, like white chief say when Indian sign paper at Kuyu Illik.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

My people no drink whisky, I think be lots Indian yet. I drink just once. I work for white man. He put me in wagon. He take me home. He tell me, "Pahmit, whisky no good. Whisky kill white man. Whisky kill Indian. You no drink 'em." White man good my friend. I live long time. Pretty soon I go. Then white man no haf pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. 159

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LAST CHUNUT

Of the several thousand pioneers I have interviewed, no one was more fascinating than *Yoimut* (Yoi'-mut), last survivor of the *Chunut* Yokuts tribe which once occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. It is of interest to know how I found Yoimut. 115 124

One evening I was at the Loy Cutler ranch east of Visalia, talking with Indian Joe Wilcox, making inquiry about the individuals who had been the last survivors of several extinct San Joaquin Valley Indian tribes. Joe had known several last survivors, those from the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Telumne, Pahdwishi, Wowol,* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. I asked him about the Chunut. For a moment or two he was at a loss to recollect. Suddenly remembering, he spoke, "There is one Chunut left. Her daughter was here last night. She is at the W. H. Wilbur ranch, near Tulare."

It was then 10:30 P.M., December 1, 1930. I immediately drove to the Wilbur ranch. Billy Wilbur had not gone to bed, so he climbed in the car with me and at 11:30 we were in the cotton camp in the Wilbur field. Soon we had awakened everyone at the camp. Yoimut's daughter and son-in-law talked with us in the kitchen. Yoimut stood silent in a doorway. I explained who I was and that I wanted Yoimut to go with me to our home for a visit, so I could record her story. I expected it to take at least two or three days to persuade her to go.

No one spoke. The daughter looked inquiringly at Yoimut. Yoimut then addressed me in as good English as I could ask and said, "Yes, we know all about you. Our people tell us all about the questions you ask them. Lots of times I tell them what to tell you. I like to tell my story myself. I will go with you tomorrow."

And so Yoimut came. From the first she was as interested and interesting as it is possible for a person to be. She had a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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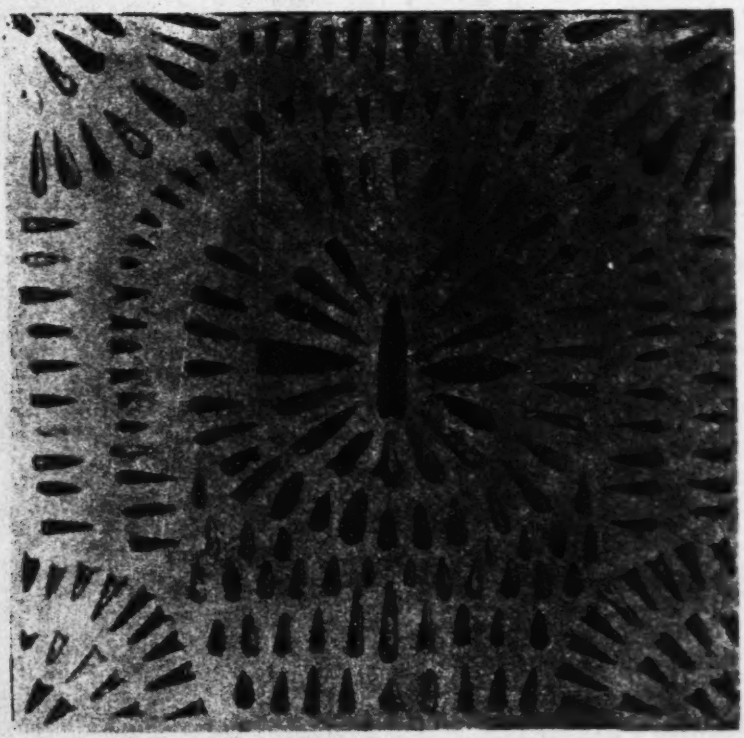


Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tuhohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

159 I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of
361 *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

sugar factory about a mile south-east of Visalia. This was the 159
real old Telumne head village. When I was a little girl there I [361]
knew the last chief of that tribe. His name was *Nahalets* (Nah-ha'-leets). White people called him Joaquin. His wife was *Hawtulu* (Haw-too'-loo, meaning Hoot-owl). They were the head people there when I was born.

My father's name was *Po'-kah-sah'*. He was born at the old Chunut village called *Mih-ka'-et* just south of the mouth of [361]
Tule River. I believe the white people call that place Turnbull. It was about a mile above the old Turnbull house. At Mihkaet my people used to surround antelope and kill them. We call them *suey'-yohl*. My father died when I was about six years old, but my mother showed me the place two or three times.

My mother was *Te-ta-we'-cot*. She was born at the old Wowol village of *Chawlawin* on Atwell Island where Alpaugh [361]
is now. *Wocoiyu* (Wo-coi'-you), my mother's father, was chief of the *Wowol* tribe. When he died his oldest brother was chief. This brother's name was *Teh-nih'-pahs*. After I was grown he died at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lah'-ne), the "Fish" Rice Rancheria, four miles south of Farmersville. I learned much about my old-time people from him. He was my good uncle.

When I was a little girl at Watot Shulul there was a big log fence around the old house at the Blankenship ranch just southeast of us. They were afraid of the Indians. We used to laugh at this, for we used to work for the Blankenships and we knew our people would never hurt them.

There was a young Indian girl working for Mrs. Blankenship. Once they could not find her. They looked for a long time. They found her dead and covered up with dirt and leaves. Some of our people saw a white man take her from where she was washing. We were afraid to say anything about it. He was bad man. He killed lots of Indians and he would have killed us if we had told Mr. Blankenship. We have always been sure that the white man killed her.

I have heard my mother and lots of other Indians tell about the log fence in Visalia, too, but I never saw it. The white people built it because they were afraid of the Indians. It was torn down before I was old enough to remember.

When I was about seven years old the Indians all got sick 159
at Watot Shulul. Lots of them died. They had measles. The 164
Telumne tribe was all broken up. The chief, Nahalets, died

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu*, and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake*. I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

Just a few months before I was born my father and mother
[103 lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne)
361] about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

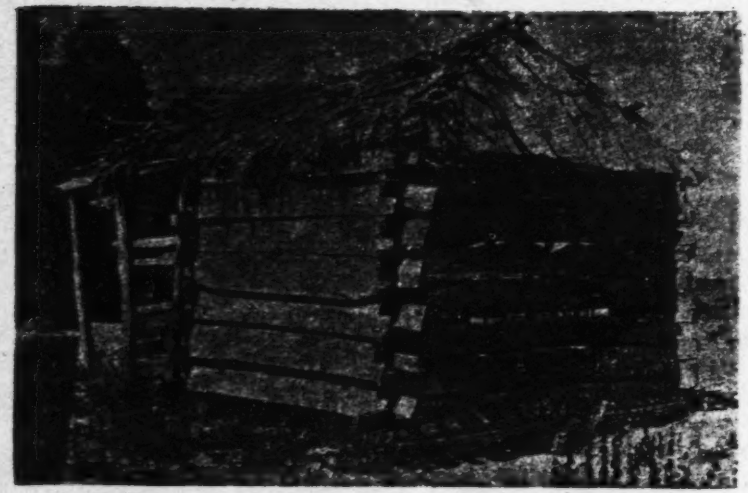
While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the [361] old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the [164] big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

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159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave [868] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I [854] do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

I was about six years old when we moved from Watot
159 Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about
769 two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol,* a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke,* who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winnat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne.* He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit.* One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let.*

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

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The late Yel'-mut, last full-blood survivor of the Chunut (Choo'-noot) tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. She spoke seven languages and could read and write both Spanish and English. She dictated to the author many stories and songs that she had memorized. She was the historian of her tribe and the best informer of all races that the author has interviewed. Notice the scares on the bridge of her nose, the result of cuts made by Indian medicine men. She passed away at Hanford.

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159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All
[152] of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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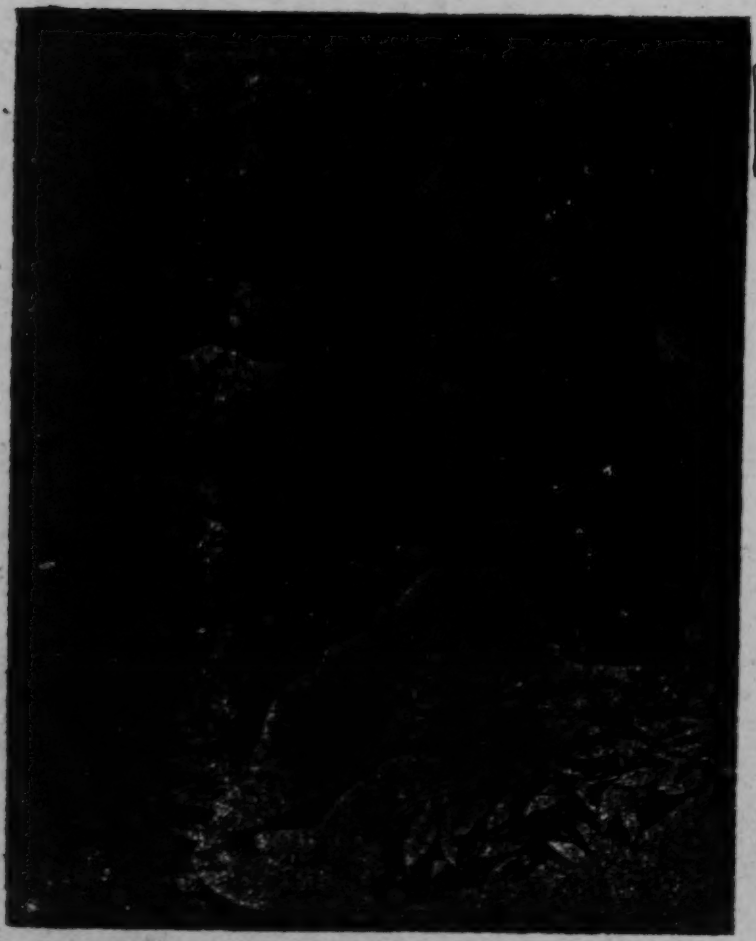

"Old Rita," an aged, blind Wukchumne, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Winat'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
159 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each
769 tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had
624 been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*,
[152] [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

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Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-hah*	159
Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-ah-hah*	769
	(We are crying)	[539]
Wuk'-e le'-o	*We-ah'-ah-hah*	
(We cry again)	(We are crying)	
Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-ah-hah*	

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang [533] together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. [302] They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was 159 made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It 769 fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was 292 out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a 237 horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. 159 About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. 769 The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little 293 bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

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This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the Wukchumne called it Ho-hn'-no.

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs. [535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called
769 *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were
756 both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne*. The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

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The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159 769 756 [624]

Then the Teah called, *"He'-ahs tahs'-hin."* The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed Cuksa

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159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he
[624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took
[755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him
[237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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They took the stuffed clothes back into the house this fourth night. They did not burn them. Then some of the people sang and cried and danced until the next night. 159 769

The fifth night about midnight they brought out the same stuffed clothes and marched around and around the fire singing the same song. But this time they threw everything in the fire.

Just before they burned everything the Winatun threw small dry oak limbs on the fire to make a big blaze. Then the chief called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and they threw everything in the fire, almost all at once. The fire was almost covered up with stuffed clothes, baskets, and things that had belonged to the dead people.

The Ahanich (professional singers) had the right to catch anything they could as it was thrown on the fire. If they caught it, or could grab it out of the fire before it was burned, it belonged to them. Sometimes they got a whole suit of clothes, sometimes they got good baskets. [533]

It was all right for the Ahanich to keep the clothes and wear them. But they had to get them to their camp before the person who threw them in could catch hold of them. If the Ahanich was caught, he had to give the things back to the person who had thrown them in and then that person could keep them and use them, or wear them. They did not need to be burned if the Ahanich caught them or took them out of the fire.

When the things were first thrown on the fire there was a good chance to take some out without getting burned. But in just a few seconds everything was on fire. We stood back and tried to throw the things over the Ahanich's heads into the middle of the fire.

I remember that one Ahanich caught a fine basket, one like they made just to burn. He ran for his camp. The lady who had thrown it in caught him, but he pulled loose and ran on. They quarreled about it and the Teah took the basket and threw it back in the fire.

By daylight everything was burned up and only a few people were singing and crying around their own fires. They kept that up all day.

My mother worked hard to get the money to buy the clothes to burn in the fire for my father. She washed for the Blankenships and for Mrs. "Fish" Rice. But you white people do the same thing. You save money and dress dead people in good clothes. You spend lots of money for coffin.

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
[775] hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
769

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and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn*. Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

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775 there every night, just like they used to do here. They play games and have a good time. They eat *toi'-uk* seed mush which never gets any smaller, no matter how much they eat. In the morning they all disappear and nothing can be seen of them until the next night, when the *Win-at'-un* [dove, the messenger] builds new fires for the dances and calls them all back to their natural selves. You may walk through any nice place in the trees where the Indians hold their Lonewis dances for Tihpiknits Pahn. In the daytime you can not see any of the people. They have changed into a rotten log, clam shell, or something. At night you have to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural] to see them. I never saw them. I just heard Indian doctors say that. But we always go very quiet through a nice place out in the trees.

775 825 In Tihpiknits Pahn, *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are always playing the old game of *Hih'-sa Na'-us*. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Kiyu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pulls feathers from him.

Kiyu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of the winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Kiyu won that time". When we heard *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying. Watite was the Winatun for the Ahanich who sang at the Lonewis.

159 825 Watite, the little ground owl, lives in squirrel holes. His head looks like an Indian woman's head when she has cut her bangs and her hair off with a fire stick and is crying for someone who has died. We used to sing a nice song about him. It is a *Wowol* song. My mother taught it to me. When I cried about anything she would hold up her first finger and say, "*Lahn'-he*, listen, Watite hears you crying and he is singing for you." She would make a little play. She would put her hand on top of her head to make it flat like Watite's. She would make a move with her other hand like she was cutting her hair off and cutting her bangs for the Lonewis. She would stand on one leg and draw the other up like Watite does. Of course my mother was an old woman when she died. But I remember her to sing this song for me when she was a young, pretty woman. She was always good to me. Every day she

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159 825

would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah* [539]
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it. 775

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

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775 smell bad to the dead people and that Tihpiknits would not let him stay there.

Turning again to the north, the wife went on and on to the north. By morning of the sixth day they could see a big water. Again the wife turned into a rotten log and waited for night to return.

The last night they soon came to the big water and the bridge. For the last time the wife cautioned the husband. She walked on the bridge. It was very narrow and rose and fell in the water and swayed from side to side. The bridge was very weak and in the dark the wife could not see it. But she had been a good woman, so she did not fall off.

After the husband knew that his wife was across he took a *pe-sa'-sin* (string) from his belt. The pesasin was made of milkweed string with down from the breast of the eagle twisted into it. It was *Trip'-ne* [supernatural]and would do for the husband anything that he wanted.

The husband threw one end of the pesasin across the big water until it reached the other side. He knew he could not cross the bridge, even though he had been good, beause he was still alive. If he had been bad and had died he could not have crossed because he would have fallen in the water and have turned into a fish person, or a log of wood, or a shell.

The husband went across the water on the string. Tihpiknits had already sent the wife to her people. He told the husband that he could not go near the wife or her people, that he was alive and smelled bad.

Tihpiknits asked the husband why he had come to the Land of the Dead. He answered that he had grieved so for his dead wife that he had followed her each night and had kept awake each day so as not to miss her when she became her natural self in the evening.

The dead people all wanted the husband sent back, but Tihpiknits let him stay. But he made the husband stay alone all the rest of the night.

During the night the husband saw fires burning all about him. The *Win-at'-uns* ran and made fires for each tribe just like they did at the Lonewis for my father at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). Each tribe danced the Lonewis and sang the songs to the dead by itself. As soon as day began to break they all went back to their houses to sleep. Then everything

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disappeared and all was quiet. There was nothing in sight. Everyone was gone and the husband sat alone. 775

Tihpiknits had given the husband a small basket of *toiuk* seed mush. As fast as he ate the mush it grew larger. So he was never out of it. The toiuk seed is the seed of the wild rice. It has a stem like wild oats and the head hangs over when the seed is ripe. It is covered with stickers which will cut your hands and make them bleed. When the Indian women gather toiuk seed they cover their hands and arms with mud. It is the best seed we have. When it is ground and mixed with water it rises like bread. That is why it did not get any smaller when they ate it. 775 137 [222]

For three days and nights the husband sat alone. On the third evening, while the Winatuns were building the fires, Tihpiknits told the husband that he had decided what to do about him. He was to go to his wife's house and stay that night. If he kept awake all night she could go back with him. 775

If the husband went to sleep he was to go home alone and hide for six days and nights. He was to tell no one where he had been, or of anything he had seen until the sixth night. Then he was to come out and give a big dance and tell everything. If he told before, Tihpiknits' watchman, the rattlesnake, would know it and he would die right then and there.

Tihpiknits asked the husband what he wanted to eat before he went to his wife's house and he answered, "*Sun-sun*, the mud-hen." So Tihpiknits gave him a fat one, but told him that it would make him sleep. By this time the husband was almost overcome from lack of sleep, but he ate the mud hen anyway.

After eating, the husband went to his wife's house. Soon she returned from the Lonewis dance. She talked with him for a long time and kept telling him over and over, "Don't you go to sleep. You must stay awake, or I cannot go back with you."

The husband kept awake until almost daylight, when he could not keep his eyes open any longer. His wife did all she could to keep him awake, but he went to sleep anyway.

In the morning the husband awakened to find his wife gone and a log of rotten wood in the house. Tihpiknits told the husband to go home and do as he had been told. When he died he was to come again and join his wife. But the wife could never return to this world again.

Tihpiknits gave the husband a fresh basket of toiuk seed mush and started him toward home. He crossed the big water

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775 again on the pesasin string and traveled six days toward the south and the rancheria where his parents-in-law lived. Then he hid in the brush until after almost everyone at the rancheria had gone to sleep.

When all was quiet the husband crept quietly to the house where his parents-in-law lived and called to them. He could hear them crying softly inside. When he called they stopped crying and answered him. They were overjoyed at his return and stopped crying.

Upon being asked where he had been he said, "I have just been walking around the country. I must hide. Fix a place for me." A small lean-to was built on the side of the house. In this the husband hid. By morning no one could tell that the house had been changed at all.

In the morning the people at the rancheria were all surprised to see that the parents-in-law did not cry. They were so happy that the people knew the husband had returned. The people kept asking about him. He was just inside the thin tule partition and could hear everything that was said.

For five days and nights the husband hid and listened to the people inquiring about him. Then he could endure it no longer. He came out and told all the people to come together around the fire and he would tell them where he had been and all that he had seen. The people all came and listened to the husband's story.

Just as the husband finished talking, a rattlesnake, who was there as a watchman for Tihpiknits, bit him and he immediately fell dead.

That is how the Yokuts came to know where the dead people go and what they do in Tihpiknits Pahn.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE GHOST DANCE

159 All of the Indian tribes around Tulare Lake had good
756 Doctors. Some doctors were just *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo). They could give people medicine and help them a little. But they could not help very much. Some of the doctors were *Trip'-ne* [had supernatural power]. They could do anything. They could make it rain. They could make anyone die. They could change themselves into coyote, bear, or eagle. We were always afraid of Tripne Doctors. We were not afraid of Ahnutru Doctors.

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The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was 159
just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh- 756
moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used 778
to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-paks*, taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone.

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the 159
person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the 755
pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that.

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife 159
were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in 756
the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them.

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He 159
had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* vil- 754
lage at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would

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159 754 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

159 754 627 One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were following him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah. Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "*Een-sis* (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to Tulamni, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at Tulamni. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

159 756 When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop [754] the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they talked about it for a long time.

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The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new 159
kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying 756
and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors 769
and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this
new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we).

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law- [103]
lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley.

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or [103]
clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek.

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpikntis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes [535]
everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We

[text continues on p. 249]

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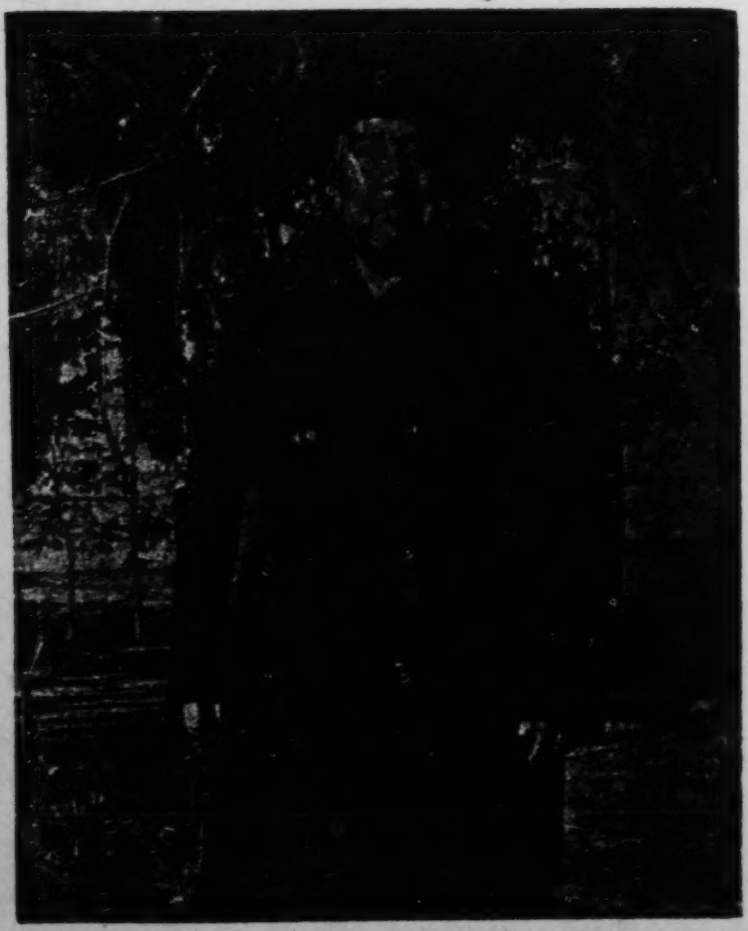

Ichow, husband of Wuhnemhet and, when he died about 1936, chief of the Wuhchumma, last organized tribe of Yokuts Indians. Ichow was a fine old character and, with his wife, appeared with the author on many programs throughout the San Joaquin Valley. He attended the ghost dance in Eshom valley. He died soon after this photo was made.

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-at*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

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159 769 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

159 342 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake, my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

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I think most of the houses had been burned, because I remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house. 159 342

It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came. [354]

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Mows*. 159 343

The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.) 159 342

Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to

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159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.
342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake.
[361] They always were close to the water and the ground was wet. When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win*, on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was
[361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few
[361] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol) had was called *Che*. It was a long tule house. It was made so
342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule
592 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

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the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

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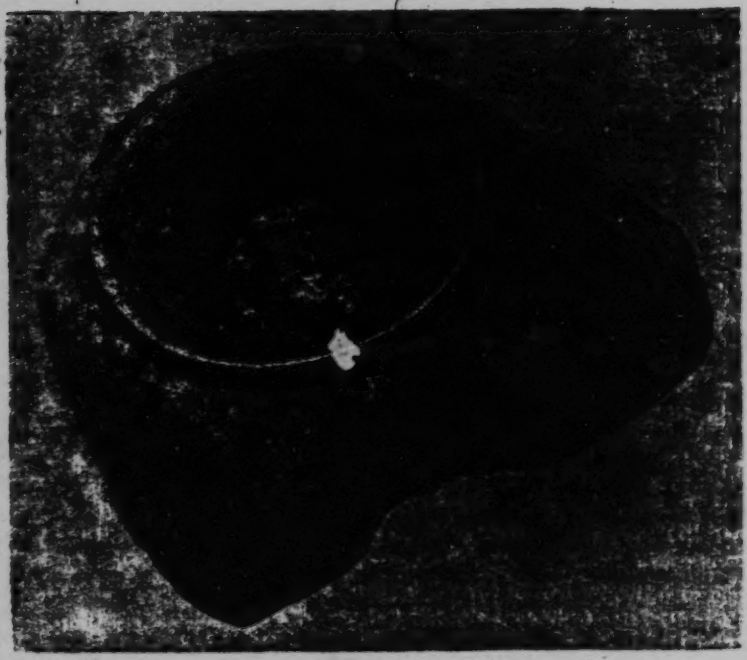

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
512

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right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call-
ed *yot'-sahs*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with 513
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159 513
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 237
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. [438]
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

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159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[134] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut*, the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu*, the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un*. They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip*, and the arrows *tu'-yose*. They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin.*" He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

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159 526 When they played for fun they did not keep the score. If they gambled they played ten or twenty points. The Winatun kept the score by marking on the ground with his toe.

[525] [802] The ring was made of tules. It was about twelve inches across. It had a hole about the size of my fist in the middle. It was wound tightly with tules. We make a point when an arrow hit the ring and stuck in it, not when it went through the hole in the center.

The Tulare Lake Indians had a football game, too. They called it *tahl'-wats*. For a football they used a burl from an ash tree. It was about as big as a baseball. We called the ball *aw'-lul tah-ow'-chit*.

Some Indians used a rock for a football. I heard that the Nutunutu did that. I never saw it. The wooden ball was heavy enough. We did not kick the ball. We caught our toes under it and threw it with our feet.

Two people played at once. They took the ball around a tree or a stake about two hundred yards from where they started. They called the goal *sick'-aht*. The players carried the ball around the outpost and back to the goal as fast as they could.

They went around the post in opposite directions. *Hipaets* (Hih-pa'-eets) the referee, ran along with them to see that they went around the outpost and that they did not touch the other person's ball. We kept the score with small sticks, which we called *we'-chet*. [802]

The *Chunut* (Choo-noot) had a shinny game, too. We called that *Kats-le'-wits*. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) had another kind called *Kawm'-wats*. A lot of people played in that game. I saw all of the Tokelewits at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-e) play against all the Nutuwits at one time in the Wowol game. I think there must be two hundred people in that game. My side, the Tokelewits, won.

In both shinny games we used a club made from the ash tree. The crooked part was made from the root. They made them nice and smooth and dried them in the fire. That made them good and strong. We called the shinny club *kah'-tahl*.

In the Chunut game we put the outpost about two hundred yards away from the goal stick. The goal stick we called *sick'-it*. The outpost we called *kaw-naw'-um wa'-uh* [the turning place]. It was a race between two teams. Each team had a ball. There were three or four players on each side. The

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referee started them and kept the score. The game was over when one side was three turns ahead of the other. 159

Shinny was a rough game. Lots of people got hurt at it. They would get in front of the other ball and try to stop it and would get hit by it. The same ball was used for shinny that we used in football. 526

The players on each side did not all run together. One started the ball. He knocked it to a man about fifty yards away. That man knocked it to another. The farthest player took the ball around the post and knocked it back to the others. They knocked it back to the start. Good players did not have to run very much.

The Wowol played a different kind of shinny. I saw them play it. They called it *Kawm'-wats*. They had two goals about two hundred yards apart. One was to the west. It was called *too-qhell* and the Tokelewits took their ball to that side. The one at the east was called *naws'-to*. The Nutuwits took their ball to that side. The goals were two stakes, about two feet apart. To make a point the ball had to pass between the stakes. [525] That made a game, unless they were gambling. Then they played three points ahead.

The Wowol started halfway between the goals. They buried the ball in loose dirt. They called the starting place *lo-kaw'-lah-tun*. Two men started the game. When the Hipaets called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," the two starters began to dig the ball out of the dirt with their clubs.

The Tokelewits got between the starters and the Nutuwits' goal. The Nutuwits got on the other side. As soon as the ball started, everyone ran after the ball and hit at it with their clubs. We had lots of fun at this game.

At the village play-ground the children and young men played another game called *I-ke'-wits*. They threw a long stick at a bundle of tules. The stick was about as high as your head. It had a sharp wooden point and feathers on the other end like an arrow.

The tules were tied tight into a bundle and one end buried in the ground. About one foot was out of the ground. It was a little bigger than your arm. We made a point when we stuck the stick in the tule bundle. We called the stick *i'-yuk*. We threw it about fifty feet. A game was twenty hits.

We played another game called *Cuh-moom'-wits*. We used the stone that is round and has a hole in it like a doughnut. We

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159 called the stone *Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah* [thunder and light-
526 ning stone].

The Winatun rolled the stone on the village game place. He called out like he did for the start of the other games.

The players stood at one side like they did in the ring and arrow game. But they counted the points different. They had a point when the arrow went through the hole. Only the good hunters played this game. It was a gambling game.

The boys played another game with the same round stone. They set it on some loose dirt and shot arrows through it. They counted it the same as when they rolled it. I do not remember what they called this game.

159 The Chunut men had a long game to guess which hand they had *Ahlewus* (Ah-le'-wus), the bone, in. They called the game
524 Ahlewus, too. That was what the Wowol called it. The Chunut called it *Wa-luh'-wus*. I do not know the guessing game very well. Only men played it. The Wowol used only one bone to guess for. Some tribes used two bones, a white one and a black one. The men sat on the ground facing each other with a deer skin or a blanket on the ground between them. They put their hands behind them to hide the bone. Then they brought it in front, hidden in their hands.

The man on the other side tried to guess which hand the bone was in. If he guessed it was in the left hand one finger was pointed at the left hand. If he changed his mind quick he could point two fingers on the same hand. That meant the bone was in the other hand, in the one he was not pointing at. They kept count with small sticks, ten, I think. They sang a song with it, but I do not remember it. I only played that game once. We did not think it was nice for women to play that game.

Both the Wowol and Chunut women played a game with dice. They played it on a big tray made like a basket, called *ti'-won*. The game was called *Huchuish* (Hoo-choo'-ish). Four women played at one tiwon. They threw dice on the tiwon. The dice were made of walnut shells filled with pitch. They were numbered from one to eight by fastening beads or pieces of abalone shell into the pitch. Sometimes they were made of big acorn caps. The dice were called *hoo'-wawts*.

The Chunut used thirteen *we'-chet* [scoring sticks] to keep the count. When two women won all of the sticks twice in succession they won the game. The dice were gathered in the

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hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, *"Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,"* meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

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539 finch. One of the birds would sit on *pahn*, the ground. He was "it" like in hide-and-go-seek. The others would peck at him.

A'-nis, my Grandfather, used to say that the Tawtawkits birds were playing an old game that was played by the old-time bird and animal *Yo'-kuts* [people] before the Indians came to California. One bird would sit on the ground and close its eyes. The rest would fly close to it. Then *Weutoi* (We'-oo-toi), the bird on the ground, would peck at them. If it pulled out *te-pit'-pil* [feathers], that bird must sit on pahn, the ground, beside it until all the rest of Weutoi, the birds, were caught. Then the game began all over.

Once, in the old days, the Tawtawkits were playing their game and *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, came along. He said, "What are you people doing?"

The birds answered, "We are playing Hihsuh Naes."

"Let me play that game," said Kiyu.

Kiyu was *he-ow'-trah* [mean] and the birds were afraid to come near him. He shut his eyes only part way and said, "Come close to me. Come close to my nose. Do not be afraid. I will not hurt you. Come on." Soon Tawtawkits began fluttering about Kiyu's nose. Soon he snapped one from the air and swallowed it. Then he called again to the birds to come closer still.

Again Kiyu caught and ate a Tawtawkits. After the third bird had been eaten, the birds began to talk among themselves. They said, "Where did those other birds go? They are not on the ground beside Kiyu. Kiyu is heowtrah. He must have eaten them." So Tawtawkits would not play with Kiyu any more.

Kiyu still wanted to play, but finally he went on along a trail until he came to *lah'-pah*, the cotton tree. He sat down under lahpah to rest. He saw *top'-top*, the leaf, come fluttering down. Then two more came whirling down. "I can do that," said Kiyu. He climbed up high in the tree and jumped to the ground. He fell on his face and was killed, *Kiyu tow'-it-se* [coyote is dead].

159 My people had lots of songs. Once I knew almost all of
533 them. My mother used to sing them. Now I remember only a few. The one I remember best was called *Wih-la'-litch We'-peh*, the lizard song. The little white-grey lizard of *Chaw-law'-win*, the plains, sang this song. *Wihlalitch* was an *Ahn'-troo* Doctor, but he wanted to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural].

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YODMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

[103]

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159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we
dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could
live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were
no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

We were at the camp about three months, until summer
159 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

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have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left. 159 166 648

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi). 159 166 501 396

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*. 159 501

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahu'-out*. [354]

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish). 159 226 257 [501]

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people. 159 501

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-wis* on Atwell's Island. 159 166 484 361

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166 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they
[223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
159 like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
166 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
484 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
501 did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

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Soon it was dark and we were all cold and wet. It was just as wet on the boat as if we were in the lake. We could all swim, but we were afraid all of the time, because the water was about seven feet deep and the rough water would drown us if we fell in it. So we stayed awake all night and shivered and held on to each other.

When it got daylight we could not see the land in any way. We could see the Kettleman Hills and the Sierra, but we were away out in the middle of the lake. The water was too deep to reach bottom with our poles. The wind was all gone, so we had to wait.

We stayed out there all day. It looked like we stood right still. I guess we did. There were lots of fish under the boat. My stepfather speared lots of nice ones. We could look down through kotlaum, the spearing hole, and see nothing but fish.

It was hot in the daytime, so we all got dry and warm. We made a fire and cooked fish, using the loose dry tules to burn. We were not hungry and we were not afraid any more, but we did not see how we were ever going to get to land. We stayed there all of that day and that night. It was a nice moonlight night and very pretty on the water. My mother told stories and sang for us almost all night and we had a good time.

When it came daylight again we could just see the tules on Chawlowin. But the tule boat looked like it was just standing still. My stepfather could just reach the bottom with our longest pole. We stayed out there all day again, and we got pretty tired of it. By dark my stepfather and my mother could use the poles on the bottom and they worked almost all night pushing the raft toward Chawlowin. By daylight we could see the land about a half mile away. Almost as soon as we could see, a heavy wind started up and in a few minutes the boat hit the bottom about one hundred yards from the tules.

Before we could get off the boat three or four men waded out to meet us. One of them was my mother's brother. We were very glad to see him. The men helped us to the shore and then they began to push the boat around to the west where they had a camp. It took all the rest of the day to get it around there.

We walked along the lake to the camp through a narrow trail in the high tules. Sometimes the water came up to our knees. The north wind was blowing hard again and that made the water come in on the land.

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159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the [648] mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There 159 were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

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old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this [251] on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes.

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked 159 best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as 226 big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called 136 *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish.

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was [251] dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass [263] salt with the dried fish. That made it good.

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

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136 159 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it 226 sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the 361 Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about 166 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first 159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to 648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six 166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none [197] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

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An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it.. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went 361
back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

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166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahduwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came [illegible] all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
159 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
224 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with
165 the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it*. I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
361

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gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak*, I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt*, the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool*. It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. 252 272 757

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159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

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The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched
up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung
from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah [539]
(sung five times) [533]
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to
take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was
about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom
upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it.
The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it
tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them
went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water
about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

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159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:
539]

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

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It is the nature of the Yokuts to look to someone for counsel and advise. In the old days the chief of the tribe was the person who acted in the capacity of general advisor. It is believed that he held his position through his natural ability and through the tendency of the majority of the people around him to come to him for advice. |8|

Members of the tribe were inclined to wait for the chief to determine when to gather the various foodstuffs, and when to move from one seasonal location to another. It is said by some pioneers that the chief often told his people where to build their houses, and sometimes when and whom to marry. If the foregoing describes conditions in general, the Indians, however voluntarily, were too much ruled.

Unless suggestions are made to the ordinary Indian, he is unable to meet a new situation, one to which he is a stranger and untrained, but he is quick to act upon the suggestion of anyone whose advice he values. This is probably not so true of the families of chiefs or headmen, who commonly inter-married between tribes. They were more versatile, had more initiative, and were better able to adjust themselves to the great upheaval caused by the coming of the white man.

Because of this need of leadership Indians have been accused of being lazy. According to the standard of the white man this is in many cases quite true. But I have known many exceptions, especially where Indians have had the guidance of dependable and well meaning whites. The Indian sees no earthly use for a large percentage of the things white people do, so, when left to himself, he doesn't do them.

About the disappearance of the Indian there is much to be said. Since the first great blow delivered by the white man, which took from the Indian his water, game and land and beseiged him with epidemics of disease and with poverty, the Indian has not been disappearing with any great rapidity. The foregoing sketches have shown that there are several hundred Indians left along the Sierra foothills. Most of these are not full-bloods and, of course, many are not Yokuts. |8| 165 [161]

It is true that the dissipating type of Indian is disappearing, in fact he always has been. With few exceptions, the more sober, industrious individuals are surviving. The majority of them are self sustaining and are raising families. |8|

It is believed that several generations will pass before all of the full-blood Yokuts Indians are gone. This is due to two

[text continues on p. 279]

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Lewaynit and Mewtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wehnemhet. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

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things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure. [8]

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived. [16]

One of the common criticisims of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day. [8] 515

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet." [484]

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

181 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself
515 only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms,
[609] and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854
648 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true
515 to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing them-
[291 selves every little while; they take great care of their hair and
302] do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels
[291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is re-
657 ceiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

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Sometime ago, in a public speech, one of the officials of the United States Government made the following statement: "No native people has ever been better treated by the invader and his dominating civilization than has the American Indian by the government of the United States." Probably not one person in one hundred will agree with this statement at first thought, and it is undoubtedly not true in many senses. 648 657

The official quoted probably meant that no government has ever appropriated more money for the relief of a native people than has ours. The writer believes that from this angle the statement is entirely true. There is no question but that our government has appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars for Indian relief.

J. Ross Browne, pioneer California Indian official, has very clearly pointed out in his writings about our Indians that the early appropriations, to his personal knowledge, never reached the Indian, that they were made in most instances by politicians who were anxious to provide funds for their political supporters to administer.

All will agree that if it is true that the government of the United States has actually taken care of the American Indians better than has any government cared for the natives of any country invaded by them, then there are some terrible stories yet to be told concerning the atrocities committed by other governments.

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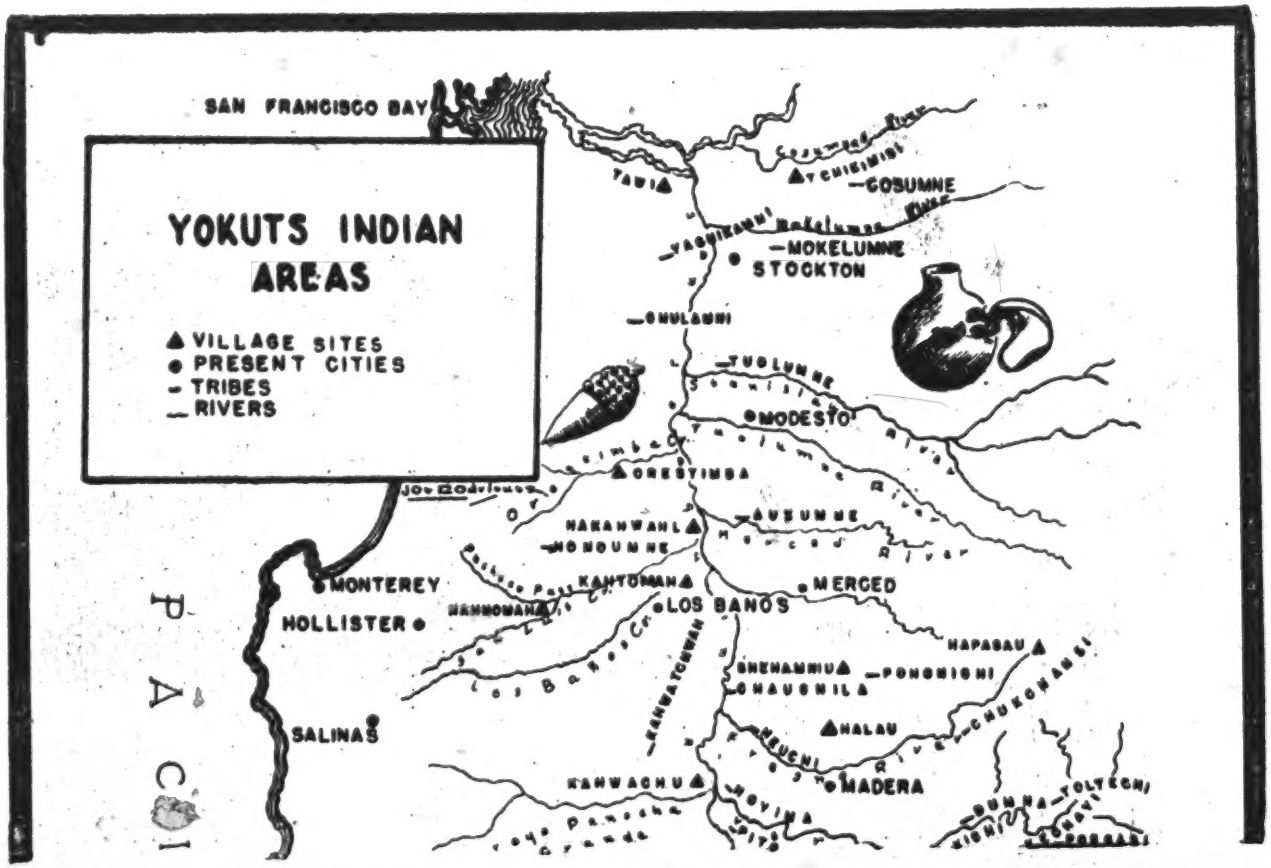

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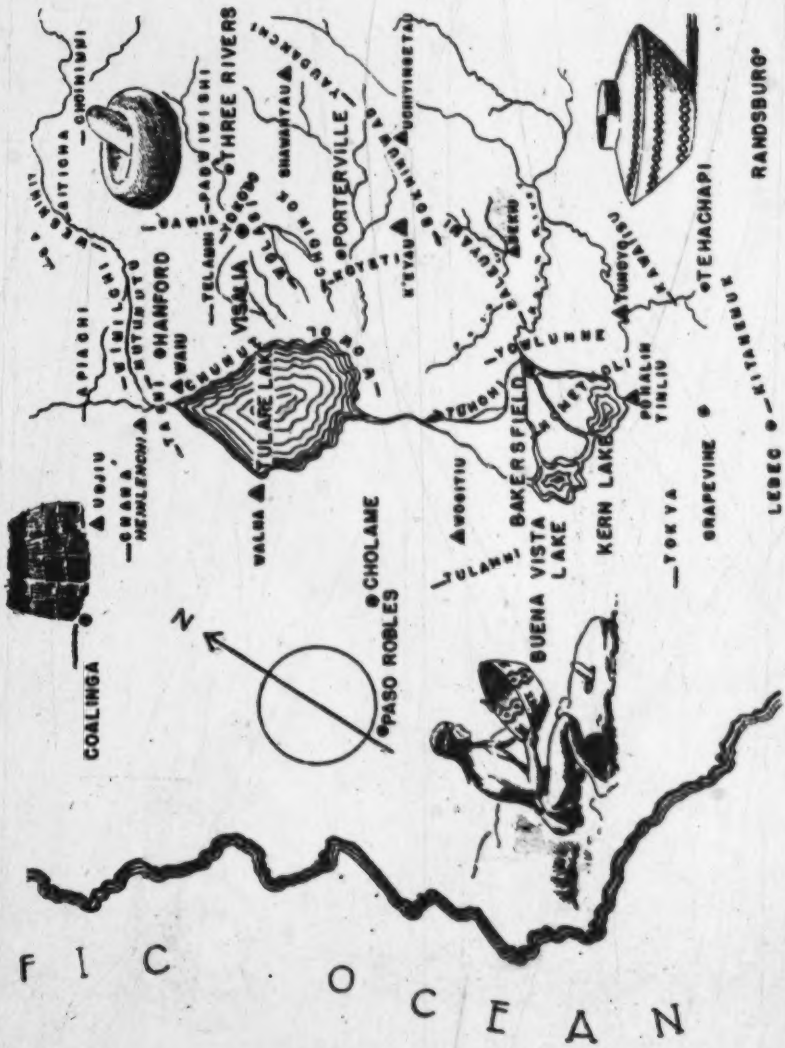

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4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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CULTURE-ENVIRONMENT INTEGRATION: EXTERNAL REFERENCES IN YOKUTS LIFE

A. H. GAYTON

I

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ONE OF THE ASPECTS of culture dynamics which has received particular attention in recent years is that of integration. Pattern, complex, configuration, integrating factor, and theme have been used as labels for those culture elements which seem to cling together about some core of thought or action. When such constellations interpenetrate various aspects of a total culture they are regarded as integrators—cohesive forces binding parts, if not wholes, of a culture together. The function of the "theme" as a dynamic factor has recently been set forth by Dr M. E. Opler with some pertinent examples of active patterns in Chiricahua Apache life.[1] I interpret his construct of "theme" to be essentially the more familiar "culture pattern," in the ideational realm, with the factor of emotional surcharge taken into account as the active ingredient. Unlike some anthropological concepts, his has the virtue of being grounded in specific ethnographic realities.

An earlier paper by Dr Du Bois demonstrated both cohesive and disruptive action in Tututni culture deriving from the wealth concept, and still earlier, the three-way forces of mythology, chieftanship, and shamanism maintaining social balance in Yokuts life were described by the present writer.[2] The most intellectualized account of cultural integration is that for the Hopi by Dr Thompson in which no mechanism of integration is shown save an all-pervading logic of the mind.[3]

In the abstract we have to assume that some of these basic cultural currents work for or against each other; others, and perhaps the bulk of culture elements, may be neutral. When Opler completes his thematic analysis of Apache culture, presumably the counter-balance of the driving parts within the structure will be

1 Morris Edward Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 51, pp. 198-206, 1945).

2 Cora Du Bois, *The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture* (in *Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, pp. 149-165, Berkeley, 1936); A. H. Gayton, *Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 24, pp. 361-420, 1930).

3 Laura Thompson, *Logico-Aesthetic Integration in Hopi Culture* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 540-553, 1945).

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revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4] 114 121

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident. 182

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus: 182 114

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

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182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main
114 issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tono'kšiu) began about Novem-
805 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa'miu) was roughly March through
132 May; and Summer (haiya'di) was from June through October.[9] These were:
a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wuaa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

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settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

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221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

221
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12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´'o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

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221 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies
796 dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were
484 regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare
[501] Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

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101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭí´pin; sky, above) and down (atí´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭí´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (dí´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭí´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (í´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expres-
[515] sions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was
[782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayer-
[777] ful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

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bodied in Yokuts verbal narratives (mythology). The grand chronology was 805
divided into two major parts—a remote past or prehuman era, and recent times
or human era—an ancient "then" and an immediate "now." The prehuman era 805
was that of a world created and occupied by birds and animals of superanimal 773
and superhuman powers. To Eagle, with his bird and animal assistants and companions, was attributed the building of the world, the institution of certain cultural, social, and physical features of man and his way of life. This prehistoric period, described in a fairly full but not elaborately detailed stock of stories, came to an end with the creation of mankind by Eagle and the subsequent transformation of these bird-and-animal people into their present known forms. All this happened beyond the memory of man, but the past continued into the present in the immediate ubiquity of the animals themselves. Beliefs about them were being constantly reinforced by daily happenings in the circumjacent wilds.

The "earth-diver" creation myth was singularly appropriate for the San 773
Joaquin valley people: in aboriginal times the valley bottom was filled with water and as far as the eye could see stretched tule beds thriving along the innumerable sloughs and swampy shores. At least once in the memory of each generation the seasonal flood increased to enormous, alarming proportions. Entirely congruous then, was the belief that once the world was all water and that Eagle, in his omniscience, asked Duck to dive and bring up a speck of sand from which to make a solid earth. Then Falcon and Crow, each flying north on parallel routes, dropped earth to form the pair of mountain ranges, Coast on the west, Sierra Nevada on the east. Coyote stole the sun to provide light, and Jack Rabbit stole fire which Bat had discovered. Falcon and Crow got Tobacco, which gave itself to them; Deer gave himself as food; Cougar hunted him, though Coyote spoiled easy success; Bear made a sweathouse and showed other animals how this should be done; all animals save the carnivores drank *Datura* ceremonially. Eagle wanted immortality, but Coyote argued against it, thereby losing his son, Blue Lizard. Falcon was a hero; his wife Duck, when stolen by Condor was sought by Crow and Bottle-Fly. When Eagle finally created man, Lizard offered his hand as a model. Then Eagle felt the animals should leave and he gave each his choice of habitat and of future service to human beings, as (beside those named above) Skunk and Owl would help shamans, Quail would help women in childbirth, and so on. Then they all "flew off" eastward where today they still exist and know how mankind treats their counterparts on earth. During the animal or prehistoric era the social system was like that of today: Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, Coyote a clown, Magpie an advisor, and so on.

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773 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a
825 prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošá´m, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no
825 person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may
782 call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary . 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭí´pni) that forced success. 825 [778 776]

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

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796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent 769 dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, offi- 796 cial status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

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thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weazel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

[825 436 177]

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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
182 tioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are
153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and
182 came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed
787 to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things,
825 and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and
152 Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the
182 dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between
787 tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security"
825 perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote). 152 182 787 [757]

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28] 182 155

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as; the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul- 182

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 ture, but the impact of externals is there and cannot be expunged from a plenary consideration of the factors affecting integration (or the lack of it) in a total culture.

So extreme have been the controversial views on the determination or non-determination of culture by environment that we have eschewed the problem where the more flexible or intangible portions of culture are concerned, leaving Wissler's query on the effect of external stimuli on the mind of man still unanswered.[29] Since few would doubt that primitive cultures are adjusted to their local environments, it would seem well to move toward an analytic examination of the specific kind and degree of articulation we may find in a variety of cultures, or of divergences in basically identical cultures in a similar environment (e. g., Maidu, Miwok, Western Mono, Yokuts, along the central segment of the Sierra Nevada foothills). Culture as a spatial and temporal continuum should present new formulations of integration as analytic attention moves from culture to culture geographically and historically, and the environmental ingredient at each phase may offer some clues as to the relative persistence of the nuclear patterns.

Santa Cruz, California

29 Kroeber's previously cited *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* deals with cultures in gross and as categorized by our "culture area" systematization; emphasis is on terrain, ecology, population, economic surplus, and culture climax.

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[Title Page]

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[Title Page]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY-MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Western Mono NS25

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY-MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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FOREWORD

The information on pottery-making contained in this paper was obtained on field trips made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1927.[1]

Description of the style of the ware is based upon thirty-four specimens: twelve Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Hudson collection, Field Museum of Natural History, of which photographs and dimensions have been kindly supplied by that institution; thirteen Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Barrett collection,[2] Museum of Anthropology, University of California; seven Western Mono vessels in the same museum collected by the writer; and two Western Mono vessels in Sequoia National Park Museum (fig. 2).

Photographs supplementary to the author's have been kindly loaned by Professor T. T. Waterman. These appear in plates 96 and 97.

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[1] The dialectic groups, names, and approximate ages, respectively, of contributing informants are:

Yokuts: Bankalachi, Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimni, Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut, Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna, Bill Wilson, 90; Keehayi, Ellen Murphy, 70; Michahai, Dinky, 55; Paleuyami, Martha Alto, 70; Tachi, Mollie Garcia, 80; Wükchumni, Mollie Lawrence, 70; Yaudanchi, Mary Sanwaihat, 95.

Western Mono: Patwisha (Balwisha), Mary Pohot, 55; Waksachi, Sam Osborn, 65; Bob Osborn, 75; Wobonuch, Jane Waley, 65.

[2] For illustrations of six of these specimens see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, B.A.E. Bull. 78, pl. 51, 1925.

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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

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Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

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Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery, but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

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In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

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The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

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Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

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After about five minutes more of pounding its consistency was satisfactory. The remaining quantity of clay was left in the sack, water was poured over it, and it was placed in the shade for use two days later.

Coiling Method

Practically all clay utensils were made by the coiling process. The first step in construction of a pot by this method was shaping the bottom. The potter took a small handful of clay and rolled it about in the palms of her hands until it formed a ball in which the clay was distributed in an even consistency. Then with her right hand she

a *b*

Fig. 1. Base of pots showing method of construction, University of California collection. *a*, 1–10885, first stage, 23 mm. height, 106 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–10884, first coil in place but surface not yet smoothed, 23 mm height, 97 mm. diam. at rim, 74 mm. diam. at base.

flattened out the ball on her left palm, making a disc of the desired diameter. Its edge was turned up to a height of about two centimeters, forming a fence or brace within which the first coil of clay was set (fig. 1). The bottom thus formed was set in the center of a circular winnowing basket, which the potter placed on her lap and on which she worked until the pot was entirely built. Plate 95*b* shows the process at this point.

To form the rolls of clay the potter pinched from the supply of clay the amount she judged necessary for a rope that would just fit the circumference on which she was working. The ends of a coil never overlapped but were broken off and squeezed together. The potter whom I watched seemed remarkably adept at this, seldom making a rope that had to be broken off, and very rarely one that was too short.

In converting the lump of clay into a rope, the hands are held in no other position than the vertically parallel one shown in plate 95*a*, *b*. The palms slide back and forth horizontally with the clay between them. The fingers are not used. The pressure on the clay, and the

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sensation cues on which judgment of the size and smoothness of the roll is based, seem to come largely from the heavy cushions below the base of the fingers. When the rope of clay emerges and is visible below the hands it is too late to rectify irregularities in its shape.

The first roll of clay was set inside the rim and pinched to it; all subsequent coils rested on the edge of the preceding one. When setting a new coil the potter held one end of the roll in her left hand and pinched it on with that hand while the loose portion rested across her right hand as shown in plate 96*a*. The roll was pinched into a thick, flat-sided ribbon as it was being put in place. While the coil was being added the potter occasionally turned the basket in contraclockwise direction in order to keep the portion of the pot on which she was working in a convenient position before her. When the coil was in place and the ends welded together the potter dipped her fingers in water and pressed and smoothed out the junction between the new coil and the one on which it rested.

After the sides of the pot were built up about two inches the potter stopped to smooth off more completely its inner and outer surfaces (pl. 96*b*). For this she used a small chip of wood picked up from the ground, or sometimes a section of a large acorn husk. By this time the clay in the pot was sufficiently firm to allow it to be picked up and handled. Slight incrustations and bumps were dampened and scraped down with the chip or rubbed with the fingers. Generally, the scraping and smoothing movements were vertical. The surfaces were gone over in this manner after every two or three inches of coil-building until the pot was completely formed.

Y
W

When the pot was entirely formed the potter went over the surface with a small polishing stone[8] of steatite (pl. 97*a*). This served two purposes. First, it rubbed out minor irregularities in the surfaces, for though the vessel was firm enough to be handled the clay could be scraped off slightly. But as the pot dried rapidly its surface soon became harder than that of the polishing stone so that the steatite rubbed off in a fine white powder. Secondly, this powder settled into the clay and produced a hard surface which in turn became more effective in rubbing off more dust from the stone. The potter occasionally rubbed the steatite stone on the flat side of a granite pestle and the resulting dust she applied to the pot with her fingers. In this final polishing process the strokes were horizontal or oblique. They

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[8] University of California museum specimen 1-27004. There are two similar stones in the Barrett collection, mus. nos. 1-10876, 1-10943.

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are plainly visible on the pots in plates 101*f* and 102, as are also the white streaks of the steatite dust. These streaks withstand firing but ultimately disappear with use. As a final touch the potter marked the inside of the pot with several vertical stripes of steatite scratches. This, it was said, would keep the pot from cracking during firing. The pot was then left to stand in the sun for the rest of the day, while work commenced on another. The pots had to be absolutely dry before firing or they would crack.

At sun-up the following morning a fire was built in a shallow pit about eighteen inches deep and two feet in diameter. The wood was of any convenient variety but was in long poles which might be shoved

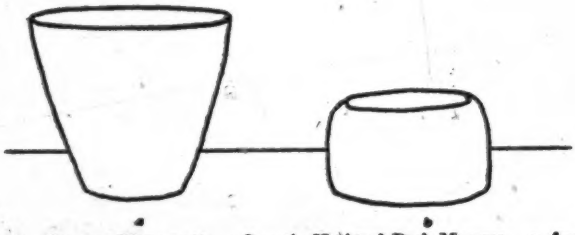

Fig. 2. Western Mono pottery, Sequoia National Park Museum. *a*, found at Camp Patwisha, below Hospital Rock station of Park, 204 mm. height, 230 mm. diam. at rim, 103 diam. at base; *b*, made at Iron Springs, Tulare county, 105 mm. height, 154 mm. diam. inside rim, 178 mm. maximum exterior diam.

into the fire as they burned without greatly changing its temperature. When the fire had burned for about an hour slabs of oak bark were added. In the meantime the pots had been set along the edge of the pit, so that their subjection to heat was gradual (pl. 98*a*). When ready for firing the vessels were moved to the fire with long poles, for they were far too hot to be touched with the hands. They were set in the hot ashes in the center of the pit, and the fire reassembled about them; some coals and ashes were scraped into them from above. A few pieces of oak bark were laid immediately over them (pl. 98*b*).

Vessels for cooking purposes were fired at least twenty-four hours, often up to forty-eight. Pipes, and small bowls which were used as dippers, were fired a shorter time, the former about six hours. Toward the end of the firing the ware was tested by being tapped sharply with a hard stick. This would produce a clear ringing sound if the pottery were sufficiently baked. The vessels made by the Wobonuch woman were fired eight to ten hours, as she knew they were not to be used for

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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a

b

WOBONUCH WESTERN MONO POTTER AT WORK

[p. 244(A)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts
Western Mono NS25

323

a

b

WOBONUCH WESTERN MONO POTTER AT WORK

[p. 244(B)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts

Western Mono NS25

323

a

b

WUSHUCK WESTERN MONO POTTER AT WORK

[p. 244(C)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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[p. 244(D)]

a

b

HEATING AND FIRING POTTERY

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5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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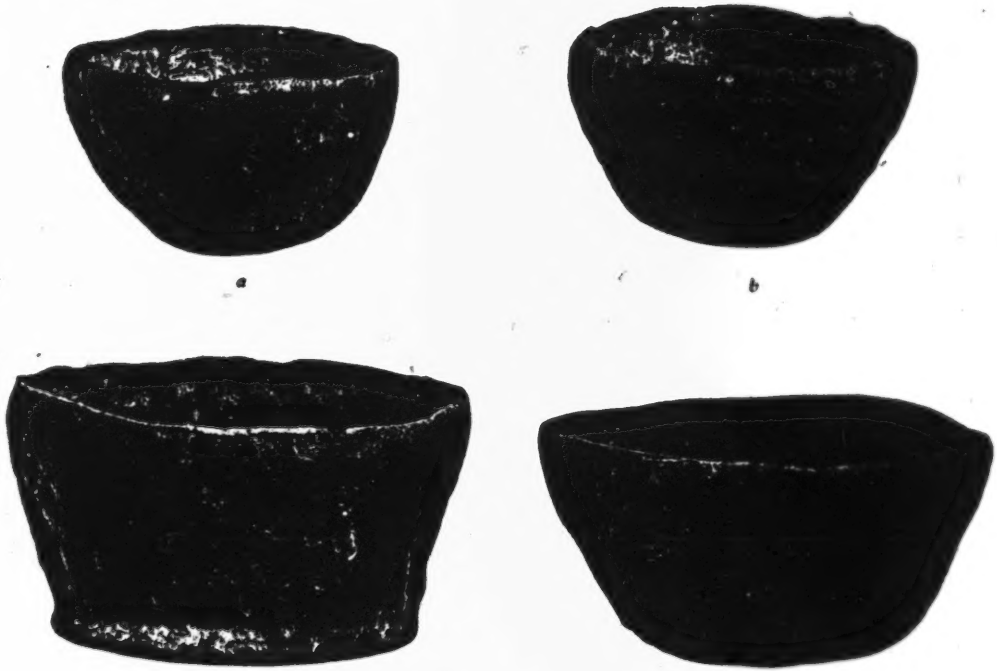

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[P. 244(E)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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a

b

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(F)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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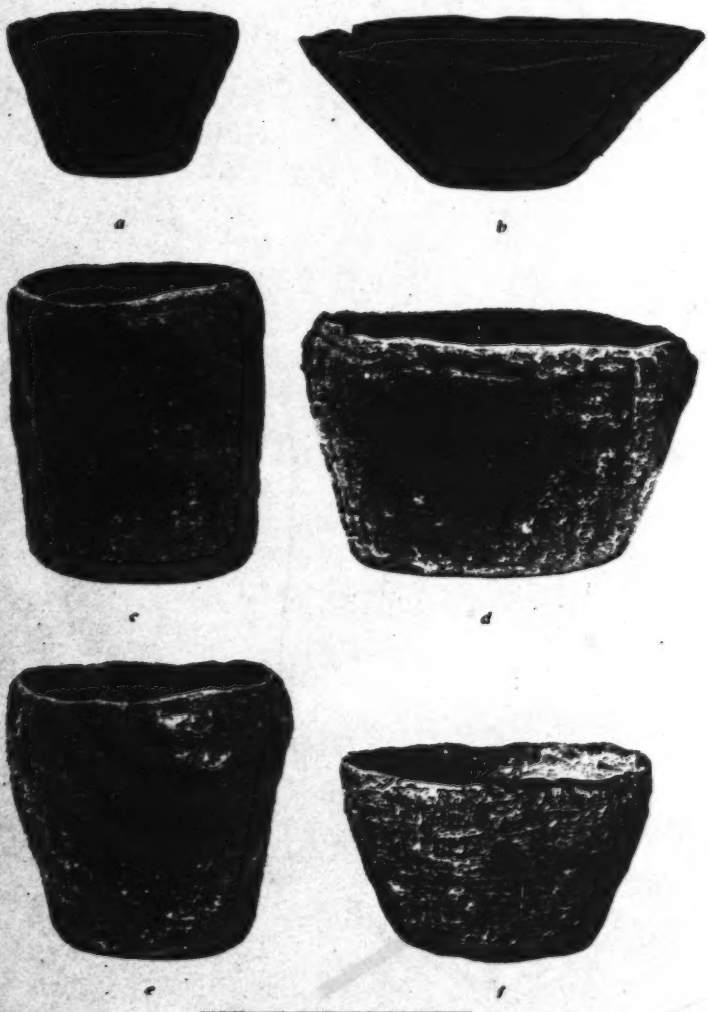

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(G)]

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5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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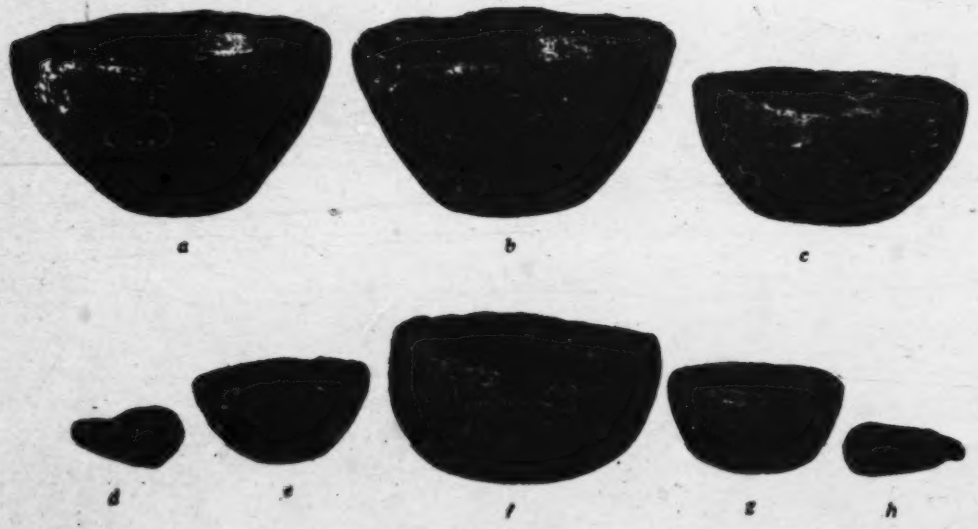
Western Mono



WESTERN MONÓ POTTERY
(University of California)

[P. 244(H)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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Y W 323

cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

Y W 171 184 323

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Tsi'in na ki'wic nim ki'am ai'ci, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extracted by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

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charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Y W 323

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

Y W 276 323

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Y W 323

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

Y W 323 415

There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wic (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wic (wina'bi).

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[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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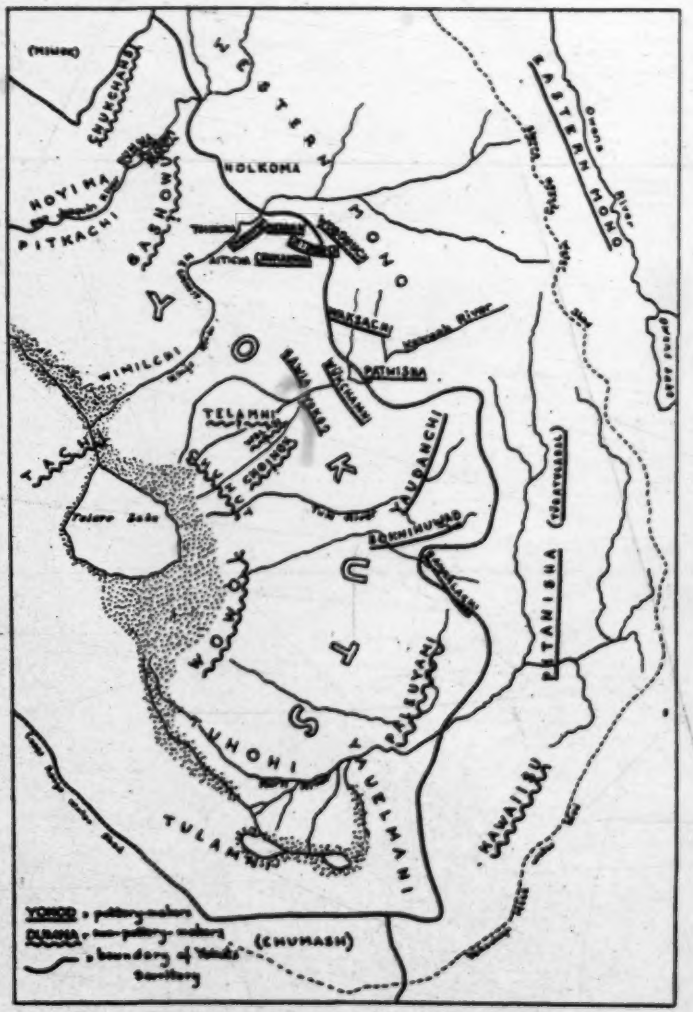

Fig. 3. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pome are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

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Y
W
171

only recently heard of the art through contact with northern foothill Yokuts.[12] East of the Sierras the Eastern Mono practiced pottery-making of the same type as that practiced by their western relatives, according to Mr. J. H. Steward.[13] The continuity of the distribution of pottery-making from the foothill Yokuts through the Western Mono to Eastern Mono tribes leaves little doubt that the California art was derived from or at least genetically related to the great Southwestern pottery area.

[12] Field notes.
[13] Field notes.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Museum numbers, provenience, and dimensions of specimens illustrated.

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W
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Plate 95.—*a*, Wobonuch potter testing clay after preparatory pounding; *b*, same rolling first rope to set in base of pot.

Plate 96.—*a*, method of building pot from clay rope; *b*, potter smoothing coils with chip of wood.

Plate 97.—*a*, finishing surface with steatite polishing stone; *b*, Wobonuch method of separating fine and coarse particles of pulverized dry clay.

Plate 98.—*a*, dried pots heating before firing; *b*, two pots undergoing firing, two pipes in foreground being heated.

Plate 99.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Small bowls: *a*, 71196, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 114 mm. diam.; *b*, 71197, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 111 mm. diam.; medium-sized receptacles: *c*, 71242, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 152 mm. diam. at opening; *d*, 70319, Mono, José Basin, Fresno county, 96 mm. height, 157 mm. diam. at opening.

Plate 100.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Cook pot: *a*, 70616, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 203 mm. height, 203–213 mm. diam. from ear to ear. Atypically shaped receptacle: *b*, 71195, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 152 mm. height, 162 mm. diam.

Plate 101.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Medium-sized receptacles: *a*, 70843, Yokuts, Dunlap, Fresno county, 82 mm. height, 133–139 mm. diam.; *b*, 70856, Yokuts, Little Sandy, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 236 mm. diam. at opening. Cooking receptacles: *c*, 70619, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 190 mm. height, 139–153 mm. diam.; *d*, 70618, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 156 mm. height, 223 mm. diam.; *e*, 71217, Mono, Cold Springs, Fresno county, 171 mm. height, 152 mm. diam.; *f* (Univ. Calif. collection, Wobonuch Western Mono specimen), 1–27009, 137 mm. height, 230–249 mm. diam. at rim, 146 mm. diam. at base.

Plate 102.—Western Mono pottery, University of California. Medium-sized receptacles, small bowls, and pipes: *a*, 1–27011, 92 mm. height, 181 mm. diam. at rim, 75 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–27010, 95 mm. height, 184 mm. diam. at rim, 78 mm. diam. at base; *c*, 1–27013, 70 mm. height, 151 mm. diam. at rim, 83 mm. diam. at base; *d*, pipe now in Göteborg Museum, Sweden; *e*, 1–27016, 44 mm. height, 86 mm. diam. at rim, 35–39 mm. diam. at base; *f*, 1–27014, 65 mm. height, 139 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *g*, 1–27015, 49 mm. height, 84 mm. diam., 44 mm. diam. at base; *h*, 1–27018, 86 mm. length, 24 mm. diam. at rim of bowl.

[p. 252-255 not processed]

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[Title Page 2]

YOKUTS-MONO CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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YOKUTS-MONO CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

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A. H. GAYTON

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is not exactly what the title perhaps implies: it does not purport to be a discussion of social organization, nor of religion as such. While descriptions of political organization and the chief's place in it, of religious ideas, concepts of the supernatural, and the shaman's relation to them, of ceremonial activities, and of other cultural miscellanea, must appear here, they are not offered as topics of primary interest, but rather as stage settings and properties against which the chiefs and shamans play their interacting rôles. It would no doubt be simpler to define the chiefs as legal officials in a static social setting, and to relegate the shamans to their place as professional doctors; but in so doing we would have only a partial picture, and that a conventional one, of these functionaries. Native informants on first inquiry invariably describe their chiefs as the official leaders of the political unit, adding as other officials messengers, dance managers, and in some instances, subchiefs. Shamans are never recognized as officials. Yet all informants supply anecdotal evidence which shows that the shamans, unofficially,

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121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected
122 during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western
[101] Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxta-
121 position of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts
[642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the
[616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

---

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

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A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a ranchería near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group 115
but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the 121
customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely [114]
gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

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121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono 128 culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The original data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same [192] sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds. 104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	c: as in English shout
i: as in English pique	ñ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	tc: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	
ai: as in English thy	': glottal stop

Other letters have sounds as in English.

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TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yandanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

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361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often
361 of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs.
184 There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at
[574] ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poes, and teeese; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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OFFICIALS IN MYTHOLOGY

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Both Yokuts and Western Mono mythology tell of a world which existed before this one. It was inhabited by supernatural creatures called by bird and animal names. They had the attributes of both humans and animals: they flew, walked, talked, and were capable of superhuman activities. These creatures lived in a social atmosphere comparable to that of later human times. Eagle was the chief.[13] He was a wise and generous person. Dove was his winatum whom he sent about on errands. Magpie was a wise man whom Eagle sometimes consulted. Coyote was a person with much supernatural power: he was a friend and companion to Eagle though the latter had often to chide and correct him for his irresponsible behavior. Owl was a powerful shaman. These animals lived before and during a great primeval flood. They finally became tired of the watery world, and caused the waters to recede and the land to appear as it is today.

There are many tales telling of the animals' activities and adventures during the post-alluvial period which was prior to the creation of human beings. Prairie Falcon, Coyote, and Wolf have the most prominent rôles in these tales. Eagle's part in them is always in keeping with his position as chief. He lives in a dignified manner in his home in a rock cliff. He has no adventures himself but is a judicial manager in many important crises and events. He sends various animals to obtain fire;[13] he directs Coyote in his theft of the sun and subsequent fixing of the sun in its present place;[14] he sends Dove after Measuring Worm to rescue two boys trapped upon a precipitous rock;[15] he asks Magpie's advice for Coyote, who wants to marry Hawk Woman;[16] he discusses permanent death with Coyote, and asks Owl to kill Coyote's son as an original experiment with death.[17] It is Eagle who finally decides that human beings are to be created, and that the birds and animals must go to live elsewhere.[18]

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[13] Gifford, Western Mono Myths (JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923), 352; Kroeber, Myths of South Central California, this series, 4:206, 209, 219, 224, 229, 230, 240, 1907; Yokuts and Western Mono tales in author's field notes. The Wobonuch and Wakaschi versions also mention Prairie Falcon as chief, which was in harmony with actual practice.

[14] Truhchi (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 211; Dumna (Y), Wukchumni (Y), Wobonuch (WM), author's field notes.

[15] Tachi (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 213; Wakaschi (WM), author's notes.

[16] Kechayi (Y), author's notes.

[17] Gashowu (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 206.

[18] Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

[18] Truhchi (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 210, 211; North Fork Mono, Gifford, *Ibid.*, 317; Wukchumni (Y), Wakaschi (WM), Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

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The following Wukchumni (Y)-tale is typical, and shows Eagle's position and power, and Dove as his messenger:[19]

In the old days there was nothing in this world. It was just full of water. The birds and animals were here first. Eagle said: "I'm tired of living over this water, I want a little oak to grow up there in the middle." This happened.

There were also present five varieties of ducks, Haiyano, Hohoda, Wacicina, Teututpoi, and a very little one. They were going to try to get some dirt up from under the water. Eagle sent Dove after some tobacco which he needed to mix with the sand. Dove got it and gave it to the chief. Eagle said to the littlest duck: "Can you go to the bottom and get some sand?" He tied a milkweed string to the duck's foot, and the bird dived into the water. He stayed down all day and half the night. He died without striking the bottom. Eagle pulled him out, and restored him to consciousness. The little duck told his friends that he had not reached the bottom. All the other ducks tried with the same result.

Then Eagle called on Turtle to try. He said he was willing. He went down and remained under the water a whole day and a whole night. He was nearly dead when he came up to the surface. While he was under the water he had barely succeeded in scratching the bottom with his finger tips. Some sand was lodged under his finger nails. Eagle got out this sand.

Eagle, the chief, then rolled the sand and tobacco together and pounded them in a mortar. He took up a handful of the mixture and scattered it toward the south, east, north, and lastly toward the west. As he did so he said: "In twelve days all this water will go down." This happened. All the birds and animals were able to walk about on the ground.

Finally these creatures got tired of just staying about doing nothing. Eagle and Wolf were bored too. Eagle sent Dove to call all the people together. He said: "Go tell these people to come out and listen to what I am going to say."

When Dove went to get Bear he had to run from him as Bear killed every man who came near him. They ran a race to a gap in the hills. Bear said: "You run and I'll catch you." But Dove ran faster and won. Bear agreed to come to the meeting.

At the place where the animals gathered there was a big fire. The chief told his people that they could all live elsewhere and do as they pleased. Some liked the mountains; others could live in the flat. Then he told them what they were to be. He was Eagle and he flew off.

The abrupt close of this tale is atypical. Another Wukchumni informant gave the complete form. But the conclusion of the Bird-animal period in which Eagle was the creator-chief is best exemplified in the following Wakaschi-Michahai version:[20]

Sun and fire were now established. Eagle, the chief, gathered all the people around him to listen. He said: "There are going to be human beings here in this world. We are going to be different kinds of people. We will put up one man and one woman in each place. Now these people will die and be burned; their bones will be put in a spring of water. On the second dawn they will rise up and come toward us talking. But after this one rebirth they will never come alive again."

[19] Told in English by Joe Pohot, 1925.
[20] Told in English by Sam Osborn, 1926.

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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Wakaachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige 622 based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wiki hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[21]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
778 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down
439 still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[21] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured
756 his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when
541 he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his
574 money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary
622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often
556 made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis
574 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or
541 Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance. 651 541

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section. 769 622 476

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result. 622 541 651

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsnumi, the other two at 622

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622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five [614] different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to 622 be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if 623 the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

> In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary 769 type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

> Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

> The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

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796 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as
826 follows:[31]
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[787]

The bear men remembered are Unnrigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended
796 by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[32]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony
[755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did
[782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission.
344 If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[31] Informant 'Mariean Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[32] Informant 'Mariean Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[24] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [623]

[24] See anecdote, p. 394. [25] Informant George Dick.

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622 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman
578 refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and
627 die.[26] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized
623 women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[27]

622 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by
627 chiefs:
683 In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[28]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[29]

685 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws
674 governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor
[622 735] were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy.

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[26] See anecdote, p. 392.
[27] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[28] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[29] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40] 622 648 [701]

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened. 622 648 721

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch 622 648 728

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Estimbich, Wakasachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Wakasachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonzo.

[42] 'Merieau Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

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On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, [115] or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined. [554]

[43] Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*
[44] *Op. cit.*, 286, 287.

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MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put [554] him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort. 171 Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:[48]

> The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

[48] Informant, Sam Garfield.

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that were called for. On the evening of the fifth day of the annual mourning ceremony the subchiefs gave a supper to the chief. Money, baskets, and blankets which had previously been given them by the chief were returned to him at this time.

A Yaudanchi informant said:

"The tuye'i helped the tia'a at the mourning ceremony. If the tia'a put up five dollars the tuye'i put up three. If the tia'a had no money these men had to put up the rest."[46]

The Wobonuch (WM) regarded the brothers of an active chief as sub- or secondary chiefs. They had no special term for these men, whose functions were as among the Yokuts.

Both Chunut and Tachi informants denied the existence of this official in their tribe or vicinity.[47]

Some tribes had an official who took charge of the camp and ritual organization at large fandangos. He is called in English the "dance manager"; he was a kind of master of ceremonies. The Yokuts called this man the yate'itc. The Kechayi (Y) had the official and describe him as follows:[48]

The yate'itc was a kind of winatum. He talked for the tiya and he worked at arranging meals. He made all announcements for the chief and often acted as a go-between, between the chief and his people. The chief often talked to people in person or in public but he seldom made announcements to a large gathering unless his yate'itc were away. The position was inherited from the father's side but could be of either moiety. The Kechayi yate'itc, Koteon, was of the Nutuwic moiety, whereas the Posgisa yate'itc, E'ukiyi, was Tokeluwic. At fandangos or parties the yate'itc "prayed" before each meal. He said, "Come close to this food. We are going to have a good feast. When supper is over we will play and have a good time."

On the Wukchumni (Y) dance manager we have the following:[49]

This man was not called winatum. He was hired for a big fandango by the chief. The position was hereditary; it always had raven for totem. The man's duty was to keep order in camp and affairs running smoothly: he called to the people to get up in the morning, went out to meet new arrivals and told them where to camp, informed the chief of their arrival; he told people to be quiet, stopped children who were playing too noisily, or women who were quarreling or "getting mad over their cooking."

The dance manager among the Wobonuch (Y) had no special name but was called natinab (winatum), just as were the official servants of chiefs and shamans.

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[46] Tom Wilcox; see Appendix.
[47] Josie Alonzo and Mollie Garcia, respectively.
[48] Ellen Murphy; see Appendix.
[49] Joe Pohot.

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624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[50]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[50] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[81]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[81] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[22]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

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[22] See anecdote, p. 394.

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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[83] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

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Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[84]

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[83] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[84] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

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MALICIOUS ACTIVITIES

754 The sinister activities of evil shamans are ever present in the native mind. The following series of anecdotes related by informants from various sections of San Joaquin valley are evidence of the baleful rôle which doctors played in aboriginal life.

A Wobonueh (WM) informant, 'Merican Joe, with George Dick interpreting, gave the following:

Cahaola (Charlie Pete) had a large family. They were living at Sief's below Mill creek. One of his girls got sick and died. Soon another had a similar attack. Cahaola got a doctor named Puca to cure her. He was a man of small stature, and "very, very mean." This was the doctor who was poisoning Cahaola's children. Puca sat down in front of the girl and cut her in several places. He finally sucked out a water weaver. It had been used as "air-shot."

Soon others in Cahaola's family died: the water insect went from one to another killing each. At last there was only one girl, Pahamo, left, and she too fell ill. Cahaola now was desperate. He came over to Kiteeyu (Dunlap) and consulted Laoteu'i (Little Dick), the Entimbich chief, telling him that he wanted to kill Puca. Laoteu'i sent him to see Hamate (Luckett). Both chiefs agreed that Cahaola was justified as it was well known that Pahamo had refused to sleep with Puca. Hence Puca was taking the usual doctor's revenge by making her sick. Puca was living over at Kiteeyu at the time with a daughter of Haipue (Samson Jack). He had two other women, one up at Hart's basin, the other in Drum valley. He always took barely nubile girls.

There had been a fandango at Kiteeyu. Someone told Cahaola that Puca was going over to Ko'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) the next day, so Cahaola went ahead on the trail to waylay him. When Puca was ready to start he sent some of his friends on before him saying that he was going down to Barton's saloon to get some whiskey and would catch up with them. Then he followed by himself.

Cahaola was waiting on the trail. He saw Haipue and some other men coming along, so remained hidden. Then he saw Puca in the distance; Puca was riding a white horse and was plainly visible. Puca drew nearer; he was very drunk and was singing loudly. The song he sang as he rode was "You can take my heart [soul, spirit] away today." He had already been informed through a dream that Cahaola was going to kill him. As he came opposite, Cahaola jumped out and shot him through the body with a .44. Puca fell off his horse and landed upright on a rock; he sat up rigidly straight. Cahaola accused him of killing his family. Puca admitted the crime and said he was glad he was going to be killed. Then Cahaola shot him between the eyes.

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When Cahaola reached home his last daughter was dying.

The activities of bad doctors among the Waksachi (WM) are best illustrated by anecdotes involving three generations of shamans.[55] Of the following, numbers 1 and 3 were told by Sam Osborn, number 2 by Josie Alonzo:

1. A group of Waksachi were living at Teitata. There was a nice young girl there. A doctor named Wasic sent his winatum around to call a few of his shaman friends together. The winatum asked Wasic what he was going to do.

[55] See genealogy, Western Mono: Waksachi 2, Appendix.

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He replied, "I am going to kill that pretty young girl. I want these doctors to help me with some extra talismans as there is a beautiful woman at Kiteeyu whom I am going to kill, too. I am going to make them sick. After they are dead I am going to skin them and stuff them like dolls. I have lots of money and baskets up at Tawatsanahahi in a big rock like a house; there is a lot of poison there, too. I am going to set those dolls up in there." 754

The winatum was aghast but was too afraid of Wasic to object. He told the other doctors that they were to meet that night at Tawatsanahahi (eating dead person; also called Tawatsa'sot'ho'i, dead person skinned), a hill above Kiteeyu which was a customary meeting place for doctors. No ordinary person dared go up there.

When the doctors assembled they made a fire and proceeded to make "air-shot" in the usual way. The girl at Tcitatu got sick suddenly and died the next day. They made "shot" for the woman at Kiteeyu. She died, too. Then the doctors went home. They were warned not to tell anything on threat of being killed by Wasic.

The girls were buried and stayed in the ground two nights. On the third night about eight o'clock Wasic went to the Tcitatu girl's grave. He walked around it twice, each time stamping at the head. The girl rose right up out of the ground and stood up. Then Wasic waved his talisman, a rope of eagle down, and the girl flew into the air and came to earth some hundred yards away.[86] Then he flew himself by the same means. They moved thus again and again until they reached Tawatsanahahi. Then he did the same thing to the young woman at Kiteeyu. He had to call on his friends for more talismans for this as the power of his own was worn out. When both girls were placed on the rocks the doctors assembled and skinned them. They stuffed the skins with grass and dressed the dummies in beads and quail feather earrings.

"Doctors always worked at night on such business; in the daytime they were where they belonged."

2. A man named Tukatsi lived at Kiteeyu. His wife was a Wakachi named Nellie. She became lame. The condition slowly grew worse until she was entirely crippled. Etak, a powerful doctor and the son of Wasic, was accused of causing the sickness. Etak was also accused of the death of two or three women and a man. When Tukatsi's wife died after being treated by Etak he went over to the doctor's house. Etak was just outside the door. Tukatsi shot him with an arrow. Etak began leaping all around and yelping, "Ai ii, ai ii i," just like a coyote. Tukatsi took up an axe and went after him but Etak escaped. [683]

Tukatsi met another doctor on his way home. He shot him in the eyes. This doctor had not injured anyone so far as was known but Tukatsi was beside himself and was ready to shoot any doctor on sight.

3. Haloptea was a son of Etak. He was a "mean" doctor. His sister Teeyi married a man named Koikoi'ite. They had four children, two boys and two girls. They moved over to Owens valley to live, for some reason. Haloptea made an eagle down belt and took it over to his niece. Two days later the girl died from poisoning with which the belt had been treated. Her brother died one year later. Soon after that the other two children died, and finally Teeyi herself. Koikoi was beside himself. He came over to Kiteeyu to kill Haloptea. The bad doctor knew from a dream that he was being sought so he kept out of the way.

Koikoi went to Haloptea's house. Etak was there; he was an old, old man now, and blind. Koikoi shot him. Haloptea heard of this and rushed down to Visalia to get the sheriff. Koikoi was still around looking for Haloptea when

[86] This was a common feat of powerful shamans in the region.

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754 the latter returned with the sheriff who made Koikoi a prisoner. Haloptea went home and buried his father. Koikoi was taken to Fresno and then to San Quentin. He died there.

Doctors were generally feared by the Wukchumni (Y) as elsewhere. Mary Pohot told the following incident as a specific instance of a prevailing condition:

When Mary was a young girl she lived with her aunt. The old lady had a new blanket for which she had paid twenty dollars. A doctor knew about this and came to the house demanding that it be given him. He threatened to make everybody in the house sick. The old lady was frightened. The doctor gave her $1.50 for the blanket and went off with it.

That evening Mary's uncle returned. His wife told him what had happened. The old man was furious; in spite of his wife's protests he went to the doctor and demanded full payment. The doctor just laughed at him. He said, "All right, I'll pay," and gave the old man two worthless baskets. This kind of thing happened all the time.

Another Wukchumni informant, Jim Britches, told of his own experience at the hands of a bad Patwisha (WM) shaman:

A Patwisha named Tcitečn was Jim Britches' stepfather. Tcitečn was a "big" doctor. When Jim was quite young, perhaps ten years old, his mother, Tcitečn, and himself were living at Naranjo (Wukchumni territory). Tcitečn disliked Jim; he wanted to kill him. He sent $10 up to Little Dick at Kiteeyu asking him to help kill Jim. Little Dick refused. Then Tcitečn went ahead with his own power and made Jim sick. The boy became delirious.

Just at this time there was to be a big fandango at Ironbridge, near Naranjo. A powerful Choinimni doctor, Puellin, and his winatum, Pony Dick Watun, came down for the celebration. Jim's mother sent for Puellin to come treat her son. When he arrived Puellin asked Tcitečn why he, who was a big doctor, did not cure Jim. Tcitečn demurred, saying that he had tried but had not enough power.

Jim's mother was weeping now; she had given up all hope of her son's recovery. He was very sick; he had pains in his chest, at the back of his neck, and [755] between the eyes. Puellin cut in these places and sucked at the wound. He sucked out hard lumps of blood. Jim began to get better at once. Puellin knew all the time that it was Tcitečn who had been making Jim sick. It was only because he was a very powerful doctor that he dared to cure Jim.

The activities of a Wukchumni doctor among the Gawia, and his resulting death in Waksachi territory, were described by Sam Osborn:

A Wukchumni doctor, Camaka, killed several Gawia. He wiped out a man's entire family until there was no one left but a little boy, the man's father's sister's son. The man could stand it no longer, so he went to some white people and traded his little cousin for a gun. This was the first Indian in this region to possess a gun. Someone told him that Camaka had gone up to Teitatu for a fandango. The Gawia followed him and camped in Eshom valley about a mile above Teitatu.

Bob Osborn, who was the chief's son, Sam Osborn, and two other men saw the camp and went out to ask the Gawia what he was doing there. The man told them what had happened to his family, that he had come up to kill Camaka, and hence

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did not want to go directly to the village. The Wakaschi did not feel it was their business to hinder this man, but they asked him to wait until Camaka had left Tcitatu as they did not want any trouble started at the fandango that might involve other people. They also told the Gawia that the shaman had a horse and could get away easily so to be on the lookout for him. The man agreed to leave Camaka alone until after he had left Tcitatu. He went over to Badger where Sam Osborn's uncle put him up.

The following morning Camaka and his family went over to Badger, too. He made his wife and daughter look after the horses as he was afraid to be seen alone far from camp. In the meantime a Choinimni and his family had gone to Badger. They were camping there. The Gawia told the Choinimni of his affairs, and winning the latter's sympathy, the two agreed upon a plan by which Camaka might be killed. The Choinimni was paid for his part. That night the Choinimni made a big fire and asked Camaka to come over for a visit. He told the shaman to sit down on one side of the fire while he and his family and Sam's uncle sat at right angles from him. He said that thus Camaka might address them all as he was relating the latest news from down Wukchumni way. When all was arranged the Gawia leaped out from a pile of rocks behind Camaka and shot him in the shoulder. Then he rushed in and cut his throat. [683]

The Gawia still was so enraged that he wanted to go over to Camaka's camp and kill all his family. Sam's uncle and the Choinimni restrained him from doing this, pointing out that the doctor's relations were innocent and to kill them would be unjustifiable murder.

Bob Osborn tells of another Wukchumni doctor who caused trouble among the Yokod:

A mourning ceremony was being held by the Yokod at Yokol. Bob Osborn and his brother George were asked to come and bring some deer as they were hunters of renown. They stopped at Rancheria Flat over night. They got six deer on the way. They reached Yokol on Thursday. The crying ceremony ended on Saturday night and the rejoicing celebration started early Sunday morning.

Present at the fandango was a Wukchumni doctor who was accused of sickening or killing several Yokod. Several men had decided that the time had come to kill him. On Sunday morning at the moment when the mourners were all standing in a row waiting to be washed the Wukchumni doctor was standing off at a little distance. The conspiring men were ready. One of them ran down and grabbed the doctor. Another shot at the doctor but hit the man who was holding him. The doctor reached for his bow and shot several times at his assailants. Then he rushed into the nearest tule house. The men cornered him and shot him to death. Neither brothers nor other relatives took up a feud as the doctor's death was regarded by all as justifiable. [683]

A Choinimni doctor who made people sick and cured them just to get money was able to cause sickness as much as a hundred miles away, according to Josie Alonzo:

After Kosewa's death a Choinimni doctor, Teokonik, came down to the Nutunutu (Y) at Kingston to cure the sick people there. At this time, Josie, her mother, and her sister-in-law with her two little boys, were working near Visalia. A winatum had come around telling them that Teokonik was going to make a visit to Kingston. The family decided that they wanted to go over to see the performance. On the morning when they were ready to start they all heard a little

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754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

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Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

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Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

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About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

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Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets aṣṭu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'lk, Motsa's friend.[87] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'lk. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'lk lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'lk got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'lk became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[87] See anecdote, p. 405.

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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Polkoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipui (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Tcinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Tcinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Tcinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

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CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials
756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been
572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyne) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[68] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[69]

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[68] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[69] See anecdote, p. 391.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and
754 would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Waudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

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[60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moisty. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moisty) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

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Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

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Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

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648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

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754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aiṭawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyemal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that [823] would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. [177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.[62] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[62] See anecdote, p. 397.

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [DS6]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notei	notei	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mlnimon	kiolln	notei
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[63] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo: 622 754 [572]

1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyŏtsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch!). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matak tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[63] See anecdote, p. 396.

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622 754 The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather head-dress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wopie did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wopie was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

[775] 6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Pose'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him ṭoṭi (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or ṭikithal (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutal'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

622 The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore rancheria. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

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men he chose. The others were likewise from chiefly lineages. By this time the old life had so completely disappeared that these persons had little to do save make arrangements for mourning ceremonies, which were still continued in an aberrant form. Motsa paid little attention to such duties as his position required, rather utilizing his prestige for his own benefit. Of the other two men appointed, George García, a Wolasi, soon moved up to the foothills; Joaquin, a Tachi, preferred to let the old régime disappear rather than try to carry on alone. The informant says these two men used to talk to Motsa and ask him "not to act so mean," but they could do nothing to stop him for they feared him just as every one else did. If Motsa had lived in a social setting of the old cultural type one can imagine him carrying on his intrigues through a powerful doctor as was the wont of chiefs. 622

Wasapël (Brown Wilson), Motsa's son, is today living at the Lemoore rancheria. He is called tiya (chief) but does not function as such because the old social order has entirely disappeared. Only the lineage rank is remembered. In no respect is he said to resemble his malicious father but is regarded as a good, hard-working, thrifty man. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible to obtain Wilson as an informant. His version of his father's activities would in all probability make an interesting check against Josie's imputations. However, how much is fact and how much prejudice in this informant's tales of Motsa, is of no moment in the present discussion. All our accounts of the activities of malicious doctors and chiefs which are given here represent native attitudes toward these men as a class rather than as individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

The political life of Yokuts and Western Mono as presented in the foregoing pages leaves one with the impression that the condition was unsatisfactory from the point of view of its average citizen. A discussion of this social system may be profitable: first, it should be viewed as a practical political scheme, and secondly, as a cultural mechanism. 182

1. By a practical political scheme I mean a system which kept social order to the advantage and comfort of the majority, not from a general, humanitarian, or idealistic point of view but in terms of this particular culture. The civilization of the Indians of California has always been regarded as low, that is, extremely simple. It is,

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and 671
this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal 671
basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public 626
good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for 754
chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends 181
to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the 754
constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but 181
at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about 756
by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
181 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
[756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
622 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
756 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
[577 expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
182 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
622 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any 182
of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other 622.
chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels 622
and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified [692]
legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he [623]
did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy 622
did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance 627
to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. [203] Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect [558]
in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors 182
in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens 626
were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. [773] In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into [825] a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex? 182

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex 182 177

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182 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present
177 study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political
182 and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems
622 raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were
769 the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Wakachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamate, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

[756]

The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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APPENDIX

INFORMANTS AND GENEALOGIES

115 Names and approximate ages of contributing informants, and the tribes on which they gave data are:

Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi (WM); Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich (all Y); Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu (all Y); Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna (Y); Big Jim Alto, 70, Hometwoli (Y); Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu (both Y); Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti (Y); Dinky, 55, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yandanchi (both Y); Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni (both Y); Jim Britches, 70, Mollie Lawrence, 70, and Mary Pohot, 55, all Wukchumni (Y); Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni (Y) and Patwisha (WM); Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yandanchi (both Y); Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); George Dick, 40, Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM); Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi (WM); Joe Waley, 75, Jane Waley, 65, and 'Merican Joe, 80, all Wobonuch (WM).

In the following genealogies women are indicated by the biological symbol ♀; marriage by +; tribal affiliations other than that of the lineage appear in parentheses; names recurring in different generations are in italics.

Genealogies Waksachi 1 and Entimbich show the progression of chieftainship and the inheritance of individual names. In Waksachi 1, generations C and D, the chieftainships of Palaha and Claude, respectively, are questioned. On the death of preceding chiefs, Tcaume and Wakit, Palaha was too young to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently the nearest relative, Helteap, a cousin (regarded as brother), was chosen. Helteap upon his death passed the office to his son Claude though it should have reverted to Palaha. Claude claims the office as direct heir of the last chief but is upheld only by his immediate family and intimate friends. Other Indians, whether Waksachi or of neighboring tribes, regard Palaha as chief not only because he is the oldest living member of the true chiefly lineage but because of his highly respected character.

Genealogy Waksachi 2 shows an unusual case of three generations of shamans. Supernatural power was not inherited. This case indicates, perhaps, an inheritance of a disposition suitable for the profession.

Intertribal marriages are notable in all the genealogies.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts
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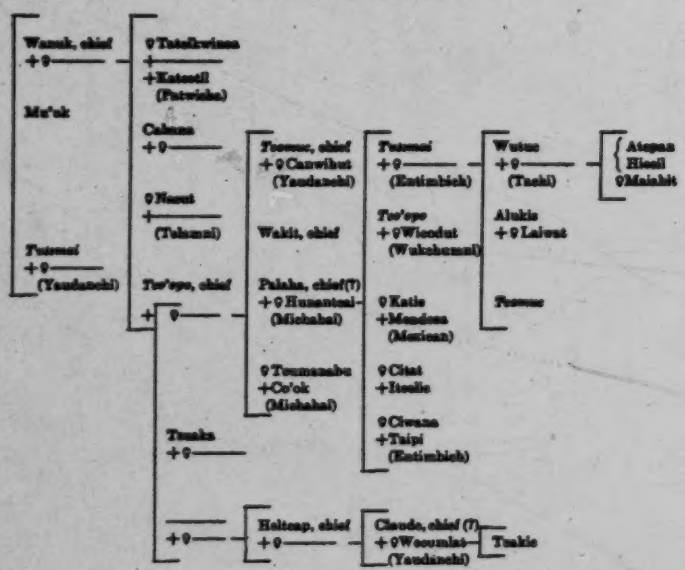
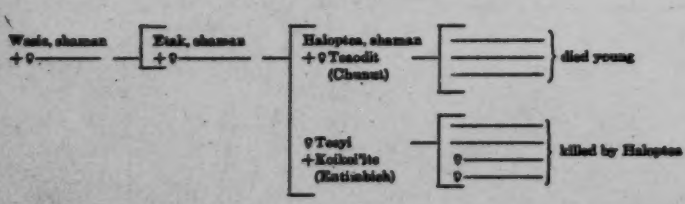
WESTERN MONO: WAKBACHI 1



WESTERN MONO: WAKBACHI 2*



* See anecdotes, pp. 383-384.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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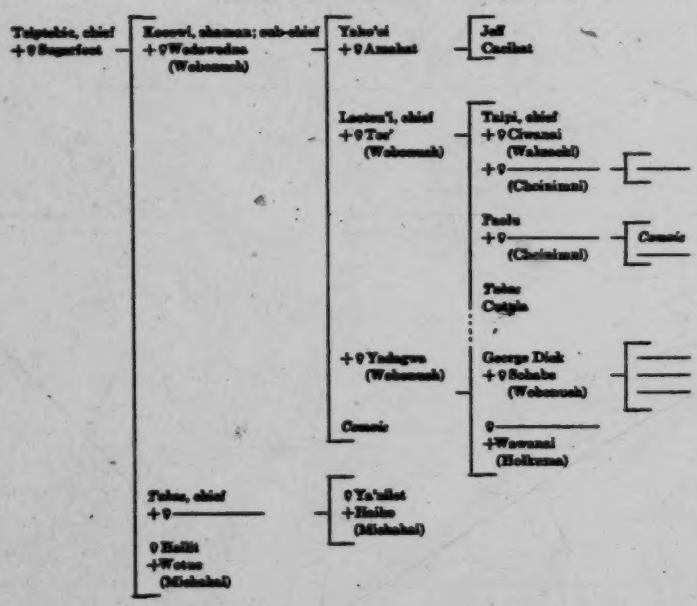
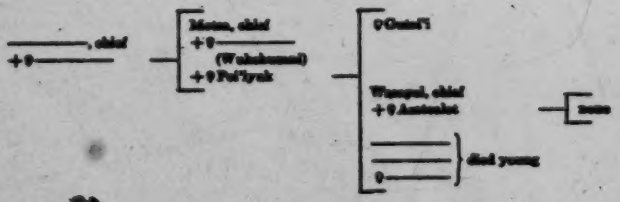
YOKUTS: ENTIMBICH



YOKUTS: TACHI



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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

U. S. GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN REGION.

J. W. POWELL, IN CHARGE.

CONTRIBUTIONS

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CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

 [pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-ai; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those 542 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

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Figure 88—Yo'kuts Tule Lodge.

[facing p. 370]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechisero*).
592 In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the
621 instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this qu[illegible] is manifested.
622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the
621 lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in
624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the
621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and
622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

622 Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni, who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

624 The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded
622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around.
[566] He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in
792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared
262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage
792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains
[136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco
224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and
791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tēss*). Ke'-ya, who
484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They 791
were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would 484
leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents [789]
apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting par- 411
ticulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but [237
by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian 322]
overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints [381]
of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its [283]
diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped on to it.

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves out of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint-heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the [224] probable length of the shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should pronounce the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak! An old hunter says he has seen an Indian stand a hundred paces distant from a hare, slowly raise his long, polished bow, shoot a quick glance along the arrow, then send it whizzing through both his enormous ears, pinning him fast to a tree behind him.

324 411 Some mention was made in Chapter XI of the manner in which flint arrow-heads are made. Mr. E. G. Waite, in a communication to the *Overland Monthly*, gives the following description of the method employed both in Central California and among the Klamaths, as he witnessed it in an early day:

"The rock of flint or obsidian, esteemed by the natives for arrow-pointing, is broken into flat pieces, after the manner usually described. When the pieces have reached a proper size for arrow-heads the mode of finishing it is in this wise: The palm of the left hand is covered with buck-skin held in its place by the thumb being thrust through a hole in it. The

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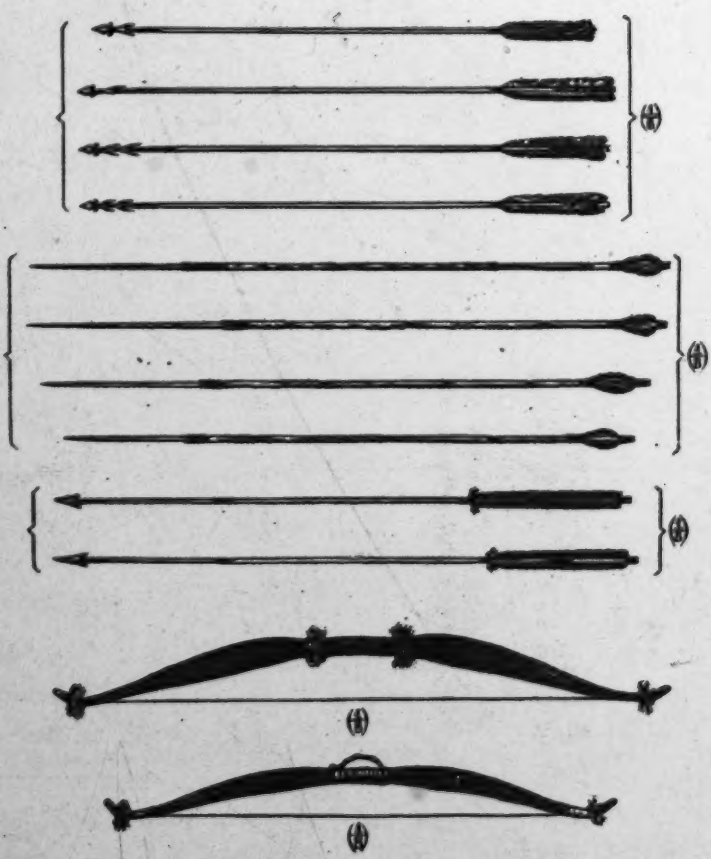

Figure 40.—Bows and Arrows.

[facing p. 374]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to
shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously
pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small
scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being
wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around
and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it
the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make
even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at
this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but
some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a
very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals,
reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237] therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching
436 from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents.
A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half
inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents.
They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

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436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

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Figure 41.—Baby-basket, acorn-baskets, sifters, &c.

[Facing p. 376]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

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525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

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192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking root, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

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teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild 262
sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which [231] is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the [171] Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the 825
rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved [773] among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kaĭ'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kaĭ'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintŭn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed 757
by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

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757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-ta'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

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 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791 chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796 arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302] either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177] Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535 inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177] from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181 a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648 take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177 of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302] appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

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Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585 virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435 anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the 834 arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

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834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
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764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 587 not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [177] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

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773 while the crow made the west one. Little by little, as they dropped in the earth, these great mountains grew athwart the face of the waters, pushing north. It was a work of many years, but finally they met together at Mount Shasta, and their labors were ended. But, behold, when they compared their mountains, it was found that the crow's was a great deal the larger. Then the hawk said to the crow, "How did this happen, you rascal? I warrant you have been stealing some of the earth from my bill, and that is why your mountains are the biggest." It was a fact, and the crow laughed in his claws. Then the hawk went and got some Indian tobacco and chewed it, and it made him exceedingly wise. So he took hold of the mountains and turned them round in a circle, putting his range in place of the crow's; and that is why the Sierra Nevada is larger than the Coast Range.

This legend is of value as showing the aboriginal notions of geography. In explaining the story, the Indian drew in the sand a long ellipse, representing quite accurately the shape of the two ranges; and he had never traveled away from King's River.

769 While in Coarse Gold Gulch, it was my good fortune to witness the great dance for the dead (*ko-ti'-wa-chil*), which was one of the most extraordinary human spectacles I ever beheld. It was not the regular annual dance, but a special one, held by request of Ko-lo'-mus-nim, a subchief of the Chukchansi; but it was in all respects as strange, as awful, as imposing an exhibition of barbaric superstition and barbaric affection as is afforded by the formal anniversary. Not to my dying hour will the recollection of that frightful midnight pageant be effaced.

First, it will be well to explain that among the Yokuts the dance for the dead is protracted nearly a week. The first two or three nights, while they are waiting for the assembling of the tardy delegations, are occupied only in speech-making, story-telling, etc., until a late hour; but during the last three nights they dance throughout the night until morning, and on the third night, about daybreak, they burn the offerings consecrated to the dead. This happened to be the first of the last three nights, hence no burning occurred, but in every other respect it was complete, and all the

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exercises were conducted with more energy and with fuller choruses than they would have been after the Indians had become exhausted. 769

When Tueh, the Indian interpreter, and myself entered the camp it was already an hour after nightfall, but there were yet no indications of a beginning of the dark orgies that were to be enacted. We found about three hundred Indians assembled, in a place remote from any American habitations, and encamped in light, open booths of brushwood, running around three sides of a spacious quadrangle. This quadrangle had been swept and beaten smooth for a dancing-floor, and near one of the inside corners there was a small, circular embankment, like a circus-ring, with the sacred fire brightly burning in the center. Kolomusnim and his relatives, the chief mourners, occupied the corner-booths near this ring, and near by was Sloknich, the head-chief of the Chukchansi, by whose authority this assembly had been convened. Here and there a fire burned with a staggering, sleepy blaze just outside the quadrangle, faintly glimmering through the booths; at intervals an Indian moved stealthily across the half-illuminated space within; while every few minutes the atmosphere was rendered discordant and hideous, as indeed the whole night was, during the most solemn passages, by the yelping, snarling, and fighting of the hordes of dogs. [231]

For fully half an hour we slowly sauntered and loitered about the quadrangle, conversing in undertones, but still nothing occurred to break the somber silence, save the ever-recurring scurries of yelps from the accursed dogs. Now and then an Indian slowly passed across and sat down on the circular embankment, while others in silence occasionally fed the sacred fire. But at last, from Kolomusnim's quarter, there came up a long, wild, haunting wail, in a woman's voice. After a few minutes it was repeated. Soon another joined in, then another, and another, slowly, very slowly, until the whole quarter was united in an eldritch, dirge-like, dismal chorus. After about half an hour it ceased, as slowly as it began; and again there was profound, death-like silence; and again it was broken by the ever-renewed janglings of the dogs.

Some time again elapsed before any further movement was made, and then Sloknich, a little, old man, but straight as an arrow, with a sharp face

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769 and keen, little, basilisk eyes, stepped forth into the quadrangle and began to walk slowly to and fro around its three sides, making the opening proclamation. He spoke in extremely short, jerky sentences, with much repetition, substantially as follows:

[539] "Make ready for the mourning. Let all make ready. Everybody make ready. Prepare your offerings. Your offerings to the dead. Have them all ready. Show them to the mourners. Let them see your sympathy. The mourning comes on. It hastens. Everybody make ready."

He continued in this manner for about twenty minutes, then ceased and entered his booth; after which silence, funereal and profound, again brooded over the encampment. By this proclamation he had formally opened the proceedings, and he took no further part in them, except in a short speech of condolence. By this time the Indians had collected in considerable numbers on the embankment, and they kept slowly coming forward until the circle was nearly completed, and the fire was only visible shooting up above their heads. A low hum of conversation began to buzz around it, as of slowly awakening activity. The slow piston-rod of aboriginal dignity was beginning to ply; the clatter and whizzing of the machinery were swelling gradually up. No women had yet come out, for they took no part in the earlier proceedings. It was now quite ten o'clock, and we were getting impatient.

Presently the herald, a short, stout Indian, with a most voluble tongue, came out into the quadrangle with a very long staff in his hand, and paced slowly up and down the lines of booths, proclaiming:

769 "Prepare for the dance. Let all make ready. We are all friends.
539 We are all one people. We were a great tribe once. We are little now. All our hearts are as one. We have one heart. Make ready your offerings. The women have the most money. The women have the most offerings. They give the most. Get ready the tobacco. Let us chew the tobacco."

[195] This man spoke with an extraordinary amount of repetition. For instance, he would say: "The women—the women—the women—have the most—have the most—the most money—have the most money—the

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women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most." [539] [195]

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

769 276

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

769 [539]

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

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769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

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But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [226] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I 769
began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners. 769

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance, 786
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769 which consisted of two leaps on each foot alternately, causing the body to
786 rock to and fro; and either hand was thrust out with the swaying, as if the
535 offering it held were about to be consigned to the flames, while the breath was forced out with violence between the teeth, in regular cadence, with a harsh and grinding sound of *hch!* The blaze of the sacred fire flamed redly out between the bodies of the dancers, swaying in accord, while the disheveled locks of the leaping hags wildly snapping in the night wind, the blood-curdling rasp of their breath in concert, and the frightful ululations and writhings of the mourners, conspired to produce a terrible effect. At the sight of this weird, awful, and lurid spectacle, which was swung into motion so suddenly, I felt all the blood creep and tingle in my veins, and my eyes moisten with the tears of a nameless awe and terror. We were beholding now, at last, the great dance for the dead.

All the long remainder of that frenzied night, from one o'clock to two, to three, to four, to five, those women leaped in the maddening dance, through smoke, and choking dust, and darkness, and glaring light, and cold, and heat, amid the unceasing wail of the multitude, not knowing or heeding aught else on earth. Once in five or ten minutes, when the choir completed a chorus, there was a pause of a few seconds; but no one moved from her place for a moment. What wonder that only the strongest young maidens were chosen for the duty! What wonder that the men avoided this terrible ordeal!

769 About four o'clock, wearied, dinned, and benumbed with the cold of the mountains, I crept away to a friendly blanket and sought to sleep. But it was in vain, for still through the night-air were borne up to my ears the far-off crooning, the ululations, and that slow-pulsing, horrid *hch!* of the leaping witches, with all the distant voices, each more distinct than when heard nearer, of the mourning camp. The morning star drew itself far up into the blue reaches of heaven, blinking in the cold, dry California air, and still all the mournful riot of that Walpurgis-night went on.

Then slowly there was drawn over everything a soft curtain of oblivion; the distant voices blended into one undistinguishable murmur, then died away and were still; the mourning was ended; the dancers ceased because they were weary.

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769

For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described with the same hissing *kch!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep. [775]

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral plume or other ornament to the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only 101

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|10| one old man who was able to give me, through a Spanish interpreter, his numerals, but nothing more. Following are the ten numerals:

[802 192]

One.	kil'-leh.	Six.	tukh'-tu.
Two.	cho-yo'-chi.	Seven.	po-ko'-i-chin-tin'-li.
Three.	u-yat'-si.	Eight.	pus'-in-tin'-li.
Four.	chu'-i-chau.	Nine.	hōs'-che.
Five.	loap'-chin-tin'-li.	Ten.	chi'-wa.

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/For information on Yokuts internal linguistic relationships and distributions, see category 116, pp. 169-170, 309-363, and 375-377.--Analyst/

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THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

BY
A. L. KROEBER.

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THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family. 101 131 197*

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed, [619]

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* 1917 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes [101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [968 in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; 551] but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word 193 denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

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For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokota. Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular. 101 193

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory. 101

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yoweehani, who inhabited the foothill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication. 101 121 121

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[PP. 173-307 not processed]

121 The investigations on which this paper is based were begun in 1900 for the California Academy of Sciences, but were mainly made in 1902, 1903, and 1904 in connection with the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California carried on through the [122] liberal support of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
May, 1905.

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III. OTHER DIALECTS AND COMPARISONS.

121 This third part of the present paper deals briefly and comparatively with all the Yokuts dialects on which material is available. As originally written, this part contained discussions of six or eight dialects besides Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. Subsequently an opportunity arose to make a special study of the territory, tribal divisions, and dialectic groups of the Yokuts family as a whole. This study was carried out in the early part of 1906, and included among its results about twenty vocabularies, of different dialects, available for systematic comparison. This increased body of material has made possible a determination of the principal divisions of the Yokuts family. While many dialects have become entirely extinct, it appears, from the information obtained, that none of those thus lost was sufficiently distinctive to exclude it from the several dialectic groups that have been established. In other words, these groups appear to represent all the principal divisions of the Yokuts language at the time of its first contact with white civilization, and the dialects that have been lost to differ from those known only in minor features.

128 The linguistic material obtained in the last study made was recorded at so many places, and from so many different individuals, that it was impracticable to extend it beyond vocabularies, and to enter into grammatical investigations, in the time that was available. Previous knowledge of the structure of Yaudanchi and Yauelmani however made it possible to determine certain structural features, such as the pronouns and the verbal suffixes, in many cases, and the morphological information secured in this way is sufficient, when combined with the more readily obtained lexical and phonetic results, to allow of a satisfactory general classification of all the dialects.

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DIALECTIC DIVISIONS.

As stated at the opening of this paper, the Yokuts dialects were numerous, each small tribe, of which there were about forty, possessing a dialect distinct, in at least some words, from all others. At the same time the differentiation of even the most diverse dialects was not very great. Barring two small specialized groups comprising together not more than three or four dialects, all the dialects were more or less intelligible to one another. Structurally they are very uniform, and even lexically they differ more conspicuously by the use of different stems to express the same idea than by serious modifications of the same stem. Altogether the dialects, including the two specialized groups just mentioned, fall quitely clearly into two divisions, of which the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani that have been described are typical grammatical representatives. These two divisions have been called the Foot-hill and Valley divisions. 197*

The relation of these two divisions to the topography of the Yokuts territory is, when particularly considered, quite striking. As has been stated, the Yokuts occupied the entire southern half of the San Joaquin-Tulare Valley, besides almost all the adjacent foot-hills. They did not reach high into the mountains, which were held everywhere by Shoshoneans and, in the south, by Chumash. The present Tule river reservation, which is situated on original Yokuts territory, is farther up in the mountains than almost any other habitat of even the Foot-hill tribes, a circumstance due probably to the presence in the Tule river region of a well marked secondary range of the Sierra Nevada, which served as a natural dividing line between the two stocks. Within the Yokuts family the dialectic distinction between the inhabitants of the plains and those of the foot-hills is equally sharp. Not only that adjacent tribes living respectively in the valley and in the hills spoke differently, but, with only two exceptions, all valley tribes everywhere belonged to one division, and all foot-hill tribes to another. These two exceptions were, first, at the extreme northern end of the Yokuts territory, on the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers, where dialects belonging to the Valley division, but forming a well-marked subdivision, were spoken in 101 197* 657 197*

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*197 the foot-hills as well as on the plains.[1] Second, at the extreme south of the Yokuts territory, two similar and much specialized Foot-hill dialects were spoken about Buena Vista and Kern lakes. While these lakes are in the great Tulare plain, and the tribes inhabiting their shores were separated from the other tribes of the [133] Foot-hill division by the Valley tribes on Kern river and Tulare lake, yet the two lakes are comparatively close to the mountains that shut off the Tulare basin on the south; and, as these mountains, while forming part of the Coast Range, are also connected with the southern Sierra Nevada into one long continuous system swung about in a semi-circle, the habitat of this isolated lake group is not so diverse from that of the remainder of the Foot-hill division as at first appears.

*197 In connection with the sharp differentiation of dialects spoken in the valley and in the foot-hills, it is to be observed that almost 133 throughout the Yokuts territory, at least from the San Joaquin southward, the distinction is equally sharp topographically. The foot-hills end abruptly, in some cases quite boldly, at the edge of the plain, and a few yards, sometimes a single step, bring one clearly from one zone into the other. North of the San Joaquin river the physiography is usually quite different, as the foot-hills slope almost imperceptibly into the valley in a long peneplain. This is the character of the country among the northern Yokuts tribes that live in the foot-hills but speak Valley dialects. It is also the character of the country among the Miwok, the stock adjoining the Yokuts on the north, and it appears that in this family, although its range is much higher into the mountains than that of the Yokuts, there is no such marked division into Foot-hill and Valley dialects as exists in the latter.

VALLEY DIVISION.

*197 The Valley division consists of two groups, a northern, and a principal one occupying most of the valley proper.

[1] The Northern group of dialects, while showing some unity and a number of stems peculiar to itself, appears to have consisted of two sub-groups, one comprising the tribes living in the plains, the other those in the hills. The dialects of the plains sub-group were the nearer to those of the southern Valley tribes. Thus even in this Northern group, which on the whole belongs distinctively to the Valley division, the distinction between Valley and Foot-hill dialects is to some degree maintained.

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The Northern group comprised the tribes living directly on the San Joaquin and on the streams to the north, the Fresno and the Chowchilla. From this group material is extant from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, Dumna, and Chauchila dialects. The dialects of the adjacent Dalinchi, Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Wakichi, and perhaps Toltichi, also belonged to this group. 197* 101

The main Valley group extended over the territory from lower Kings river to lower Kern river, that is to say, the land bordering on these streams as well as on the lower courses of Tule and Kaweah rivers and the smaller neighboring streams, as also on Tulare Lake. This was the largest group of Yokuts dialects, and formed linguistically a close unit. It included Yauelmani, Wechikhit, Nutunutu, Tachi, Chunut, Wowolasi, and Choinok, from which there is material, besides Wimilchi, Apinchi, Telamni, Wowowali, Koyeti, Truhohayi, and probably others, all or most of which are extinct.

The Chulamni, or Cholovone, occupying a detached territory in the vicinity of Stockton on the eastern bank of the lower San Joaquin river considerably to the north of all the remaining Yokuts tribes, also spoke a dialect belonging to the Valley division. Its affinities are very markedly with Chauchila, the northernmost dialect of the Valley division, and which, while most closely allied to the Northern dialects in the foot-hills, such as Chukchansi, shows so many special affinities to the main Valley group as to make it nearly a transition between the two.

FOOT-HILL DIVISION.

The Foot-hill division occupied a smaller area than the Valley division, and the number of tribes included in it was smaller. The number of its subdivisions is however greater, and these subdivisions differ considerably more from one another. The Northern and Valley dialects of the Valley division are practically identical in structure and in phonetics, the differences being lexical. Among the four Foot-hill groups, however, there are grammatical and phonetic differences, besides lexical divergences considerably greater than those existing in the Valley division. The four foot-hill groups were spoken respectively on Kings

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197 101 river, on Tule and Kaweah rivers, on Poso creek, and at Buena Vista and Kern lakes.

The Kings River group is the northernmost of the Foot-hill division, and in every way closest to the Valley division. It is, for instance, phonetically entirely similar to the Valley dialects. Structurally it also agrees with the Valley dialects in certain respects, although other features, and these apparently more numerous and distinctive ones, ally it with the adjacent Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. Lexically, also, it shows many affinities with both the groups of the Valley division, but the body of its words it has in common with the other Foot-hill groups. The Chukaimina, Michahai, Aiticha, and Choinimni, as well as probably one or two other tribes living on the immediate Kings river drainage, such as the Toikhichi and Kocheyali, from whom no material has been secured, formed this group. The Gashowu of Dry creek, the next stream to the north of Kings river, between it and the San Joaquin, also belonged to this group, although their dialect shows a number of special affinities with the adjacent Northern group.

The Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division comprised a small number of tribes: the Yaudanchi, Wükchamni, and possibly two or three others, such as the Gawia, Yokod, and Bokninuwad. In this group there appear for the first time the sounds ö and ü and the other impure vowels that have been encountered in Yaudanchi; also ñ, which may have been an original sound of the language lost in the greater number of other dialects; while l is changed to d. Lexically this group is more different than its northern neighbor, the Kings River group, from the Valley division, and the same is true of its grammatical features. Thus, while "his" in all Valley dialects is "amin," it is "imin" in the Kings River group, but "an" in the Tule-Kaweah group. This group is the central one in the Foot-hill division, and linguistically also intermediate between the less specialized Kings River group and the more specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, and may be regarded as typical of the Foot-hill division. Accordingly Yaudanchi, which belongs to this group, and Yauelmani, which forms part of the principal Valley subdivision, are typically representative, although they are geo-

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graphically almost in contiguity, of the two main branches of the Yokuts family. 197* 101

A much specialized group of the Foot-hill division comprised the Paleuyami of Poso creek, and possibly one or two neighboring dialects, such as Kumachisi. This small dialectic group does not show the ö and ü and impure vowels of the Tule-Kaweah group, nor has it changed l to d, although it uses ñ. Its greatest divergence is lexical. It possesses many stems peculiar to itself, and where the stems which it uses are those of other dialects, they are usually phonetically altered in Paleuyami, the vowels being particularly modified. The pronouns are as divergent as those of any Yokuts group; the verbal forms resemble those of Yaudanchi. While the distinctness of this dialectic group is considerable, it clearly forms part of the Foot-hill division.

A fourth Foot-hill group, a small body on the plains around Buena Vista and Kern lakes, seems to have consisted of only two tribes, the Tulamni, and another the proper name of which appears to have been entirely forgotten and which is therefore designated by the term Khonetwoli, meaning simply southerners, applied to it by its Yauelmani and other neighbors. This small Buena Vista Lake group is lexically still more distinctive than the Poso Creek group, especially in the number of its stems peculiar to itself. Both phonetically and structurally, however, it appears to be about as close to the remaining Foot-hill groups, especially the Tule-Kaweah, as the Poso Creek group. Like the Tule-Kaweah dialects it possesses ö and ü and ñ.

RELATIONS OF DIALECTIC GROUPS.

As can be seen, grammar, lexical content, and phonetics usually present about similar degrees of distinctiveness in these several dialectic groups, so that a natural classification presents no complexities. Such a classification is illustrated in the following three diagrams. The first of these, figure 226, indicates the degree of difference or similarity between dialectic groups by the relative linear distances between the figures representing these groups. This graphic method is of course more or less imperfect while confined to a representation in two dimensions. As 197*

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197 will be seen, the area occupied in this diagram by the four Foot-hill groups is much greater than that covered by the two Valley subdivisions, indicating a much greater divergence from one an-

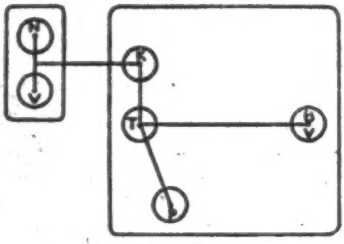

Fig. 226.

other of the former. This contrast is further accentuated by the fact that the closely similar Valley groups comprised a much greater number of dialects. If the extent of territory inhabited by the groups, and not the degree of their dissimilarity, had been indicated in this diagram, the Valley area would have been considerably larger than the Foot-hill area.

This first representation has the disadvantage that it shows only the actual degree of difference between dialectic groups, without any reference to the nature or cause of this difference.

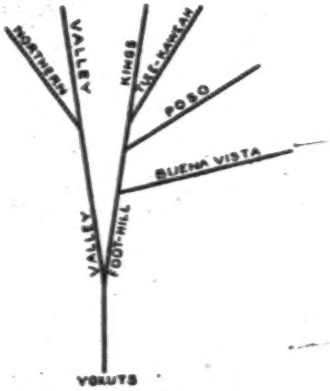

Fig. 227.

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While, for instance, the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake dialects are perhaps more divergent even from their nearest ally, the Tule-Kaweah group, than this is different from all the other groups, even of the Valley division, yet it is not unlikely that these so divergent dialects are comparatively recent specialized offshoots from a former generalized Foot-hill branch, now represented more nearly in its early state by the Kings River or Tule-Kaweah subdivisions. With the probable original relation of the groups in view, a second diagram in the form of a tree of relationship has therefore been arranged in figure 227. This diagram expresses approximately the degree of similarity between dialectic groups by the distances between the ends of the lines representing them, while at the same time the branching of these lines illustrates the presumable origin and connection of the dialectic groups. 197*

A third diagram, figure 228, has been arranged to show sche-

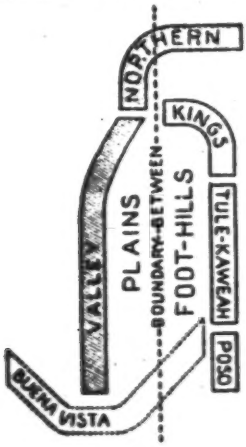

FIG. 228.

matically the relation of the dialectic groups to the Yokuts territory. If it is borne in mind that the geography of this sketch is only diagrammatic, and that the relationship of the dialectic groups is indicated by the chain of figures representing them, the meaning of the figure will be clear.

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LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in 193 different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more 192 pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost [illegible] variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity *197 but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families 193 of California, especially those in the large Central morphological 191 group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

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these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All 197*
these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta-
Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of 193
them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive con- 171
sonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects 197*
through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the 197*
radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is 177
becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however,
197 the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in
*197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree
193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead.
551 This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and
768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration.. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of
193 stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un-
192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ïnu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

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The usual Yokuts term for smoke is mod-ak. In most Northern dialects this disappears to be replaced by a stem tsehan, which reappears in Yaudanchi as teeheñ with the meaning of fog. The same stem, teeheñ, replaces the usual word for cloud, k'ädai or k'ilei, in Wükchamni, Aiticha, and Choinok, while in Tachi the stem ceel, which usually has the meaning of rain, appears for cloud. In place of this stem ceel, which is the customary one in the Valley dialects for rain, xotoo is characteristic of the Foothill dialects. But in certain special Foot-hill and Valley dialects, such as Tulamni, Gashowu, Tachi, Chunut, and Nutunutu, a stem gono, meaning fall, appears. 197* 193 192

The usual stem for medicine-man is ant-u. The Northern dialects show a stem teie, which is the radical having in Yaudanchi, and apparently in most other dialects, the meaning of make. The medicine-man is he who makes.

In Paleuyami the usual Yokuts words for head and hair, ot-o and dool, are replaced by a form t-uk, which is nothing but the Foot-hill and Northern stem teuk, meaning in these dialects brain.

Such instances could be indefinitely multiplied, and were the Yokuts languages known more thoroughly an even greater number of radical diversities could no doubt be explained in this manner than is now the case. At the same time there is evidently a large element of diverse stems whose origin cannot be explained in this way. Such stems may also once have taken their rise through dialectic shifting of meaning, but the process and the fact can no longer be traced or determined.

To illustrate the degree of uniformity and diversity of the stems in the several dialectic groups of Yokuts, a comparative vocabulary of a few selected terms is here given. The fuller vocabularies from which this table is drawn will be presented in a future publication dealing specifically with the tribal divisions and dialects of the family.

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	Four	Nine	Woman	Nose	Tongue	Blood	Snow	Fire
Telamni	tapañi	wuteat	muk 'ee	t-ōñak	alōdas	hōpa	cawāyan	ucit
Khometwoli	tapañi	wuteat	muk 'ee	t-ōñak	alōdis	hōp	cawāya	ucit
Palcupami	hetpeñi	lik 'ṭyi	xatneu	t-ōñik	talāpis	hība	cawāyin	ccot
Yaudanchi	hatpañi	nāuip	muk 'ee	t-ōñōk	tadxat-	hōpa	ponpon	ucit
Wūkchamni	hatpañi	nāuip	muk 'ee	t-ōñōk	tadxat-	hōpa	ponpin	ucut
Chukaimina	hatpami	nāuip	mot-oihoi	t-inik	takit-	hōpa	ponpin	ucut
Michahai	hatpami	nāuip	mot-oihoi	t-inik	madat-	hōpa	ponpin	ucut
Aitieha	hatpami	nāuip	mot-oihoi	t-inik	takit-	hōpa	ponpin	ucut
Choinimni	hatpami	nāuip	mot-oihoi	t-inik	madat-	hōpa	ponpon	ucit
Gashowu	hatpami	nāuip	guyolum	t-inik	takit-	hōpa	ōni	ocit
Chukchansi	hatpami	nāuip	muk 'ēla	sinik	takas	pāyax	ōni	ocit
Keehayi	hatpami	nāuip	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takit-	pāyax	ōni	ocit
Dumna	hatpami	nāuip	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	hāyan	ocit
Chauchila	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	ponpon	ocit
Wechilhit	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	hāyan	oci 't
Nutunutu	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	cannic	ocit
Tachi	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	hāyan	ocit
Chunut	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	ponpon	oci 't
Wo 'lasi	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	ponpon	ocit
Choinok	hotpomoi	sopenhot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takat-	pāyax	ponpon	ocit
Yauelmani	hotpomoi	sopenhot	gāina	t-inik				

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	Rock	Wood	Dog	Grizzly	Eat	Run	See	Cry
Tulamni	xalu'[1]	te'lmat	taŏoen	biawas	luy	kŏtŏu	o'l	hebet-
Khometroli	odoxix	bhoo	taŏoen	dagatsas	luy	kŏtŏu	o'al	hebet-
Paleuyami	xelal	etio	teicue	t'esei	na'	lokhin	dileu	ah-an
Yaudanchi	yakas	hŏt'ne	teĕjej	ŏohoo	duy	dawit	ŏka	ah-in
Wĕlchamni	yakas	gbyote	teĕjej	ŏohoo	duy	dawit	ŏka	ah-in
Chukaimina	yakas	hit'le	teĕjej	nohoo	naha	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Michahai	yakas	hit'le	teĕjej	nohoo	naha	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Aiticha	yakas	hit'le	te'ĕeee	nohoo	naha'	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Choinimni	yakas	hit'le	te'ĕeee	nohoo	naha'	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Gashoeu	eilil	hit'le	te'ĕeee	nohoo	naha'	yawite	ĕka	waxil
Chukchansi	eilel	hit'ee	teĕxa	nohoo	xat.	lhim	taie	[waxil]
Keehayi	eilel	hit'ee	teĕxa	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	waxil
Dumna	eilel	hit'ee	teĕxa	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	waxil
Chauchila	eilel	hit'ee	bŏue	[nohoo]	luy	lhim	tai-	[waxil]
Weekhikhit	eilel	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Nutunutu	eile'l	hit'e'e	bŏu'e	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Tachi	eilel	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo'	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Chunut	eile'l	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Wo'lasi	yakas	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	[eil]	[waxil]
Choinok	yakas	hit'ee	teĕjej	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Yauelmani	eilil	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim		

[1] Or hiwaeĕ?

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Of about two hundred and twenty-five common words on which there is sufficient material for comparisons in the vocabularies obtained, one hundred and fifty, or fully two-thirds, show two or more distinct radicals in the totality of dialects. Of the remainder, forty-three, or barely a fifth, go back to the same radical in all six dialectic groups. In the case of about thirty words only one stem appears in the dialectic groups from which there is material, but information is lacking in regard to one or two groups. As these are usually the specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, in which divergent radicals most frequently appear, a certain part of these thirty words would no doubt have to be added, were the information complete, to the one hundred and fifty showing two or more stems. In any case it is clear that at least two-thirds of the most common linguistic ideas, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals, and excluding only personal and demonstrative pronouns, are expressed by diverse stems in one or more of the six structurally so closely united dialectic groups of Yokuts.

The respective proportion of words showing uniform and diverse stems is very different in the several classes of words. The figures are given in the accompanying table. It will be seen that the numerals are conspicuously uniform. Only the word for nine differs; but for this there are four distinct stems. Of next greatest uniformity are adverbial and interrogative pronominal stems. The proportion of uniform stems does not vary very much in the different classes of nouns and verbs, being twenty-seven per cent for verbs, thirty-two per cent, the highest proportion, for parts of the body; twenty-nine per cent for the names of a few of the more important artificial objects; twenty-four per cent for natural objects, including the cardinal directions and names of plants; and twenty-two per cent for mammals. Words denoting birds and animals other than mammals, indeed apparently show a very high frequency of uniform stems, amounting to about one-half, but this circumstance is due to two factors; first the accident of an unusually large number of gaps among these words in the vocabularies from the more specialized dialects; and second the greater predominance in this class than in others of onomatopoetic terms. It is notable that the proportion of

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words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing. 197* 192

	Identical Items		*Different Stems*	*Percentage of total formed by identical stems*
	in all groups	*in all so far as known*		
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	31	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	29	24
Mammals	2	3	18	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	49
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the composite nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical. [802 171]

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*197 192 woman's breast, bone, tears, sweat-house, boat, road, north, south, night, fire, water, panther, skunk, condor, goose, fish, louse, far, who, what, where, drink, give, and laugh. The following are radically alike in all the dialectic groups from which there is information, but may show different stems in those groups which are not represented in these words in the vocabularies: Lips, navel, ankle, faeces, urine, sinew, arrow-point, hail, star, leaf, tobacco, plains oak, manzanita, polecat, otter, beaver, bald eagle, magpie, blackbird, bluejay, mountain quail, pigeon, woodpecker, yellowhammer, road-runner, crane, kingsnake, lake trout, spider, up, and stand. As stated, most of the names of birds are onomatopoetic. The words which show radically different stems in one or more of the dialectic groups are too numerous to be listed, but include nine, person, man, woman, child, old man, old woman, father, mother, chief, friend, head, hair, tongue, neck, hand, fingernail, belly, back, foot, heart, blood, liver, brain, skin, house, bow, arrow, pipe, meat, name, west, sun, moon, day, cloud, rain, snow, smoke, ash, ice, earth, world, stream, mountain, rock, salt, wood, willow, tule, dog, bear, coyote, wolf, fox, wildcat, deer, elk, antelope, hare, rabbit, ground-squirrel, gopher, raccoon, badger, bird, eagle, buzzard, horned owl, raven, crow, humming-bird, quail, lizard, frog, fly, worm, white, black, red, large, small, good, bad, all, much, down, to-morrow, yesterday, no, eat, run, dance, sing, sleep, talk, see, kill, sit, lie, walk, and cry.

To determine the relative degrees of affinity or specialization of the several dialectic groups, computations have been made of the number of stems they respectively have and have not in common with other groups. The Kings River group of the Foot-hill division shows similarities to the Valley division, and was therefore compared with both the groups of this division as well as with the nearest group, the Tule-Kaweah, of the Foot-hill division. Excluding on the one hand words possessing identical stems in the four groups, and on the other hand words showing stems peculiar to the Kings River group, the Kings River group agrees with the Tule-Kaweah group fifty-four times and differs from it thirty-three times; and agrees with the Northern and the principal Valley groups respectively thirty-five and thirty-three times and differs from them fifty-two and forty-eight times. The

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proportion of words of the Kings River group going back to the same stem as the corresponding words in the Tule-Kaweah group is thus about sixty per cent., whereas the proportion between Kings River and the two Valley groups is only forty per cent. While the Kings River group makes the nearest approach within the Foot-hill division to the Valley division, it thus clearly belongs with the Tule-Kaweah group to the former. 197* 192

Within the Kings River group the Gashowu, spoken on Dry creek, between Kings river and the San Joaquin, shows the most specialization, and many of its differentiations are in the direction of the forms found in the Northern group, which is on the San Joaquin. A computation, however, shows forty-six stems agreeing with Kings River forms and differing from Northern forms, and only twenty of opposite affinity. While Gashowu therefore has something of a transitional character, and must be regarded as the one of all the Foot-hill dialects approaching most nearly to the Valley division, it yet belongs distinctively to the Kings River group.

Chauchila, which, as the only plains dialect in the Northern group from which there is material, may be taken as representative of these, differs in a number of cases from the foot-hill dialects in this group, and in these cases almost always agrees with the forms of the main Valley group. The proportion of its agreements and disagreements with these two groups—the main Valley and the Northern as typified by the dialects spoken in the foot-hills—is nearly equal, but somewhat in favor of the Northern group by about nineteen cases to fifteen. The sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the plains, to which besides Chauchila the isolated Chulamni of the region about Stockton is known to have belonged, as well as probably Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, and Wakichi, thus formed a true transition between the principal Valley group and the sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the foot-hills: Chukchansi, Dalinchi, Keehayi, and Dumna. Of course all these groups and sub-groups, the principal Valley, the Northern of the plains, and the Northern of the hills, belong to the Valley division.

The Northern group, including both its plains and foot-hill sub-groups, shows the following result on comparison with the other five groups of the family:

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Northern Group.

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Group	Identical stems	Different stems	Percentage of identical stems
Buena Vista	16	55	23
Poso Creek	24	47	34
Tule-Kaweah	35	58	36
Kings River	54	37	59
Valley	61	27	69

In addition there are thirty-six words in which the majority of the Northern dialects show stems peculiar to themselves. It is evident from this table that the Northern group forms part of the Valley division, that within the Foot-hill division its nearest relative is the Kings River group, to which it is contiguous; and that the Buena Vista Lake group is apparently the most specialized of all Yokuts groups.

Finally a computation was made as to the respective degrees of specialization of Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake, the most modified groups, and their relationship to other groups. Paleuyami, representing the Poso Creek group, showed thirty-eight words radically distinct from the corresponding words of other dialects, or, if words are excluded which were not represented in all groups, thirty-two. The two dialects representing the Buena Vista Lake group showed sixty-seven words of radical distinctness, or, omitting the words not fully represented in all dialects, fifty-five. The relation of these two groups to the other groups of the family is shown by the following table. In this table the thirty-two to thirty-nine and fifty-five to sixty-seven stems peculiar respectively to the two groups in question, have been included in the series of figures expressing the number of words found showing stems different from those of the other dialects.

	Buena Vista			*Poso*		
	Stems in Common	*Stems Different*	*Percentage in Common*	*Stems in Common*	*Stems Different*	*Percentage in Common*
Buena Vista				29	71	29
Poso	29	71	29			
Tule-Kaweah	36	63	30	54	55	50
Kings	24	93	21	43	67	39
Valley	18	95	15	38	66	37
Northern	12	105	10	29	78	27

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It will be seen that the proportion of stems held in common with other groups is throughout higher for Paleuyami than for the Buena Vista Lake dialects. The order of affinity is the same in both cases, namely, first with Tule-Kaweah, next with Kings River, and then with the two groups of the Valley division, the principal Valley group coming before the Northern. As regards the relation of the two dialects to each other, while the percentage of stems held in common by the two is of course the same for both of them, their position toward each other in their respective ranks of affinity is different. To the Poso dialect the Buena Vista group is among those presenting the fewest similarities, showing in fact, next to the distant Northern, the smallest number of stems held in common. This fact must be interpreted as proof of a really great divergence from each other of these two specialized groups. To the Buena Vista group, on the other hand, the Poso Creek group ranks very high in the scale of affinities, the proportion of common stems being almost as great as with the Tule-Kaweah group, which is the Buena Vista group's nearest relative. This apparently contradictory circumstance is due to the fact that the great degree of specialization of the Buena Vista group has lowered the proportion of all its other similarities, thus giving Poso Creek an unduly high apparent degree of resemblance to it. The number of stems common to the two groups and peculiar to themselves is only six. If the two groups were a common offshoot from the main Yokuts stock, and only of comparatively late differentiation from each other, the number of such stems would certainly be very much greater. 197*

It thus appears that the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups are independent divergences from the Foot-hill division of the Yokuts family and probably from the Tule-Kaweah group or its progenitor; that they have comparatively little in common with each other; and that Buena Vista is the more specialized of the two, differing more than any other group in its lexical content from the remaining Yokuts groups.

In all the above computations words showing the same stem in all dialectic groups have been entirely excluded from consideration.

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PHONETIC RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*1907 194 The phonetic changes and equivalences of the Yokuts dialectic groups are few and simple. There are only three affecting entire groups with any frequency. These are, first a change of usual l to d, confined to the Tule-Kaweah group, within which it is universal; second the occurrence of ö and ü in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups; and third the occurrence of ñ in the Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, and Poso Creek groups. It will be seen that all these phonetic specializations are confined to the Foot-hill division and that the northernmost group within this division, the Kings River, is free from them and agrees phonetically with the groups of the Valley division. While the first of these three mutations, the change of l to d, holds universally in the dialects in which it occurs, the substitution of the other sounds, ñ for n and ö and ü for e and i, is only partial in the dialectic groups in which they appear. But obversely ñ, ö, and ü are universally replaced by n, e, and i in those groups in which they do not appear.

The change of l to d in the Tule-Kaweah group requires no particular discussion. The fact that it is confined to only one of the six groups in the family, and that one a small group, shows this d to have been almost certainly a comparatively late development from a more original l. It is possible that this change of l [177] to d is due to Shoshonean influence, for the Mono division of the Shoshonean family entirely lacks l. The case for this supposition is however not very strong, for the Kings River and Northern Yokuts groups are also in contact with the Mono and have retained l, whereas within the Tule-Kaweah group, which has made the change to d, only the tribes on Kaweah river, such as the Wükchamni, are in contact with Shoshoneans of the Mono division, the Tule river tribes, such as the Yaudanchi, having been in closer touch with the Shoshoneans of the distinct Kern River group, whose dialect contains l.

Of course d, corresponding to t as g does to k, appears in all Yokuts dialects irrespective of whether or not they possess l.

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As regards the second principal phonetic peculiarity, the appearance of ö and ü and the so-called impure vowels in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups, it is almost certain that Shoshonean influence must be reckoned with. This ö and ü, and perhaps other impure o and u sounds, are characteristic of the Shoshonean family, being found in all its dialectic branches except the southernmost of those in southern California. The Shoshonean family occupies almost the entire territory extending along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, and thence south and westward through southern California to the ocean. The four purely Californian families with which the Shoshoneans come in territorial contact along this stretch, the Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Chumash, all show these impure ö and ü sounds. Moreover these four families are, so far as known at present, the only ones in California that possess these sounds. The case could not well be stronger for the territorial continuity of characteristics due to interinfluence. It is rendered still stronger by the circumstance that one division of the Miwok or Moquelumnan family, which is separated from the remainder of the stock, and out of reach of direct Shoshonean influence, in the northern Coast Range of the state, appears to lack these ö and ü sounds in question. Yokuts would appear to have been influenced less than the three other stocks, since the great majority of its dialects, including many of those in the foot-hills in direct contact with Shoshoneans, lack the ö and ü. The two dialectic groups possessing ö and ü probably had closer relations with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any other groups excepting that on Poso creek. The Tule-Kaweah group was in contact with both the Mono and Kern River divisions, and the Buena Vista group in close proximity to the Kern River, Kawaiisu, and Serrano divisions, besides being in direct contact with the northeasternmost Chumash. Why the Paleuyami of Poso creek, who were probably more intimately associated with Shoshoneans than any other Yokuts group, should lack these sounds is difficult to understand. The Paleuyami dialect, however, often pronounces its vowels, especially i, e, o, and u, with a quality somewhat different from that which they have in other dialects; i and u especially are open to the point of sounding impure. In the dialects lacking ö and ü, e and i always

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*197 replace them. The other impure vowels, which, as has been
194 stated of Yaudanchi, are frequently only induced by ö and ü,
177 are replaced by the ordinary simple vowels in other dialects. Whether ö and ü are original in the words in which they occur, or only subsequent modifications of e and i, is not certain; but the great preponderance of dialects lacking ö and ü, and the proximity of the dialects possessing these sounds to Shoshonean territory, makes the latter explanation more probable; so that in this respect also the Valley and Kings River dialects seem to represent a more original state of the language than the southern Foot-hill groups.

The sound ñ, occurring in the three southern Foot-hill groups and replaced in all others by n, is the most difficult to understand. The evidence for influence of other families is not very strong. Mono and the other Shoshonean divisions in contact with the Yokuts, excepting the Kern River group and some of the southeastern Mono, all lack ñ, as does Chumash. This fact would accord with internal circumstances which tend to show that this sound is an original one in Yokuts. If this is the case, the ñ occurring in the Kern River division of Shoshonean is probably due to Yokuts influence.

*197 Whereas ñ is invariably replaced by n in the Valley and
194 Kings River dialects, n of these dialects is replaced by ñ in only a certain number of words in the three southern Foot-hill groups. Of a hundred Valley or Kings River words containing n medially, about forty southern Foot-hill words have ñ; of one hundred containing n finally, about twenty-five in the Foot-hill group replace it by ñ; of one hundred beginning with n, not more than five or ten show initial ñ in the southern Foot-hill groups. While there is thus a marked tendency for ñ to appear finally and especially medially, it is clear that its appearance is not entirely or directly due to its position in words. An examination of its relations to the vowels of the words in which it appears also brings out no definite conclusions. There is thus no apparent internal cause for the appearance of ñ. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that a stem containing ñ and appearing in several of the Foot-hill dialects invariably shows ñ and not n in all the dialects of these groups in which it occurs, makes it probable that this

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sound goes back to the period when these three groups, and perhaps all the groups of Yokuts, were not yet fully differentiated. As the three southern Foot-hill groups are now so much specialized, they cannot have been separated very recently. It is therefore clear, first that fi is almost certainly a sound of some antiquity in the dialects in which it occurs, and second that it may have been an original general Yokuts characteristic which has been lost in those three of the Yokuts groups that now contain the greater number of dialects. 197* 194

Other than these three dialectic equivalences there are none in Yokuts that are general enough to be of much comparative significance in our present knowledge of the language. In a few words l and y correspond interdialectally. Usually the Valley group shows y. [192]

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
where	hell-	hel	hide-	hile-	hile-	hiye-
tooth	tile	teil	tedi	teil	teil	teyi
white			teodod	teoyoyl	(djolol)	djolol
tule	kololis				koyis	
buzzard					Chunut:	got-ela
					Yauelmani:	kot-eya
bow			dayap	dalip		t-alap

There is some irregular accordance between t, t·, and te. Some of the principal instances are shown in the following table. It will be seen that the Valley dialects show most tendency to palatalize t sounds formed at the teeth in other dialects. While t and t· sound much alike to the untrained Indo-European ear, they are quite distinct to the Yokuts, and it seems strange that these equivalences between them should exist. It is however significant that these equivalences of t, t·, and te are on the one hand infrequent and on the other hand not always in the same direction, although in the case of any one word all the dialects of one group are usually a unit in regard to the sound they show. [192]

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
one	yit	yit	yet	yete	yet	yet, yete
belly	t-ot	teote	t-ot-			tot-
bow			dayap	dalip[1]		t-alap
earth				xotol	xotsoi	xot-oi
sweat			dumkun	t-amun	teumak	t-opex
rabbit	tiu		tiu	teu	teu	teiu

[1] Some dialects: d-alip.

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*197 194 Several instances of equivalences of t, t·, and te between Yaudanchi and Yauelmani have been given in the discussion of the phonetics of the latter dialect.

There are some correspondences between s and t·. In most words there are only one or two dialects which sporadically show one of these sounds in place of the other.

[192] Mouth: cama; Gashowu, t·ama.

Eye: caca; Gashowu, Choinok, t·at·a.

Nose: t·inik; Chukchansi, sinik.

Beard: Southern Foot-hill, d·amoc, djamoc; Kings River group and Valley division, damut·.

Testicles: Tule-Kaweah, hoñoc; Valley, honot·, honoc.

Badger: t·aniu, t·anau; Choinimni, sanau.

Fish: lopit·; Chukchansi, lopis.

In a few cases x and k correspond. The usual form for finger-nail, xeeix, becomes keeik in the Tule-Kaweah group. Horn, usually koyee, is xoyee in Gashowu and Dumna. In the Valley division the demonstrative stems indicating proximity are hi and ki, in the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division ke, and in the three southern Foot-hill groups xi, or xe and xi.

As has been said in the discussion of Yaudanchi, it is not quite clear whether s and c are two distinct sounds in Yokuts or only one. If distinct, the two are certainly much alike. There is some individual variation. Women especially are apt to pronounce s and ts much more sharply and clearly than men, from whom c and te are more frequently heard. There is probably also some slight dialectic difference in this respect, as in certain Valley dialects, such as Yauelmani, s and ts are almost always heard.

While, as has been shown, radical differences between dialects are much more conspicuous in Yokuts than phonetic ones; and while regular phonetic mutations between dialects are but slightly developed; there yet are, as might be expected, many stems that, in an apparently irregular fashion, assume more or less different forms in the six groups and even in individual dialects. Only, these differences are neither very striking nor of such nature or degree as to have any appreciable significance in the present state of the study of the language. The kind and

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate. 197* 194

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiten, bèmanduts, bèmanteui, bèmax, gâmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable. 197* 194 192

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit-iu; Paso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Paso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, olok'; Gashowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teoga, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hoga; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Paso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gälläyi; Kings kilet·; kelit·; Choinok, helawat; Northern, hedjil; Gashowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Paso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns, 197* 193

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*197 especially the personal ones; and, second, the verbal suffixes of mode and tense.
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PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

In at least seven-eighths of the Yokuts dialects the personal pronouns are remarkably uniform, the extent of the variations being shown by the two full tables previously given of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani forms. In the great mass of dialects there are no variations of moment from these forms, and the more elementary forms, such as the subjective, objective, and possessive of the singular of the first two persons, na, ma, nan, mam, nim, and min, are absolutely identical. The third person shows more variation. In all dialects it lacks subjective and objective singular forms. The possessive, his, in all Valley dialects is amin, clearly related through analogy to the possessive of the second person, min. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River dialects show the form nearest the Valley form, namely, imin. The Tule-Kaweah group has an, made familiar from Yaudanchi, while the Poso Creek and Buena Vista forms are not known. There is a further difference between the Valley and Foot-hill divisions in that the former possesses subjective forms of the third person in the dual and plural, amak and aman, which at least the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division lacks. These subjective Valley forms of the third person are, however, not true pronouns. They are not used as the equivalent of English "they," but merely as an indication of number, frequently with nouns as well as verbs, so that they equal in function the Yaudanchi number-particles tik and tin.

The Poso Creek and Buena Vista groups show the greatest peculiarities in the forms of their pronouns. Their singular subjective and objective forms are indeed identical with those of all other dialects: na, ma, nan, and mam; but their possessive forms vary from the usual ones,—principally through the introduction of a k sound into the forms for the first person. Poso Creek says gen for "my," Buena Vista mik. Poso Creek has men for the possessive of the second person, while the Buena Vista group has the usual min. It will be seen that while the forms used in these two groups vary from all others, and from

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each other, there yet is within each dialect a parallelism of form between the first and second persons, similar to the parallelism existing in all other dialects: Poso Creek, gen and men; Buena Vista, mik and min; other groups, nim and min. 197X 193

The k appearing in the possessive pronoun of the first person of these two southernmost groups is interesting because it would seem to be due to the influence of extraneous linguistic stocks. K is the radical element expressing the first person in the Chumash languages, with which the Buena Vista dialects were in immediate territorial contact. K is also found in the pronouns of the first person in the Kern River branch of the Shoshonean family, the branch of the family with which the Paleuyami of Poso creek were undoubtedly in closest relation. The general Shoshonean radical indicative of the first person is n, which appears in the Kern River dialects with the addition of k: nögi or nöki, instead of usual nü. It is scarcely to be supposed that the two southern Yokuts groups directly borrowed their k pronominal forms from the adjacent Shoshonean and Chumash stocks. Such borrowing is both highly improbable on general grounds and unlikely because these Yokuts dialects show the k only in the possessive pronoun, the subjective and objective elements of the first person being the usual Yokuts n. It is rather to be imagined that acquaintance with languages of contiguous families, and the unconscious influence of these, stimulated or reawakened a tendency that led to the use of these k forms in the affected Yokuts dialects. While such tendencies may seem intangible and vague, and it must be admitted that we as yet know practically nothing of their real nature, there nevertheless is evidence that they existed. It is well known, for instance, that the great majority of the numerous linguistic families of North America have either n or m or both for the roots of their pronominal stems of the first and second persons. This wide-spread agreement can scarcely be interpreted as an indication of original relationship of these families, many of which are as utterly distinct in fundamental structure and general phonetic character as they are totally diverse in their words. Neither can the phenomenon be attributed to accident, for the number of cases is far too great. It can also scarcely be imagined that pronominal

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forms are above all others particularly liable to direct borrowing in American languages. It is accordingly necessary to conceive of a certain deep-seated tendency, not yet well understood, which either results in the production of pronominal forms in n and m by most stocks, and their adherence or reversion to such forms; or which renders most stocks particularly susceptible to external influence in the phonetic shaping of their pronominal stems. Conditions are certainly very remarkable in California as regards this wide-spread uniformity, as has been previously pointed out.[1] Of twenty-one families now recognized, seventeen or eighteen have m as the primary constituent of their pronominal stem denoting the second person; nine, or nearly half, show n in the first person, and four show k. The distribution of these four families is also instructive. They are Miwok, Costanoan, Salinan, and Chumash, occupying a continuous area in central California practically enclosing the Yokuts territory. As to these four families must be added the contiguous southernmost dialectic groups of Yokuts, and the also contiguous Kern River Shoshonean dialectic group; and as the sound k does not elsewhere in California appear as an expression of the first person, except that in Yurok, far in the north, it is used in combination with n in the form nek; it is evident that this occurrence of k to denote the first person is not accidental, but due to the interinfluence of territorially adjacent stocks. Even if it is held that this argument is weakened by the probable superficiality of the diversity of the families at present recognized as distinct in California, the explanation of this k as due to an original identity of the several stocks possessing it, cannot be accepted, for while some or many of the Californian linguistic families may ultimately prove to be related, this can safely be affirmed not to be true of the stocks here in consideration. Chumash and Salinan are in morphological type and phonetic character quite distinct from Costanoan, Yokuts, Miwok, and the remaining families of California.[2] The large and well defined Shoshonean family can also certainly not be regarded as genetically related to the minor and diverse Californian stocks. It is therefore clear that at least

[1] Amer. Anthr., n. s. V, 17, 1903.
[2] Ibid., 18.

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part of the occurrence of k stems to denote the first person in California is due to the influence upon each other of distinct but geographically adjacent families. 197* 193

DEMONSTRATIVES.

The demonstrative forms are also a ready means of distinguishing the Yokuts dialectic groups. The indefinite demonstrative ta, expressive of reference rather than of distance, but when referring to distance indicating remoteness and not proximity, seems to be used in all dialects without variation; but the forms of the several stems more or less definitely expressing distance vary phonetically. The usual stem of the demonstrative specifically indicating remoteness without invisibility is ka, found probably in all the dialects of the Valley division and in the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. In the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division the similar form gai is used. The two southern Foot-hill groups show somewhat aberrant forms, Poso Creek ko, and Buena Vista xuntu. The demonstratives indicating propinquity are sometimes one and sometimes two in number, but in the latter case always quite similar in form. The fundamental form is perhaps ki, corresponding to the ka indicating remoteness. The Valley division shows two forms, hi and ki, the former apparently indicating greater nearness. The principal Valley differs from the Northern group in using the hi stem in reduplicated form. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River group has ke. The three southern groups of this division all show xi, with the addition at least in Tule-Kaweah of xe. The relation of these forms indicating proximity may be briefly expressed thus: xi forms in the three southern Foot-hill groups are replaced by ki and hi forms in the most northern Foot-hill group and in the Valley division.

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

The structural factors most important in the classification of the Yokuts dialects are the tense and mode suffixes of the verbs. Prominent among these, both on account of the uniformity with which it coincides with the divisions and on account of the readiness with which it is obtained in securing information, is the

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imperative. When asked to translate an English verb stem into their language, the Yokuts, like people of many other linguistic stocks, are likely to give the imperative form. Accordingly, once the imperative ending is known, almost any Yokuts vocabulary containing half a dozen verbs, no matter how inaccurately rendered, is almost certain to be sufficient to show to which division of the family the dialect in question belongs. The Valley dialects throughout use a form -ka, while the Foot-hill dialects all lack any suffix. So far as known this rule suffers no exceptions. The -ka ending, as has been brought out in the discussion of Yaudanchi, does not, like the usual a-suffixes, affect the quality of the stem vowels of the verb. There is therefore some reason for regarding it as being an enclitic particle in the inward consciousness of the language, rather than a true suffix. The -ka ending itself is subject to but little dialectic modification, other than becoming -ga in some dialects, or lightening its vowel until its form is almost -k. Of the known dialects Chauchila alone shows a tendency to vary the a of this ending to harmonize with the vowels of the stem of the verb: -ka, -ku, -ki, etc.

The true tense and mode suffixes of Yokuts are of two kinds. First those which like the future and present -in, the reflexive -wic, and the agentive -ite, appear to be found in all dialects with no alteration except slight phonetic modification; and second the remainder, of which each is confined to certain groups of dialects. Of this class the most prominent are the past suffixes -ji and -ae and the continuative -ad or -al, which are characteristic of the Foot-hill division, and the past -an and continuative -xo characteristic of the Valley division. The scant Poso Creek material does not show the continuative -al, but on the other hand there is no evidence that it is absent. The only exception to the general appertainment of these suffixes respectively to the two divisions is that the Kings River group lacks the -al continuative of the other Foot-hill groups and replaces it by the typical Valley form -xo. In addition to these two classes of suffixes corresponding to the two divisions of the family, there is a verbal form -am, or -mi, of a significance not yet determined, which is characteristic of the Northern and probably also the Kings River dialects, but is lacking in the main Valley and the Tule-Kaweah group.

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A means of determining whether any dialect belongs to the Foot-hill or Valley division, with apparently as much certainty and readiness as by the imperative suffix, is furnished by the negative, no. All Valley dialects have the form ohom, all Foot-hill dialects k'amu, except that the Buena Vista group shows $u^{a}hu^{a}$ or $a^{a}ha^{a}$. 197 * 193

COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

In the discussion of Yaudanchi a particular point was made of the apparent scarcity of evidences of composition and derivation in this dialect, although many of its words were of several syllables and of a length and appearance which in other linguistic families would be almost prima facie evidence of their derivative nature. The statement to this effect was written when but few of the dialects of the family were known to the writer. As the subsequent accessions of material have brought the number of dialects represented by considerable vocabularies to more than twenty, and as these have been systematically compared, it might be expected that evidence of the composite structure or derivative nature of many stems had thereby been obtained to a sufficient degree to necessitate a modification of the statement previously made. This is however not the case, for the collation of the various vocabularies not only fails to explain the origin of the Yaudanchi words, but makes it clear that derivative processes are of small significance in the etymology of all the branches of the Yokuts family. Three or four derivative suffixes are indeed visible in the compared vocabularies; but these suffixes are nearly all derivable from an inspection of the Yaudanchi material alone, are of indefinite significance, are applied to a comparatively small number of words, and make the original meaning of the stems to which they are appended, many of which are polysyllabic, no clearer than before. As has been said before, the lexical differentiation of the Yokuts dialects takes place primarily through the employment of radically different stems, and secondarily through minor phonetic modifications which are clearly not of structural or derivational significance. Etymological differences between dialects are so few because derivation is a factor of negligible significance in Yokuts.

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A striking instance of the failure of dialectic comparisons to shed any light on the origin of Yokuts words is furnished by the numerals four and five. These words are undoubtedly derivative, four, hat-pañi or hoto-ponoi, being certainly formed from poñoi or ponoi, two, and yit-einil, five, from yet, one. This being the case, it might be supposed that in so great a number of dialects as have been examined, and these belonging to six distinct groups, there would be a certain number which showed forms for four and five containing the elements two and one in combination with other elements than the dialects previously known, or containing the same elements in a phonetic form that would make them identifiable with stems of known significance. This supposition is however not a fact. The twenty-one dialects show forms for these two numerals that are in their elements absolutely identical and that present variations which are clearly only phonetic, that is to say, in themselves meaningless. It is therefore clear that, while it cannot be doubted that these two words are composite in origin, this original composition yet goes back to an earlier stage of the language; and that in its present stage, as proved by their unity in the most diverse dialectic groups, these composite forms are regarded and treated by the language purely as radical stems. The same fact is emphasized by the words for fourteen and fifteen, which are formed from the abbreviated stems for four and five by the addition of the suffix -am. As stated in the presentation of Yaudanchi, the abbreviation of these two numerals before this decimal suffix runs counter to their etymology, the second element of each being, as it were, deliberately cut in two and the final portion lost before the suffix. Hat-pañi becomes hate-p-am, and yit-einil yit-e-am. These two forms hate-p-am and yit-e-am have been found not only in Yaudanchi but in five other dialects, representing all the principal groups of the family; and their forms in these six dialects are, except for variations in the quality of their vowels, absolutely identical. Here again it is clear that the derivational process has long since become crystallized, and that the derived form is treated by all dialects alike as a radical unit. In other words, while there is some etymological derivation in Yokuts, the process is a completed rather than an active one, and the fluidity of

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elementary parts and the possibility of their free combination so characteristic of many American languages, is entirely wanting. 197*

The following are the principal derivational suffixes apparent in the comparative vocabularies. 193

-ate, -ite, diminutive; Yaudanchi -hate, apparently a plural of adjectives when used substantively. 197*

akd-ate, child in Michahai, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Dumna, from axid, daughter, child. 193 192

got-ete, small in Northern dialects, from got-i, large.

meta-otg, small in Buena Vista, from stem met-, large.

gu-ite, beads in Wükehamni.

-ie, -ue:

Tail: Foot-hill, gut; Valley, gut'-ue.

Liver: dip; Kings River, dalap-ie.

Arrow: t'uy-oe; t'ui, shoot.

Woman: Valley, muk'-èla; Foot-hill, muk'-ee.

Tongue: talxat·; Poso and Buena Vista, talap-ia, alad-ia.

Thigh: k'oh-ie, k'ow-i, gow-i.

Sun, moon: Valley, o'p; Kings and Tule-Kaweah, up-ie, up-ue.

Wood: hit'-ee; hit'-el, ash.

Ash: Tule-Kaweah and Poso, hap-ae.

Sand: Tule-Kaweah and Kings, wak'-ae.

Digger-pine: ton, Tule-Kaweah, toñ-ae.

-il, -ul:

awaie-il, awate-il, chin; some dialects, awae, awadji.

teimee-il, eyebrow; some dialects, d-imit·.

gepe-il, shoulder; some dialects, gapsai.

kuyo-e-il, knee; kuyo, ankle.

cayat-el, foot, in Paleuyami.

haep-el, Choinok; haepay-al, Yauelmani; has-oski, Tachi: lungs.

getañ-il, gatsiñ-il, bow, in Paleuyami and Buena Vista.

humn-ul, quail.

hit'-el, ash; hit'-ee, wood.

-ui, -teui:

Navel: teutkue; Buena Vista, tsotus; Yaudanchi, teudoe-ui.

Knee: upue; Choinimni, poe-ope-ui.

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*197 Kidney: tallluxai; Tachi, tallamg-ui.

193 Hummingbird: bèmamguta, etc.; bèmam-te-ui, dèmam-te-ui; Tachi, ho-ho-te-ui.

192 Butterfly: wal-ap-te-ui, dab-ā-dap-te-ui; wal-wal, butterfly, dap-dap, leaf.

-na:

Snake sp.: delits-delits-na.

Hummingbird: kum-kum-na.

Horned owl; hi-hi-na.

The most conspicuous indications of composition or derivation other than by these suffixes are found in the following words:

Four: hat-pañi, hoto-ponoi; poñoi, ponoi, two.

Five: yit-einil, yit-ienil; yit, yet, one.

Man: Buena Vista, kohote; Tule-Kaweah, kouhte-un; Kings, bute-on.

Woman: Foot-hill, muk'-ee; Valley, muk'-èla

Girl: Northern and Valley dialects, various, gai-na, woman, girl, gai-ta, girl, little girl.

Old man, old woman: mox-elo, mok-djo, mok-nite, mote-ate, mote-odo; Poso, nem-halatei, nem-a, large.

Father: no-pop; Tule-Kaweah, na-tet; no- is possibly originally the possessive pronoun of the first person; cf. mother, no-om, na-joj.

Sweat-house: moe; Poso, muc-añ.

Pipe: baum, etc.; Poso, bam-uñ; other dialects, euk-ut, euk-mai.

Belly: balik, olok', luk'-in.

Sun, moon, day; o'p, op-odo, up-ie, op-di, ob-ol-iu.

Snow: ponpon; some Valley dialects, hayau; Poso and Buena Vista, caway-an.

Large: Tule-Kaweah, met-; Valley, mat-ek, may-ek.

Jackrabbit: Poso, tok-eoc; Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, tuk-uyun; tuk, ear.

Rabbit: tiu, teiu; Poso, yem-tsou.

Flat tule: got-; Poso, gata-wei; Buena Vista, gata-iwi.

Dog: tece-ee; Northern, tee-xa.

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REDUPLICATION.

The failure of extended comparative material to show any considerable processes of derivation by composition or affixation in Yokuts is repeated in the similar failure of this material to throw much light on processes of derivation by reduplication. A considerable number of duplicated and reduplicated words are evident, but in a very great majority of the cases these retain their reduplicated form, often with more or less phonetic modification, through all the dialectic groups. Where such a reduplicated form is not shown by one or more groups, it is usually the stem itself that fails to appear in these groups, not the reduplication of the stem. Dul-ul, mountain, and ine-ie, good, exist in these reduplicated forms in all dialects in which they appear at all.[1] In the dialects in which they are not found, they are replaced by the entirely distinct stems lomit and met-, or similar forms. It is evident that reduplication like composition is no longer an active word-forming process in the language, but that the forms which it has produced are usually treated by the language as simple stems.

Of course the purely grammatical process of reduplication in the numeral and verb to express distribution and iteration, which can be applied at will to any stem of these two parts of speech provided that its significance allows, is of a different character from the etymological reduplication here discussed, and must not be confused with it.

The etymological reduplication found in the Yokuts dialects takes several different forms. First there is simple duplication, usually of monosyllabic stems, as in dapdap, leaf. Second there is a form resembling this, in which the first syllable of a disyllabic or polysyllabic word is repeated, including at times the consonant following as well as preceding the vowel of the duplicated syllable. If the words in which this form of reduplication occurs can be regarded as composite, then the first monosyllabic constituent of the words is entirely repeated, and the process must

[1] At the same time there are found such unreduplicated forms of the same stems as the objective inie-ya and the locative dul-au. Similar forms, such as sil-lu from sil-il and sat-uaduwie from sat-et, are evidence of some tendency especially for final reduplication to disappear before suffixation.

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*197 be considered as a duplication of an entire stem or word-element.
193 If however such words are not composite, then the process is to be regarded as merely a phonetic reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Such forms as pud-pud-ui and yip-yap-ut are examples. Third, there occurs a process that has the appearance of final reduplication. This differs from the two preceding methods in that the reduplicated portion of the word seems never to contain more than one consonant, whether this be initial or final. Thus we have ine-ie and wile-li. Fourth and finally, there are a few words showing duplication or initial reduplication with a shifting of the vowel of the second of the reduplicated syllables to a position between the two duplicating syllables. Thus poe-o-pe-ui, knee, undoubtedly related to a form upue found in other dialects; and dab-ä-dap-teui, butterfly, probably related in origin to dap-dap, leaf. This form of reduplication also occurs, as has been mentioned, in connection with grammatical reduplication in the verb. It is infrequent as an etymological factor. Reduplication of the first two types, or full duplication and initial reduplication, is the most frequent, thirty-five or forty instances having been noted, mostly of the first of these two classes. Final reduplication has been found in about twenty-five words.

Duplication.

*197 Man: nò-no, V, N.
Eye: ea-ea.
193 Heart: hon-hon, hoñ-hoñ.
192 Arrow: g'el-g'el, P.
Earthquake: yel-yal.
Cloud: p'ia-p'ai, BV.
Snow: pon-pon.
Ice: gañ-geñ, P.
Ocean: hòu-ho, N.
Leaf: dap-dap.
Duck sp.: k'ui-k'ui.
Snake sp.: dèlam-dèlam.
delits-delits-na.
Butterfly: lau-lau.
wal-wal.

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Worm: k'ewas-k'ewas, N. 197*
wek-wik, V. 193
Hawk sp.: wate-wate. 192
Mallard duck: wat-wat·.
Duck sp.: con-cen, P.
Duck sp.: ox-ox, BV, ox-ux-um, P.
Road-runner: oi-ui.
Goose: la'-la'.
Bluejay: t-ai-t-ai, etc.
Horned owl: him-him, etc.
Magpie: ote-ote.
Walk: tiu-tiu, P.

Initial Reduplication.

Lips: yip-yap-ut·, yibebit·, yebit·.
Lower leg: pud-pud-ui, bul-bul-ui.
Long beads: tea-tea-yal, BV.
Thunder: mi-mi-at·.
Stand: wo-wu-l.
Turtle: kol-koy-ot.
Bird: we-wu-taoi, V, wi-wi-tai, P.
Horned owl: hi-hi-na, him-him.
Small owl: gu-go-teup.
Hummingbird: kum-kum-na, K, ho-ho-teui, Tachi.
Duck sp.: ox-ux-um, P, ox-ox, BV.

Final Reduplication.

Father: no-p-op, na-t-et.
Mother: na-j-oj.
Throat: so-lo-lo, K, N.
Fingers: xal-al-nit, xal-il-it, K; xapal, V, T, BV.
Foot: dad-at· (?).
Mountain: dul-ul, dul-au; gop-up-at, BV.
Plain: wal-al, V.
Rock: sil-il, N, V, P; odox-ix, BV.
Tule sp.: kol-ol-is, P, koy-us, koy-is, N.
White: djol-ol, teoy-oi.
Good: ine-ie.
Lie: ban-an-.

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*197 **Dog**: tcoe-ee, FH.
Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
193 Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
192 Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: eo-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poe-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ò-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: eap-â-eip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-â-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

*197 For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are re-
194 viewed in the following table.
193

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ò, ü	ò, ü	e, i	ò, ü	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ac	?	-ac	-ac	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wic	-wic	-wic	-wic
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gen	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	men	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	xi	xi	xo	ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ho	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a'ha'	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	ohom	ohom

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Paleuyami

THE VARIOUS DIALECTS.

PALEUYAMI.

Phonetically, Paleuyami is much specialized. Its vowels particularly have been affected, and with an apparent perversity that has an aspect of unconscious deliberateness. Words containing two similar vowels in other dialects, often have one altered in Paleuyami so as to contrast with the other: ilik becomes elik. On the other hand in a smaller number of words diverse vowels are assimilated in Paleuyami, usually to i: te'olipi becomes te'ilipi. Metathesis of vowels is frequent: xeeix becomes xisex. Finally there are simple changes of single vowels. The most frequent of these changes is to e, most often from a or i. The contrary changes, to a and i, are few; o, or i following o, sometimes becomes a, and e followed by a becomes i. Between o and u, change to the former is more frequent, just as e is favored over i. U followed by i becomes o followed by o. 197* 194

Similar vowels differentiated in Paleuyami:

yet-sili	yit-sinil
t-eñik	t-inik, t-äñäk
piete	piie, pöote
elik	ilik
xelul	silil
tibet-	tihit-
t-epid	t-ipdi, teipit
piel	pi'l
teieue	teeeee
t-iel	t-eel, t-öod
hoñheñ	hoñhoñ, honhon

Different vowels assimilated in Paleuyami:

te'ilipi	te'olipi
minits	menit-
wihieit	weheeit, wöhöeit
wiwitsi	wewutsoi
opt-o	apt-u

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Paleuyami

*197
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Metathesis of vowels in Paleuyami:

menue	munae
t·eiu	t·ieu
weteip	witeep
teimicel	teimecil
tilei	teli
xisex	xeeix
eell	leel, ëead
k'ell	k'ilei, k'ëdai
isen	esin, ösän
heliu	hileu
etis	hit'ee, hät'se, hit'le
wexi	wäxe, wixe
dibek	tepik·, töpük

Paleuyami changes to e:

sextel	sitxil
keiu	kaiu
wiwel	wowul
wa'en	wa'n, wan
k'eneu	k'aniu, k'änu
det·i	dot·i
wetek	watak
efit·eu	ant·u, afit·u
ceea	caea
eema	cama
gepeil	gapeai
keyu	kuyu, kuyo
mefial	maual
xowet·	xowot·
djameo	d·amoo
hetpefil	hatpafil, hotoponol

Paleuyami changes to o:

tok	tuk
got	gut, gut'se
xo	ka
taoyotis	teayatae, teoitoe
xoeom	xueim, xueum
opoe	upie, upue
oeot	ueit, ueut, oeit

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i: 197*

hiba	hèpa, hŏpa
hig'a	hèxa
gixa	gèxa, k'ŏxa
yit	yet
k'ami	k'amu

194

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	not, notu
mut·ka	mod·ak
humñol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat·	lopit·
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
xotai	xotoi
gata-wei	got·

Grammatical Forms. 197*

Pronouns: 193

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. men.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xiu, xen, xien; ko, xota, go-awe; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, his). 197*

han-ta, what? 193

wat-entex, who? 192

Verbal forms:

hiem toyon-si, it is (already) night.
na-an ti ma, will you eat?
tsaa na na-an, I will eat.
hel ma tawaea, are you thirsty?
ama na tawaea, I am not thirsty.
heliu ma tanâwi, where are you going?
k'eneu-ji, xai-si.
lolh-in.
wod-oyits, hatam-its, dancer, singer.
ui-ui-wil-eits, road-runner.
ho', wiwel, tiutiu, sit, stand, walk!

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Paleuyami
Tulamni
Khometwoli

*197 Miscellaneous:
193 kumul-tein, all; waxe-tein, many.
192 notci-gen, my friend.
tok-men, your ear.
citeil-hal, deer.

BUENA VISTA GROUP: TULAMNI AND KHOMETWOLI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	mik
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 ex.	nak		
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 ex.			nimak
P 1 in.	mayi		
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Aman, they, is a Valley form. Yaudanchi lacks it.

Demonstratives:

xi, this, plural xi-san; xi-ts, here, xi-ten, there.

xuntu, that, plural xunto-a-an; xuntu, xonto, and xata were also given as equivalents of Yauelmani ke-in, this one's, his.

ta, that.

han-wil, what?

Forms of nouns:

saa, saa-al, eye, probably eyes, in other dialects caca.

suk'-al, "ear," probably ears; in other dialects tuk.

This -al is evidently the occasional Yauelmani plural-collective suffix of inanimate nouns -hal.

Cases: locative, hulas-iu, taidjests-iu, teapan-au; possessive, got-eya-n.

Verbal forms:

lui', eat! (imperative).

luy-on, biy-en.

luy-os, tawate-ac.

haa-l, tana-al, tawate-al, xahayaw-al, oho'-l, gune-al.

na'lac-ite, hiwet-ate.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aitícha

WUKCHAMNI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 x 193 192

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-ñ; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: t-i, t-eu.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-âad, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wue, hoyo-woe; cañ-cañ-wid-eite, kux-wud-eite.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; ma, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:

ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:

nihin-au, dul-au.

Numerals:

yete-am, eleven, poted-om, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:

tah-an, nah-an, xo-on.
tawat-a, dead.
yuwanwaca, marry.
hayu-ac, waxal-ac, tawat-ac.
laha-ite, moccasins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma		min
S 3			imin

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Aitichа
Choinimni
Gashowu

*197 Demonstratives:
193 ke, this, objective ki-n.
192 gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:
hoitcuc, tawat-a-c.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:
nim-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganiu, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:
[80] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:
wan-ac, elk-ac, xahi-ac, ikâ-ac, taut-a-c, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xoot-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Gashowu
Kechayi
Dumna

Demonstratives: 197 *
ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?). 193
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu. 192
ta, that.
han, what?

Numerals:
yeteam, eleven; potedom, cophiom, hatcpam, yit-team, teol-pom, nomteom, munteom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen. [802]

Verbs:
tah-an.
wan-aac, wan-ci; ika-ac, eka-ci; hatam-ic, xahi-ac, holto-ic, tauta-c, xoo-oc, k'anuw-ac, heut-ic, waxal-ic, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ôn-oc (luk'in).
daw'hali-xo.
haya-wic-ac, teaplu-wic.
kam-ini, teic-ini.
xo-mi, wowul-mu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mân		

Demonstratives:
hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
hân, what?

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Dumna
Toltichi

*197 Nouns:

193 ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ła; ut'u, tree, ut'ò-a, timber.
192 These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other dialects that are grammatically known. Nònei, plural of nòno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cuteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak^d-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ete, small, apparently from got-i, large.

[802] Numerals:

yeteam, eleven, potedom, twelve; coplom, hate'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoe-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyue-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

114 A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the
*197 San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect,
193 a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical.
[802] First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

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Toltichi

n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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Toltichi
DUMNA

114
*197 If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

*197 The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative 193 suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of 192 the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nâs	yet
[802] 2	bis	punoi
3	nayo	sòopin
4	âmin	hatepanai
5	hie	yitecinil
6	otol	te'olipl
7	makate	nomte'in
8	te'eltemak	mon'oe
9	wâ'dite	nònip
10	wadl'te	ta'ieu
person	wokotê	yokote
man	wo'wâi	nònai
woman	mok'ôwa	mok'àla
child	k'ow-ite	ak'd-ate
ear	xuk°	tuk
eye	xaxa	sasa
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xama	cama
hand	p'oñox	b'onoe
foot	ta'wau'	dad-ats
back	katauw°	gadai, cotex

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

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Toltichi
Dumna
Chukchansi

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*	
house	chme, xhmx	xhmie	197 *
acorn	k!imin	k'inim	193
berries sp.	waxato	taxâtl	192
sun	xapin (hot)	xapil, op	
fire	ocit, -cuit	ocit	
water	iwix	ilik	
creek	wak!ai	wakai	
earth	xowai	xotsoi	
world	ho'g!l	holki'	
dog	hkxa	tr̄ɛxa	
grizzly bear	wox'o	nohoo	
coyote	x'nin	kaiu	
deer	xow	xoi	
elk	xoxgoi	soxgoi	
eagle	wo'ucul	wi'uuul	
buzzard	x'ots	hots	
rattlesnake	wat-it-	nat-it-	
small fish	wopit-	hopits	
salmon	gkwazit	gkyazit	
eat	xat-ga	xat-ga	
drink	ugun-ga	ugun-ga	
sleep	woxi-ka	woi-ka	
talk	wat-ka	yet-ka	
run	wuxim-ka	lihim-ga	
stand	xwoxwul-ka	wowul-ga	
sit	howox-ka	holoc-ga	
greeting	xawaxan	hawaxa	
where?	xiw'ou	hilou	
where are you going?	xiw'ou ma tan'i(n)	hilou ma tâne	
his	am'in	amin	

CHUKCHANSI.

Pronouns:

S 1	ma	nim	nan-au
S 2	ma	min	
S 3		amin	amam-au
P 1 in.	mai		
P 3		amungun	

The locatives nan-au, by me, and amam-au, at him, were translated "here" and "there." It is not probable that the hypothetical objective of the third person singular, amam, to which amam-au points, has any actual existence. Yauelmani

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Chukchansi
Chauchila

*197 amam-in-wa, them, has the same hypothetical base, and this base does not occur in Yauelmani.

193

192 Demonstratives:

hi, locative he-u.

[ki, not obtained], locative ki-n-eu.

Nouns:

op-in, sun's.

nasi-h, rattlesnake's.

hoyim-h-an, of the Hoyima.

teaueil-h-an, of the Chauchila.

The locative in -u, -au, -iu is frequent.

Verbs:

-ka, imperative: winis-ka, hulos-ka, xat-ka, woi-ka, gun-ka, taic-ka, adj-idj-ka; heu-ne-k, pana-k.

-xon, continuative: yuneun-xon, quakes, honhon-xon, breathes, paix-im-xon, menstruates (honhon, heart, payax, blood).

-an, past: tac-an, panai-an.

-it, passive: tuy-han-it, be shot.

-wic, reflexive: dani-wis-an, dui-wac, puxpux-wac.

-in, intransitive: heu-n-en, thus, heu-ne-k, do thus!

CHAUCHILA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 in.			magin
P 1 in.	mai		main

Demonstratives:

he, this, poss. he-n-in, loc. he-u.

ke, that, loc. k-eu.

wat, who, some one.

hileu, where?

Nouns:

nopop-in father's.

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Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -ê-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels of the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, eilit-ki.
-in: ac-ac-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: dauc-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-e-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, hoyo-wuc, lon-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo naxon dut, Chauchila hileu nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

haulen dut, Chauchila hileu nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

haul ma dut, Chukchansi haual ma du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi heu-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wakichi
Dumna
Wechikhit
Nutunuta

*197 wi-hin, say.
193 wiy-ähin, said; Dumna, wiy-än.
192 ut-upa ma wi-hin, Dumna ma ti-ma wi-hi, did you say it?
hau hin duta, Dumna hawä an dita, what is the matter?

Wakichi, Pitkat-i, and Hoyima were said to use buuc, not teèxa, for dog. This would include them with Chauchila, Chulamni, and probably Heuchi in the valley half of the Northern group, as contrasting with Chuckchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna of the foot-hill half of the same group.

Pronouns:

WECHIKHIT.

S 1	na	nim
S 2	ma	min
S 3		amin
D 1 ex.		numògin
D 1 in.	mak	
P 1 in.	mai	
P 2	mān	

Demonstratives:

hehi, this, hetam, here; ga, that, gau, there; wat-oku, han-uku, hiye-uku or hiye-uk, who? what? where?

Nouns:

p'an-in, world's.

Verbs:

holuc-k, sit! wan-ka, give!
taut-a-xo, kill; teow^{a}-xo, work.
tān, go.
-in suffix: xat-en, lihim-en, hatm-en, wipil-en, texal-en, sil-en, ugn-on, woy-on, wow'l-on.
-wie reflexive: tanyu-wis, hoyo-woc, dat-la-wac.

NUTUNUTU.

Pronouns: na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.

Demonstratives: hehe-n, apparently possessive; hèham, here; gau, there.

Verbs: xat-k, ugun-k, cil-k; wooi-an, huita-in, taow-on.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim	197 *
S 2	ma	mam	min	193
S 3			amin	192
D 1 in.	mak		makin	
P 1 in.	mai			

Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, poss. ke-in, loc. ke-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

		[802]
11 yètc-am	16 tcolp-om	
12 batad-om	17 nomtc-om	
13 copi-om	18 munc-am	
14 hotep-om	19 coponhot-min	
15 yitc-am		

Nouns:

tatci, pl. tatcètcayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxòxayi.
tcunut, pl. tcunòtati.
(wimiltci), pl. wimèlatci.
(wetcixit), pl. witcèxatci.
(wowol), pl. wowòwoli.
(nutunutu), pl. nutant-ic-a.
witcp, child, pl. witip-atc, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -e-xo.
Preterite: -ahin.
Future-present: -in.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Nutunutu
Chunut

*197 Agent: -ite.
193 (Future passive): -nite, -nit.
192 Reflexive: -wic.
Causative: -la.
Future particle: min.
Negative particle: ohom, ôm.

Tachi phrases:

hè-in pûuc	his dog.
pune-un dadat.	dog's foot.
min mai oy-in âwo	shall we move across, we shall move to the other side.
hilata ôm na min hot'-è-zo hoyowoc	(!) not I your know name.
hiek ma zo hètei	where you live now?
kè-u nh zo tozil	there (this-at) I-live west.
ôm na mam eil-ahin hiâmi	not I you saw long.
hiek ma ta	where you go?
kè-u na tan nim tee-u	there I go my house-at.
hik min tei	where your house?
kè-u na zè-n nihet-in nim tee-u	there I live older-brother's my house-at.
ôm nim t-a witip-hai nèec	not my (!) children younger-brother's.
e-oyèl-in pil	antelope's road, milky way.
yokote	person.
yokteo-lis	somebody.
nètco-in, mokela-n	man's, woman's.
zoelma-n	of the northerners.
tèe-ite	a kind of medicine man (maker).
zohot-ite	ceremonial clown.
yèt-au	all (one-at).
dat-la-wac	rattlesnake ceremony (making-step, = dai-da-âite).
munai	jimson-weed (tanai).
munuy-uwuc	jimson-weed-drinking-ceremony (tany-uwis).

CHUNUT.

Pronouns: na, I, ma, thou, mak, we two.

Demonstratives: hetam, here, apparently from stem hi; ki, this, ke-u, there; ga, that; wat-uk, who; han-uk, what, hiye-uk, where.

Nouns: toino-in op, night's luminary, moon.

Verbs: The imperative ending was usually heard as -ga. The continuative -zo appears in oho-zo na I like; -an in tah-an; -wic in hoyo-woc; -ite in tsalai-wiy-èita.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LASI.

197*
193
192

Pronouns found are na, mạ, mak, nim, min, amin.
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, his.
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyòku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
xat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-èite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

539
197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

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[115]
[115]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yaudanchi

539
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192

1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxäle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yöuyahè
wlähè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yöuyahè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wlähè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükchamni.

wita	t'öpük	yo	nahaate
said	beaver	and	other

wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me

ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
then	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	golonkil	t·ööd
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake

am-nan	piteiu[1]
not me	touch

a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do

dok'on	teixae
belly-full	(lie)

doxmadhin	t·ööd
(rock-pile)	rattlesnake

am-nan	pitciu
not me	touch

wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said	not you	anything	can-do

tiñelhan	ma	t·ööd
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake

[1] Handle, catch, take, stop.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yaudanchi

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533
192

dok'on belly-full	teixac-ma (lie) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do?
yapkanhin many-trees	t·ōōd rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixac (lie)	
a-ma not you	haa anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·ōōd rattlesnake	
te'ododin white	ma you	enea eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. 193
Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative 539
from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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539 6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

533 wèhè yōhō
192 weho yoho

na kiiteau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagawiw
(invisible)

widāta not'
east

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ēwe
who brave!

yèha
yeha

xomòt-i māy-a tān-iyo
south we go

yèha
yeha

pinèt'iux na teay-e
ask I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kè na
(come!) (come!) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipui
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nāyu
nayu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
weho yoho

nan-a ge ma ha wiihin
me you (do not mind)

ùkak tean-a witcèpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ōka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not 539
witeep but witep. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of tc for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that 533
his father said to him: 539
756
142

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge weho

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament weho

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (pursues)

pĭwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (pursues)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form bĭwacä and Tulamni blawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'ai dupit·
whose this shoot fish!

wi xi min ta wateam shādlad
well, this your that feather-hand-ornament is-panting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònon
(noise of scratching)

teuyuak ma ha tala taaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (raise).

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

533 539 192 14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

yileyalè
earthquake

silika nim teieau
see my emergence-at

walāliu teoxil-a māyu
at-open-place eagle

15. *Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed* that she learned it from a coyote.

mam wiliteyau muyukun
you (in-front-of) white

yèhā
yeha

uyayet ke teèkèya māyin p'aanin
(mourn-for) that string our world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na kaiu
I coyote

naan kaiu
we coyotes

anm p'an widji taeki
then earth told those

ama p'an widji
then earth told

a-ma-nan-hi k'uyak'tad
not you me will scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiu-na yawud
coyote I (do-thus)

ama na t-ipinit lòlènae
then I from-above (twirled)

kaiu-na yaud
coyote-I (do-thus)

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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192

18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu wita
coyote said

hanham-na kaiiu-na
what-am I? coyote I

wi idkau-nn na
well, water-in I

hanham-na
what-am I?

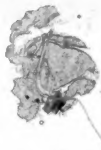
kaiiu-na
coyote I

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu nan t'ui cik'an-nim
here me shoot side-in my

kaiyuwin mam ta t'uyoe
coyote's you that arrow



20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a nan
who me

t'uyon
shoots!

t·ipinit
from-above

t'uyon
shoots!

yèiteai
nose

t'uyon
shoots!

wèhèn
when

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyin naan
return we

nòtu naan xuyin
east we return

tahiteipau
to-Tehachapi

p'annin
land's

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 22. Mountain-sheep song.

539 ' hiyeu-na ukunumū

192 or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dòmto ukun
far I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

limini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run us-two

hiam-ā na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunan nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait· hāhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dahaad-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yokoi dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-na	taxin	
again	do you	come!	
wa	ha	mai	kitowin
far	something	we	will-go
wa	na	kitiu	
far	I	go	
todomit	na	idkin	
do-not-find	I	water's	

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)
hãini	hamãna	
(fly	what-we!)	
mõxumxai		
(Pleiades)		

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan	
return	to-me! (we!)	
xoiyu	nan	
return	ibid	
ama	nim	hũwut·
then	my	gambling
t·awe	nan	
beat	me	
dokoi-nim		
game my		

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
naamtayo	
lanlyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t-awat-e	beat

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 30. Another.

539 yahī lulumai
192 yahīmai lulūmai
sawawa kanama
tanlyo
yapīwipiwimai
tawana tainiyo
hilalīkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tä	you
hayäwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
waatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsīmi	cold
hòsīwimīne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanä-na-ma	hear
hòsīmi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a
788 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
796 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitsariut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

silkawil	nan
[illegible]	[illegible]
silka-nan	töweiut
[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] (--maker)
silka-nan	bamäeiut
[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
silka-nan	yoxäxalt
[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] (--crusher?)
silka-nan	etcèpat
[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]

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192
539

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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192
539

silka-nan pitsariut
see me name

silka-nan tsukit
see me name

silka-nan ukat
see me name (looker)

yèt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·au t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

maiayin lomto
with-the-large mountain

maiayiu silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

maiayiu witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·au polut-nim
together body my

ucuk-nim
heart my

yèt·au-ma-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·è·pani
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

dank
day

yò-ma
and you

tolno
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nan-silèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·au ki
together this

p'nan
world

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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782 **34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.**
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 **35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he**
539 **motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third**
192 **phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.**
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tönsyutin	
drink	this	water	for-Töushlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Bamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

782 **36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it.**
192
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 **37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.**
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave	me	with-a-little	sun
anè	nan	yèt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heneit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts. 775 192 539

miin	ma	ôyin	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
ohom	ma	heha	xoyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shoshonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an 197*

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

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*197 accompaniment or means of grammatical expression, the predominance of polysyllabic stems, and the slight development of derivation by affixion and composition. It seems that these three features are all more or less related. Most of the other languages of the group of which it forms part show no vocalic mutation other than perhaps an occasional harmonizing of vowels. Esselen and Costanoan are probably,[1] and Yuki and Pomo certainly, free from any developed vocalic mutation. The last two languages are characterized by great distinctness of stems, which are in large measure monosyllabic. This distinctness is not so apparent to the ear as it becomes visible on analysis. Most Yuki and Pomo words are actually composed of several stems, either independent or affixes, which scarcely affect each other's phonetic shape by being brought in contact, other than perhaps for insertions of euphonic vowels. In consequence, the words of three or four syllables in Yuki and Pomo almost always differ from those of equal length in Yokuts in being built up of a number of constituent parts, but on account of the comparative phonetic immutability of the parts the structure of the words remains transparent. Maidu shows vocalic harmony to a considerable extent and it will be interesting to know whether the scope and forms of this are similar to those of Yokuts harmony, especially as there seems to have been some borrowing of words between the two languages, indicating the possibility that they may at some time have been in closer contact. Maidu, however, appears to resemble Yuki and Pomo in that its words possess a transparent though sometimes elaborate structure. Wintun is too little known to allow anything definite to be said about it in this regard, but it seems that its structure, like that of Esselen and Costanoan, is simple, or if complex, clear, and that vocalic mutation is not developed. In its grammatical cases Yokuts resembles the other families of the Central group except in that it possesses only one local case that is specific, the ablative, whereas in the other languages a large number of specialized locative cases are usually found. A considerable diversity exists among the languages of the Central Californian group in regard to the expression respectively by characterizing affixes, or by descriptive phrases, of ideas

[1] Pp. 49, 69 of this volume.

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of shape, motion, direction, or instrument. The former method is found in a number of languages outside of California. Within the state it is known to occur in Washo, Maidu, and Pomo; and, on account of its intermediate geographical relation, it is not unreasonable to look for this feature also in Wintun. On the other hand some languages of the Central group do not show such affixes. This is certain of Yokuts and Yuki, and probable of others. The extent of the development of the plural in Yokuts is very similar to that occurring in certain other families in the Central Californian group, such as Yuki. Some families, such as Pomo, show practically no plural, and others, like Miwok, a considerably more extensive one than Yokuts. The importance of reduplication is also about the same in Yokuts and in the other families of its type. The same may be said of such features as the absence of articles and the frequency but grammatical indefiniteness and unimportance of demonstratives. The resemblances between distinct families belonging to one morphological type can of course be only general. With this in view, it is clear that Yokuts forms part of the Central Californian group of languages, its most marked peculiarity within this group being its correlated features of vocalic harmony, polysyllabic stems, and lack of structural composition.

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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the |2| social organization of the Indians of South Central California. 616 The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties |7| exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County 616 in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited |0| are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts |2| stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

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101 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the
121 San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 The principal facts concerning social organization among the
171 tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception
551 of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi,
171 Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker. [7] [6]

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses. [6] [7] [E11]

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci. [7]

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. [7] [6]

In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name. [7] [5] [6]

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver. 171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 632 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 189, 1912.

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the survey. Another equally important matter, to be clearly established, is the interrelations within the South Central California area itself. Although it is still too early to make a positive statement, yet it seems that the Miwok organization, judging from its simpler character, as compared with the Tachi, lies on the periphery of the moiety area, not only geographically but also in point of complexity. A consideration of the North Fork Mono complex conveys a similar impression. The absence of exogamy and the presence of a kinship system totally unlike that of the other groups having a dual organization seem to warrant the conclusion that the ceremonial features of the Yokuts and Miwok moieties have been borrowed, while the two social features, exogamy and kinship system, have not. It is therefore not unlikely that, in South Central California, the dichotomous social organization was primarily a valley institution, which spread to the mountains.

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Miscellanea

PAUL RIVET

OCTOGENARIO DICATA

I

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A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

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132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

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[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations [127] made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

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animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records [161]
the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
[501] lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
826 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east. [439]

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large 136
archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake 172
to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea [321]
shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done 439
some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from [436]
salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people 105
who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a [262]
relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the 105
lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts 184
to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

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the Yokuts to develop very similar social systems within two different environments. In subsequent papers we hope to show that alternative systematizations are also possible for groups with the same basic ecological adaptations. 182 221

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ESSAYS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Presented to

A. L. KROEBER

IN CELEBRATION OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

JUNE 11, 1936

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ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge. 114 797

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested. 114

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated. [574] [648]

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 23–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

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114 trifle. To it is added a section entitled "Notes" which contains only a few supplementary remarks of interest. The lieutenant summarizes his observations on the nature and fertility of the land, advises that the proselytizing of the [747] Indians be carried on in their homeland to obviate the nostalgia which caused the converts to abandon their new life at the strange coast missions, and suggests the region of Kings River outlet as a suitable location for establishing a mission and garrison. Pertinent items from these notes have been interpolated in the text given below.[5]

The translation is reasonably accurate: common sense rather than pedantry has guided the choice of renditions. Dubious words or passages are given in brackets, as are other remarks inserted by the present writer. At a few points the meanings are considerably obscured by the cryptic style of the original.

The *legua* of Estudillo's day was about equivalent to two and two-thirds (2.67) miles. The *paso doble* with which he measured the Chischa village was probably the *paso* of five feet, as this fits fairly well with his calculations as transposed into *varas*, the three-foot yard. The word *tular*, meaning a swamp or lagoon filled with tules, has been retained because of its peculiar aptness. A *roblar* is an oak-covered district. The inconsistencies in the spelling of native names are in the original.

The Diary

000 A diary which I, Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo, Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, made on the campaign by order of the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola, undertaken for the reconnaissance and inspection of the rancherías situated in the tulares of the plains of the Sierra Nevada, from that day to today.

Sunday, October 17, 1819.—After having heard mass I left the Presidio referred to at 10:45 in the morning, and at 1:30 in the afternoon arrived at the Rancho de Real Hacienda. After separating 183 horses I departed. I slept at the mouth of the arroyos where I arrived at 7 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from Monterey 8 leagues].

Monday, 18.—At 5 A.M. I left the said location for Mission Soledad where I arrived at 11, and at 2 P.M., in the company of the Indians Antonio and Victor, Tulareños [Yokuts], I left, to sleep at the place Los Ositos, which I reached at 6 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from starting point 11 leagues].

From this point I dispatched a corporal to San Antonio Mission for 11 Indians, and for 30 blankets to cover the soldiers of the party, and with orders to rejoin me at Mission San Miguel on the 20th.

Tuesday, 19.—At 5:30 A.M. left Los Ositos, and arrived to sleep at the hole [*poza*] of the cañon of San Miguel at 5:30 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant 10½ leagues]. At 9 P.M. the corporal Manuel Butron with the soldier who had accompanied him, rejoined me.

[5] Another copy, but partially done and in another handwriting, of the November 19 manuscript also exists. All three copies are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, where Professor H. I. Priestley courteously facilitated my use of them.

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Wednesday, 20.—Left the hole at daybreak and reached Mission San Miguel at 10 A.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from the puza 7 leagues]. At 1 P.M. Corporal Sebastian Rodriquez arrived, who brought from Mission San Antonio the 30 blankets, and 25 pairs of shoes which were divided among the sergeant, 3 corporals, and 28 soldiers who composed the troop. 000

Reviewed the soldiers at arms, the munitions, and mounts, and in the afternoon rationed biscuits, dried meat, and pinole for 30 days.

Thursday, 21.—After having celebrated mass for a "Godsperd," which we all heard [by] the R. P. Fr. Juan Martin, titular minister of the Mission San Miguel the Archangel, I left with the troop and 30 Indians from this mission, and 11 from San Antonio, as aids. I took the route to the east, and arrived to sleep at a place called Agua Dulce, at a distance of 7½ leagues to the east.

Friday, 22.—At 5:30 A.M. started toward the east; at 8 went due east, and at 4 P.M. reached the place called Los Alisos Ultimos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Ultimos Alamos], distant from Agua Dulce 15 leagues. The land is in hillocks, without pasture for the herd of horses, and the water a bit salty.

Saturday, 23.—The assisting Indians sent me notice that the two sloughs that there are before reaching the Rancheria of Bubal [Wowol] would be found full of water and very miry. Because of this I sent the sergeant with two soldiers and Indians on foot to investigate them, and to look for a ford, and [if] they found none to construct balsas without being noticed by the natives. I ordered one of them to return and give us information, in order for the troop to go on. [133]

Reviewed arms and munitions, and finding the swords of the soldiers Juan Martinez, Salvador Espinosa, and Santos Escamillo a bit hacked, and the reserve cartridges of Juan Amezquita in bad condition, I immediately admonished them to put them to good use, and to put them in condition.

At 4 P.M. I received information from the sergeant: that failing to find a crossing they were making balsas. After breaking camp and journeying 4 leagues to the east, I arrived at the summit of the last hill before entering the great plain of the tulares. The view from south to north is beautiful, for its end can not be seen, with its lakes, swamps, and groves of trees. And from east to west, I calculate its width, from this hill to the foot of the snowy range of mountains called Sierra Nevada, to be 28 to 30 leagues. We continued traveling eastward until 10 at night, when we reached the first slough. /133

This was crossed on balsas, the horses swimming, and with considerable trouble because of its stickiness and obstructions. Since it would be necessary to cross another like it in the vicinity of the Rancheria of Bubal, I dispatched four confidants ahead to sound out the situation, and to obtain some balsas which they told me the natives had. Continued traveling toward it. [Copy of Nov. 19: Followed it to the east and north until 1 A.M.] 000

Sunday, 24.—At 1 A.M. one of those spies I had sent to reconnoiter returned with the news that no balsas had been found, and that the natives had broken camp and withdrawn. I reached the slough at 3 A.M. to find it full as I had been told. Balsas were constructed and the troop passed. I noted the location

where the natives had their huts, distant from the last site, Los Alisos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Alamos], 12 leagues. Indications showed that the inhabitants had already been elsewhere many days. I ordered the company to halt, to allow the herd of horses to eat from what little the sides of the slough and swamps offered.

Knowing that the unconverted Indian named Gabriel who belongs to this Rancheria of Bubal had always been much attached to the soldiers, and with his companions had always gone out anywhere to help them, it struck me as novel that he had absented himself with his people. He [evidently?] had decided to let some other do it, and fled from our encounter. I remained considering what I ought to do in compliance with the wishes of the Superior Governor.

At 11 that day I observed with the spyglass two Indians some distance off: I sent two soldiers to overtake them, and they brought them to me in camp. After having disposed of the fear they showed, I examined them with kindliness. They declared that several Indians from Bubal (their companions) had been at the fiesta of San Miguel at the end of September, and they returned, telling that the great captain of the soldiers (thus they referred to the Superior Governor) was this time sending troops to catch and take away in bonds all the escaped Christians and unconverted [gentiles], and would kill them if they did not like it. [These natives said] that they would offer the Christians [for return], but that they would not expose those unconverted. Because of their fears some of the Christians had retreated into the interior of the lakes and swamps, and after receiving news of our coming, the rest of them had disbanded.

[They said] that at the Rancheria of Tache there arrived on the 21st three Christians from Soledad, sent with the news that we were already on the road to fall upon them, to recapture the Christians and punish the unconverted. For this reason the captain [copy of Nov. 19: *tiya*, chief] wished to catch the renegades that they had in the Rancheria and send them off. But this had been opposed and [on] their relatives the [rest of the] natives could not prevail. [They said] that they did not know where all the Indians were to be found if we awaited them, or moved to other parts.

They, with some few others, had camped together in a creek bed about 5 leagues away, where there was a little water, which could be reached on foot. After having news of our close approach, they maintained vigils, and last *night they saw us as we crossed the sloughs. And finally [they said] that having* been advised of our departure by the three comers from Soledad, our route on the plain was already known to everyone.

The information of finding this part of the Rancheria of Bubal at so short a distance, although in a swampy site, obliged me to surprise it, guided by these natives, and I resolved to leave for it at night.

Monday, 25.—At 2 A.M. took a route south, following the two gentile Indians, and at a distance of 5 leagues among tulares and swamps, I arrived at the side of a lake. I found the site where I had been told I would find those

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whom I sought, but it was already deserted. We followed the tracks some 2 leagues, with the lower halves of our bodies naked, and the troop carrying rifles and shields, until we encountered them. They obtained 45 persons of both sexes and all ages. Some others who perceived us had fled, and could not be followed because of so much water, mud, and tules. 648 797

At 11 of the day I reached camp and the spot where [these people] were accustomed to live. On examination they told me that they had retreated because the two whom I had detained had not returned, and they were much afraid. All was like the recital that the two natives had made me before. [They said] that the Indian Gabriel had left for the Ranchería of Buenavista, invited to a fiesta being made by the natives. This Indian Gabriel, although unconverted, has always shown great friendliness toward the soldiers, accompanying them on previous expeditions. Although he is not a captain of the Ranchería of Bubal he is forceful, and is respected for his valor by the great numbers of people who inhabit the valleys and lakes of the tulares. Nevertheless, these natives informed me that he had much fear because of the ill treatment resulting from the expedition made three years ago [copy of Nov. 19: two years] from Mission San Luis [copy of Nov. 19: with the Luiseño Indians]. To put aside this fear I ordered Gabriel to be advised of my coming, and that I would wait for him until the 30th in the neighborhood of the Ranchería of Tontache [Chunut]. Also that he should bring with him such Christians as they had among them, and I would give them a paper of pardon for their return to the missions.

Among the 45 Indians taken was the Indian woman, Liberata, who, because of sickness, had had permission to return home to cure herself. She will return to San Miguel with the others that come. Thereafter they continued with me. This is the village of natives nearest to the missions and with greatest frequence has "made" Christians at San Miguel. Therefore I treated them with the greatest kindness, as I had been charged by the Superior, to the end of disposing of the fears which they had as a result of the influence of the runaway Christians. I told them to return to live at their sites, to go out to the lake where they [the others] were and advise them all to reunite [and live] as before. I sent them off at 2 P.M., but they told me that they would like to remain and not go out until morning to bring in their possessions all at one time. They asked my permission to send notice to Gabriel at once, and to the scattered Indians, to which I acceded with great pleasure, and 5 Indians went out in all directions.

At 3 P.M. the old captain of Bubal, Chape, and his wife arrived. He told me that while he was fishing in the lake the renegade [copy of Nov. 19: from San Miguel] Anastasio came, and he gave him the news of my arrival, and that he was freed from being captured for having run off into the water and hiding in the swamp. [He said] that, having returned to their homes, the old people who remained told him of the good treatment they had been given, and as he already knew me from having been at the Presidio, he [now] came to see me by virtue of the order which permitted them to come to me. He pre-

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648 797 [223] [133] 133

[illegible] ented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Buhal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agupa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agupa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

[62] [162]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuekal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

648 797 [162 62]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choijnocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

[36] 162

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[361
162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his rancheria, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 263 [197] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Rancheria of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

648 797 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me 574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to [162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this [361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 [342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented [162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle- [252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them 797 no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jonaps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jonaps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*componc*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer- 769 [302] [262]

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769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[36] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps.

648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Rancheria of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp.

[361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Rancheria of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the rancheria they should censure them and make them do the same.

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648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspe had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilazas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [481] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco* [147] *Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

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Immediately the troöp knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told. 648

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one. [501]

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies). [361 262]

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No- [622]

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; *cf.* W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

[797] tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov.
[648] 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of
[622] Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great
[201] captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the
[162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept
[133] [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

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on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people. 648 797

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain. [133]

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under†] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there. [143]

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

000 river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Rancheria of Chanechos, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tulares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recrossed?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Rancheria Canoche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various
[361] sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

136 In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?, *mojarras*], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [*abujeros*] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

000 I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the
[487] Chinecheo and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Chenecheo [copy of Nov. 19: Chanechos] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherías to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said rancheria, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

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the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancheria. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche rancheria] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *zarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the rancheria, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *doblados sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancheria of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutunys, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

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648 797 tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

[622 888]

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of

000 *Thursday, 11.*—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaijs. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

797 *Saturday, 13.*—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

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Tuesday, 16.—Left said Rancho at 9 A.M. Having put the cavalry in camp, I left for the Presidio of Monterey where I arrived at 12:30 of the day. I reported with the present diary to the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola.

Monterey, 16th of November, 1819

JOSÉ M. ESTUDILLO

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

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[P. i]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

BY

S. F. COOK

[Title Page]

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THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA

BY

S. F. COOK

INTRODUCTION

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
138 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[101] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[102] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
#161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

[P.31C]

175 affected in a uniform manner throughout and a sufficiently
*161 clear line can be drawn between aboriginal and postcontact conditions. In the central valley the white influence was very gradual, beginning at or near the year 1770 with the entrance of the Spanish missionaries along the coast and the infiltration of a very few foreigners into the valley. The volume of invasion increased slowly over the next three decades, but the effect was intensified by the escape of numerous mission neophytes into the valley. The years after 1800 saw repeated incursions by the coastal whites who overran the floor of the valley from the Sacramento River to Buena Vista Lake. Meanwhile the foothill and mountain tribes were permitted to remain fairly intact. With discovery of gold, however, these groups lost their immunity and were rapidly destroyed. Therefore, even though we oversimplify, we may say that the aboriginal population persisted in the valley proper up to 1770, in the lower foothills up to roughly 1810, and in the higher foothills and more remote canyons of the Sierra Nevada up to 1850.

127 Our sources of information cover only the period
114 during which the demographic status of the natives was undergoing change. No written record exists that describes conditions as they might have been found prior to 1770. The only possible substitute would be an examination of the habitation sites left from prehistoric times, but archaeological research in the area has not yet progressed to the point where an adequate quantitative estimate of population is available. There are three primary bodies of data to which we have access, all falling within the historical period between 1770 and 1850.

The first of these derives from the serious effort on the part of the Americans, who between 1848 and 1852 were entering the region in large numbers, to determine the quantity of natives surviving in the central valley. This task was performed by such men as Sutter, Bidwell, and Savage, together with several Indian commissioners, and army officers sent out by the government. To their reports may be added the statements contained in the local county histories published in the era of 1880 to 1890, as well as in many pioneer reminiscences.

A second major source of information consists of the ethnographic studies made within the past fifty years, among which should be mentioned the works of Kroeber, Merriam, Schenck, Gayton, and Gifford. These investigators depended principally upon informants who were elderly people in the decades from 1900 to 1940. Their memories, together with their recollection of what had been told them by their parents, carry back, on the average, to the period of the American invasion or just before it. Hence their knowledge of truly aboriginal population would be valid for the hill tribes only; yet data

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.32A]

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114

derived from them for that region is probably more accurate than can be obtained from the general estimates made by contemporary white men. These two types of information, contemporary American accounts and modern ethnographic material, can thus be used to supplement and check each other for the era of 1850.

For conditions in the valley before 1840 we have to depend almost exclusively upon the historical records left by the Spanish and Mexicans. These consist of a series of diaries, reports, and letters, by both laymen and ecclesiastics, together with baptism lists and censuses from the coastal missions. This array of documents is to be found in the manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

It will be clear from these considerations that the

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.32B]

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population of the San Joaquin Valley can be determined with some degree of accuracy at two stages in the history of the region. The later period is at the point of intense occupancy by the Americans, at or near the year 1850, for here may be brought to a focus the data from both contemporary counts and the research of modern ethnographers. The earlier is for the epoch just preceding the entrance of the Spanish into California, or just before 1770. To assess the population at this period it is necessary to bring to bear information from all sources, American and Spanish, and to utilize all indirect methods of computation which may be appropriate. As a matter of historical interest, as well as to provide a background for the estimate of aboriginal population, the state of the natives in the period of the Gold Rush will be first examined.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Tokens NS29
[P. 33 A]

THE POPULATION OF THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY IN APPROXIMATELY 1850

CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES AND COUNTS FOR THE ENTIRE REGION

12: Cook 8-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 33B]

*161 General estimates for the population of the San Joaquin Valley during the period 1848 to 1855 were made by several individuals. James D. Savage, one of the earliest settlers in the Fresno region, stated in 1851 that the population from the Tuolumne River to the Kern River was from 50,000 to 55,000. Elsewhere he modified these figures considerably (Dixon, MS, 1875) and reported the total from the Cosumnes to the Kern as 18,100, of which 14,000 were from south of the Stanislaus River. James H. Carson, another pioneer, said in 1852 that "the Indians of the Tulare Valley number nearly 6,000. About half this number inhabit the mountains. . . . The other portion inhabit the plains along the rivers and lakes."

In 1852 the Indian commissioner, O. M. Wozencraft, estimated for the area lying between the Yuba and the Mokelumne rivers a total of 40,000 inhabitants. He quotes old residents as saying that four years previously (i.e., in 1848) the population for the same area had been 80,000. At about the same time another agent, Adam Johnston (1853), estimated all the Sierra and valley tribes as being 80,000 strong (including both Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys). In general magnitude these figures correspond to those given by Sutter for the region bounded by the Yuba, the Stanislaus, the Sacramento, the San Joaquin, and the line of the foothills: 21,873 (Sutter, 1850). Sutter's value definitely represents conditions prior to 1847. Meanwhile H. W. Wessels reported in 1853 that from the Stanislaus south there were 7,500 to 8,000 persons. In the same year G. W. Barbour, another commissioner, referred to the reservation Indians as "seven or eight thousand hungry souls." In 1856, agent T. J. Henly put the aggregate population of the Fresno and Kings River reservations plus Tulare, Mariposa, Tuolumne, Calaveras, and San Joaquin counties as 5,150 (Henley, 1857).

It is evident that the foregoing data represent two distinctly different types of estimate: broad generalization based largely upon subjective impression and applying to the years preceding 1847, and more narrow semi-estimate derived during the years subsequent to 1849 from some attempt to make an actual count. The figures obtained from the first method are certainly too high, particularly for the period centering around 1850. On the other hand, it may be possible that the other method yielded figures which were too low.

*161 127 Some check on the reliability of the estimates supplied by the various commissioners and agents may be obtained from two sources, neither of which constituted a direct attempt to assess population. These comprise reports submitted concerning (1) vaccinations and (2) distribution of blankets.

During the summer of 1851 Dr. W. M. Ryer was employed to vaccinate those Indians in the San Joaquin Valley who could be persuaded to undergo the operation. Each month Dr. Ryer submitted a voucher specifying the number of Indians vaccinated during the preceding thirty days and also mentioning the tribes and areas covered.

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.33C]

*161 These vouchers are included with other documents in Senate Executive Document No. 61, 32nd Congress, 127 first session, 1852 (pp. 20 to 23). Some question might be raised concerning the accuracy of the figures, but there is no indication in the correspondence of the period of irregularity or dishonesty. Dr. Ryer claimed that he had vaccinated, from the Stanislaus to the south shore of Lake Tulare, 6,154 persons.

6A8 A somewhat smaller area was covered by four of the eighteen treaties concluded by commissioners McKee, *161 Barbour, and Wozencraft[1] with the California tribes in 127 1851. These four treaties may be designated A, B, C, and N, following the order in which they are presented in the Senate Report. Under the agreements, one of the commodities which were to be furnished to the Indians by the government was blankets. The tribes included under treaties A, B, and C were to receive a total of 3,000. In treaty N (as also in several other treaties not concerned with this area) it was stated that the Indians were to receive one blanket apiece for every person over fifteen years of age, and presumably this ratio was employed universally in the issue of blankets. Under the conditions existing at that time it may safely be assumed that the persons over fifteen years of age constituted at least 80 per cent of the total population. Therefore the three treaties first mentioned (A, B, and C) must have covered 3,750 individuals. Regarding the group embraced by treaty N it is explicitly stated that "they may number . . . some 2,000 to 3,000." If we take the mean, or 2,500, then the total for the area is 6,250.

The area included under the four treaties extended actually only from the Chowchilla River to the south shore of Lake Tulare and the Kern River, whereas the territory covered by Ryer during his vaccination tour began with the Stanislaus. Within the treaty limits he vaccinated 4,449 persons. The discrepancy between his total and that of the treaties poses no difficulty since it is apparent that, as would be expected with any primitive group, fewer individuals consented to be vaccinated than made known their desire to receive gifts of blankets. Hence the figure derived from potential blanket distribution is probably closer to the actuality than the vaccination figure. If, accordingly, we correct Ryer's report of 1,705 persons vaccinated north of the Chowchilla River to conform to the ratio found south of that stream, we get 2,398. If we add this to 6,250 the total is 8,648 for the entire strip from the Stanislaus to the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.

*161 In summarizing general estimates and counts we may discard the very high values submitted by Wozencraft, Johnston, and Sutter on the grounds that they were either mere guesses or applied to an earlier period than that

[1] These treaties seem to have been concluded without proper authorization from the Federal government and were never ratified by the Senate. They were incorporated in Senate Confidential Documents, June, 1852, and remained unpublished for half a century. Finally they were ordered printed in 1905 as a Senate Reprint and are now available under the title of "18 California Treaties."

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*161 which we are considering. There are left the following figures, which seem essentially valid.

Ryer and the treaties (1851)	8,648
Wessels (1853)	7,500-8,000
Barbour (1853)	7,500-8,000
Henley (1856)	5,150

[continued at top of p. 34B]

ANALYSIS BASED UPON
RESTRICTED AREAS

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*161 Further examination and correction are now in order.
11A It will be noted that the estimates above do not include the area traversed by the Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and Calaveras rivers. Moreover, the federal agents confined their calculations to those natives who voluntarily or otherwise were incorporated in the local reservation system. That many Indians were overlooked, not only in the more remote foothills, but also in the valley itself cannot be doubted. In order to assess the population in greater detail as well as to introduce new sources of information it will be advantageous to break up the entire region into smaller units and consider these units one by one.

STANISLAUS AND TUOLUMNE RIVERS

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161 We may begin with the watersheds of the Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers, since for this area reasonably complete information is available (see maps 1, 5, and 6, areas 7 and 9.) On May 31, 1851, the Daily Alta California reported the treaty made with tribes of this region and stated that they were 1,000 strong. This treaty (treaty E in the California Treaties) covered the courses of the two streams as far as their junction with the San Joaquin, on the one hand, and an indeterminate distance into the hills, on the other. Ryer vaccinated in the area during June of the same year and submitted a bill for 1,010 operations. He specifies 6 bands, rancherias, or tribes which were predominantly Siakumne and Taulamni, a fact which implies that he confined his attention principally to the inhabitants of the valley and the lower foothills. In the preceding discussion it was pointed out that Ryer's figures are probably too low and that a correction should be introduced. If the same ratio is used as before, the value becomes 1,420.

Adam Johnston, in a statement published in 1853 includes a map (Johnston, 1853, p. 242). Along the rivers shown on this map he has placed figures for population. According to him there were 900 Indians on the Stanislaus and 450 on the Tuolumne, or a total of 1,350. These are distinctly noted as reservation Indians and hence would not have included the entire population. Four years later, H. W. Wessels reported for the same area only 500-700 persons (Wessels, 1857). These were the Indians left on the reservations.

At about the same period, James D. Savage gave as his opinion that there were 2,500 people on the Stanislaus and 2,100 on the Tuolumne (Dixon, MS, 1875). In their report in 1853 Barbour, McKee, and Wozencraft refer to a statement by a chief named Kossus that under his jurisdiction were 4,000 persons and 30 rancherias from the Calaveras to the Stanislaus. Although these two estimates are widely at variance with those submitted by the officials, it must be remembered that both Savage and Chief Kossus may have been referring to a somewhat earlier date and that both included bands and settlements

[continued at middle of p. 34B]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts
[P.34B] Miwok NS16

*161 Since the wastage of native population in the valley was exceedingly rapid during the decade of the 'fifties, these figures are remarkably consistent. As a preliminary value, therefore, based upon the best general estimates, we may set the population in 1851 at 8,600.

Analysis Based Upon
RESTRICTED AREAS

M 161 higher up the rivers than was actually reached by the commissioners. Hence, although the figure of over 4,000 is likely too high, 1,000 to 1,500 may have been too low.

With respect to the strictly lowland tribes there is but little doubt that by the year 1852 the northern Yokuts lying between Stockton and Modesto had practically disappeared. Thus the first state census, taken in 1852, showed only 275 Indians remaining on the lower Stanislaus. George H. Tinkham states that in the same year there were only 10 families (perhaps 50 persons) left from the tribes which formerly had inhabited the region between the Calaveras and the Stanislaus and had extended eastward along the latter stream as far as Knights Ferry (Tinkham, 1923). The valley plains can consequently account for no more than approximately 350 persons and it must be assumed that almost all the remaining natives were living along the border of the foothills and higher up in the mountains.

One item of some significance is the discussion of the Tuolumne River tribes by Adam Johnston, written in the year 1860, definitely after the Gold Rush period. He says there were six chiefs in command of six rancherias, the names of which he gives. These rancherias "contain from fifty to two hundred Indians, men, women and children." One of these bands, the Aplache, "resided further in the mountains," from which one may infer that the other five were also in the mountains. At an average of 125 per band, or rancheria, this means 900 people whose existence was known to Johnston as late as 1860. An equivalent number can be assumed for the Stanislaus, or 1,800 in all.

The ethnographers have given us an imposing list of villages for the area under consideration, derived entirely from modern informants. There are three of these lists, those of Kroeber (1925), Merriam[2], and Gifford,[3] which merit careful scrutiny. Kroeber's (p. 445 of the Handbook) includes 49 names, which he says are of villages "that can be both named and approximately located." Merriam's "Mewuk List" has 28 hames of places located on the Stanislaus and Tuolumne. Gifford shows 49 villages which he says are "permanent," in addition to perhaps twice that number of "temporary" villages and camps. Gifford's list is probably the most carefully compiled of the three. The geographical location is indicated by counties but since his field of observation embraces Calaveras and Tuolumne counties, it coincides territorially quite exactly with the other two lists.

[2] This village list and all others herein referred to under the name of Merriam are part of the extensive file of personal manuscript material collected by the late C. Hart Merriam and deposited, through the kindness of his heirs, with the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley. Merriam's village lists were very carefully compiled and for many regions of the state cannot be duplicated in any publications which have hitherto appeared.

[3] I am indebted to Professor Edward W. Gifford, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, for the privilege of examining his list of Central Miwok villages, which was obtained some years ago through an informant and has remained unpublished.

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12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts
[P.35A] Miwok 1516

161 Certain villages are recorded by all three investigators, others by two of them, and some by only one. Concerning the existence of the first two groups there can be little, if any, doubt. Of those appearing on only one list some question might be raised. On the other hand, the care and conservatism exhibited by all three ethnographers makes it very difficult to doubt the essential validity of their data. The discrepancies are clearly due to the differences between informants and the high probability that no single informant could recall all the inhabited places over so large an area.

I have tabulated below the number of villages according to river system and according to occurrence in the lists mentioned.

	Stanislaus	Tuolumne
Kroeber, Merriam, and Gifford	8	13
Kroeber and Merriam	2	3
Kroeber and Gifford	6	5
Kroeber only	6	8
Gifford only	5	12
Merriam only	1	1
Total	28	42

We have therefore 70 reasonably well authenticated villages in the hill area traversed by the two rivers. With regard to the number of inhabitants, further data are provided by Gifford. His informant gave for each permanent place an estimate of the number of persons present in the year 1840. Gifford secured his material in approximately the year 1915 from a man very old at the time. If the informant was then seventy-five years of age, he must have been born in 1840. Hence he could scarcely be expected to remember population figures from a date much earlier than his childhood. The names and location of the villages themselves were at least semipermanent and could have been derived from the informant's parents even if not from his own memory. Hence it is probable that the figure furnished to Gifford more nearly represents the number of inhabitants in 1850 than in 1840. The average value for all 49 villages is 20.8 persons. Yet 7 villages are stated to have held 15 persons, 11 villages 10 persons, and 3 villages 5 or less persons. Such a condition argues a rapidly declining population, for no normal aboriginal settlement is likely to have contained less than 20 inhabitants. Gifford's average of 21 persons per village must, however, be accepted as representing the closest we can get to the value for the period of 1850. This means a population of 588 for the Stanislaus and 882 for the Tuolumne. The total is 1,470 for the foothill region. Between 300 and 400 may be added to account for scattered remnants along the lower courses of these rivers and on the San Joaquin itself, or 1,800 for the entire area under consideration.

To summarize, we have the following estimates for the Stanislaus-Tuolumne watershed at or about the year 1851:

Savage (perhaps before 1851)	6,600
Chief Kossus	4,000
Daily Alta California, 1851	1,000
Vaccinations by Ryer	1,420
Adam Johnston's estimate, 1853	1,350
Adam Johnston's estimate, 1860	1,800
H. W. Wessels, 1853	600
Village lists	1,800

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts
[P. 358] Miwok N516

161 The crude numerical average is about 2,070 but since the best of the above estimates, the village lists, shows no more than 1,800, it will be preferable to set 2,000 as a fair approximation.

STANISLAUS-TUOLUMNE 2,000

MERCED RIVER, MARIPOSA CREEK, AND CHOWCHILLA RIVER

South of the Tuolumne are the Merced River, Mariposa Creek, and the Chowchilla River, all within the territory of the southern Miwok (see maps 1 and 4, areas 5E, 5F, 6). The earliest of the midcentury counts pertaining to the region is probably that of Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) who put 2,100 persons on the Merced but omitted reference to any other stream between the Tuolumne and the upper San Joaquin. Ryer, in a bill submitted July 31, 1851, claimed to have vaccinated 695 persons along the Merced, principally on the lower course of that river. The value, corrected according to the system adopted previously, is 977. McKee, Barbour, and Wozencraft in a report on May 15, 1851 (Wozencraft, 1851) described the proposed reservation No. 1 between the Tuolumne and the Merced and estimated the total number of Indians on both rivers as 2,000 to 3,000, or let us say 1,250 on the Merced alone. The map of Adam Johnston, dated in early 1852, shows 500 persons on the Merced, but these were reservation Indians. The state census of 1852, as cited by the Sacramento Union for November 17, 1852, gave 4,533 persons for Mariposa County, a figure which no doubt included all the natives from the Tuolumne to the Fresno River. H. W. Wessels on August 21, 1853, wrote that there were 500 to 700 Indians on the Stanislaus and Tuolumne, 500 to 600 on the upper San Joaquin and that the entire area contained 2,500 to 3,000 (Wessels, 1857). The Merced-Fresno region therefore accounted for somewhere between 1,000 and 1,700. A rough average for all these rather haphazard estimates would be 1,000 natives on the Merced watershed and another 1,000 on the Mariposa and the Chowchilla, or 2,000 in all.

161 361 We may now turn to the village lists. Unfortunately, Gifford did not work south of the Tuolumne but we have the list given by Kroeber in the Handbook (1925) for the southern Miwok and two manuscript lists of Merriam (entitled "Mewuk Village List" and "Indian Village and Camp Sites in Yosemite Valley and Merced Canyon"). For the middle Merced Valley, from a point some ten miles below El Portal to the base of the foothills, Kroeber and Merriam both list 14 villages, to which Merriam alone adds another 10. From El Portal to a point six or seven miles downstream Merriam has found no less than 15 villages. In Yosemite Valley itself he has located 33 villages, of which 12 are qualified as either camps or summer villages, leaving 20 which he presumes are permanent. On the upper Merced, above Yosemite, and the headwaters of the Chowchilla, Kroeber has found the name of one village and Merriam one. Clearly this area has never been investigated exhaustively. For the well-known portion of the river, therefore, there are 59 located villages.

Of the 35 village sites in Yosemite and below El Portal, Merriam says 10 were large and 6 small. The rest are not qualified but were presumably medium to small. Gifford's average for the central Miwok of 21 persons per village in 1850-1852 may be applied directly, giving a population for the Merced Valley in the hills of 1,239.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts
[P. 36A] Miwok NS16

161 To this may be added, according to Ryer and to Johnston, 50 to 600 for the lower river, making a total of
361 1,800.

Mariposa Creek and the Chowchilla River have never been as thoroughly investigated as the Merced. Merriam's "Mewuk List" mentions 13 sites on each of the two streams, including the 6 given by Kroeber in the Handbook. At 21 persons per village this would mean a population of 273 for each or 546 for both, a value which appears rather low.

Another approach to the problem is by way of territorial comparisons. There are under consideration, including those previously discussed, five small river systems, those of the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Merced, Mariposa, and Chowchilla. Physiographically and eco-
[133] logically they are very similar since the rivers all descend the foothills of the Sierra Nevada and traverse the plain to the San Joaquin through the same life zones and at nearly the same latitude. There are, to be sure, some local differences between them with respect to how much of their course is favorable for village sites, but in the aggregate the similarities outweigh the differences. It is of interest, therefore, to estimate the village density along each watercourse. This value can be computed with a fair degree of accuracy by measuring on a large-scale map the length of each river and its principal affluents from the edge of the plain to the upper limit of known permanent habitation. The village numbers can be derived from the lists of Kroeber, Gifford, and Merriam.

River	Estimated length (mi.)	Villages	Villages per river mi.
Stanislaus . . .	85	28	0.33
Tuolumne . . .	105	42	0.40
Merced	125	59	0.47
Mariposa	40	13	0.32
Chowchilla . . .	65	13	0.20
Mean			0.34

The figures, considering physiographic differences and varying coverage by ethnographers, are quite consistent. Only that for the Chowchilla appears unduly low and this in turn may be referable to an incomplete count by Merriam. It is reasonable to concede this possibility and assume an actual count of 0.30 village for each mile of this stream. On 65 miles of river front there would thus have been 19.5 villages. This consequently means, using Gifford's population average of 21 per village, 273 inhabitants on the Mariposa and 410 on the Chowchilla. These may be added to the 1,800 calculated for the Merced, making a total of 2,483.

161 The very approximate value derived from general estimates was 2,000 persons. The village data are probably more accurate and may be rounded off to an even 2,500.

MERCED-MARIPOSA-CHOWCHILLA . . . 2,500

THE COSUMNES, MOKELUMNE, AND CALAVERAS RIVERS

The northern Miwok held the upper reaches of the Mokelumne plus most of the Cosumnes and Calaveras (see maps 1, 5, and 6, areas 10, 11, 12). The popula-

161 tion must have been very small in the period of the early 1850's owing to extreme attrition suffered from the Spanish and particularly from the gold miners. Kroeber gives only 20 villages on all three streams, most of them on the Mokelumne. Merriam adds another 3, making 23 in all. At Gifford's population value this means 480 persons. The official sources are of little help since none of the agents or commissioners reported specifically on the area. Evidently there were too few survivors among the natives to warrant the trouble of placing them under the reservation system.

Savage assessed the population on the Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and Calaveras at 1,000 each (Dixon, MS, 1875) but it is likely that he was thinking in terms of the days before the Gold Rush. F. T. Gilbert (1879, p. 113) says that the Mokelkos, by which he means all the Indians between the Mokelumne and the Cosumnes in the hills and as far as Stockton on the plain, had 12 rancherias of 200 to 300 each and numbered about 3,000 in all. He, however, was referring specifically to the period "before the advent of Sutter." Likewise J. D. Mason (1881, p. 256) ascribed to the same tribe "nearly a score of towns, with a total of 3,000 to 4,000." In amplification Gilbert says that in 1850 rancherias lined both banks of the Mokelumne from Ahearn's (near Lodi) to Campo Seco (near the present Pardee Reservoir), and that they numbered then about 2,000. In 1852, however, there were only 4 rancherias left, with 390 inhabitants.

Gilbert was referring explicitly to the lower course of the rivers, whereas the villages cited by Kroeber were definitely above this region in the foothills. We may accept Gilbert's figure of 390 on the lower Mokelumne, to which may be added 110 for the lower Cosumnes and Calaveras and 480 for the upper villages, making a total of 980 or, let us say, 1,000.

COSUMNES-MOKELUMNE-CALAVERAS 1,000

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THE FRESNO AND THE UPPER SAN JOAQUIN RIVERS

We next turn south and consider the valleys of the Fresno and upper San Joaquin rivers (see maps 1 and 4, areas 5B, 5C, 5D.) There are three counts or estimates pertaining to this area specifically. The first is that of Savage, who does not mention the Fresno but puts 2,700 persons on the upper San Joaquin. The second source is the May 29, 1851, issue of the Daily Alta California, which carried a letter written by an unidentified officer who was with the Indian commissioners and in fact may have been G. W. Barbour. This officer refers to the treaty made with the natives between the Chowchilla and the Kings rivers and says that "the total is probably 3,000 Indians." The third is Adam Johnston, who on his map ascribed 1,200 people to the Fresno and 1,000 to the San Joaquin (Johnston, 1853). The average of the three estimates is 2,633.

W. M. Ryer submitted three reports for the territory below the Merced and north of the Tehachapi Mountains. In each he mentions the tribes vaccinated (Ryer, 1852). There are 45 in all, but 8 tribal or rancheria names are indeterminate and there are many duplicate names among the rest. Putting all three lists together we can get 27 recognizable tribal names, of which one is southern Miwok, four are Mono, and the others Yokuts. The total vaccinations performed numbered 4,451, or, correcting to conform to the figures based on blanket distribution,

*Y W 161 6,255, an average of 232 per tribe. To allow for the nontribal and unrecognizable names on Ryer's lists this value may be arbitrarily reduced to 200. Ryer mentions in the Fresno-San Joaquin area the following: Chowchilla, Chukchansi, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Goshowu, Dumna, Dalinchi, Pohinichi (Miwok), and Posgisa (Mono). The Pohinichi should be excluded since they have already been considered in connection with the southern Miwok. The other nine, reckoned at 200 persons per tribe, would represent an aggregate of 1,800. However, Kroeber (1925, p. 481, and map, p. 526) shows four other Yokuts subdivisions within the same territory: Hoyima, Wakichi, Kechayi, and Tolichi. Although Ryer may have included these under other tribal names they perhaps ought to be included here, thus making the total 2,600.

*Y W 161 For villages there are two sets of sources. The first pertains primarily to the Yokuts, covers a territory substantially coterminous with that seen by the contemporary observers mentioned above, and is found in the work of Kroeber (1925), Gayton (1948), and Latta (1949). The second set of villages is confined to the Mono and is derived from Gifford (1932) and Merriam.

The first group of authors list villages for the 13 tribes mentioned in the preceding discussion, 49 in all or an average of 3.77 per tribe. With respect to size there is reason to believe that the settlements in this area, even in the early 1850's, were considerably larger than those described by Gifford for the central Miwok. The estimate of Adam Johnston of an average of 125 per rancheria on the lower Tuolumne has already been mentioned. H. W. Wessels in 1853 wrote that the Pitkachi plus the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, had 500 to 600 souls (Wessels, 1857). Half of these, or 300, may have been Pitkachi, a tribe for which Kroeber lists 3 villages. This would have meant 100 per village. Merriam credits Savage with the statement that in 1851 the Kechayi had 1,000 people. Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta list 6 different villages for this tribe or, according to Savage's figures, 167 persons per village. Ryer's total of 2,600 prorated among 49 villages, would yield 53 persons each. Although it is probable that the values computed from the statements of Johnston, Wessels, and Savage are too high, that derived from Ryer may be somewhat too low. An intermediate figure of 70 inhabitants per village for the valley and lower foothills would perhaps come as close as we can get to the truth. This, with 49 villages, gives 3,430, somewhat more than the 3,633 cited as the average of the general estimates.

W 101 128 Inhabiting the higher foothills and extending to the upper limit of habitation from the San Joaquin to the Kaweah rivers were the Western Mono. This tribe lived just above the Yokuts and at points was in very close association with them. As a whole the Western Mono constitute a racial and ecological unit and as such it is probably preferable to consider them as a single population entity than to segregate them by rivers, as has been done for the Miwok and the Yokuts. It will be necessary, therefore, to digress for this purpose and subsequently return to the discussion.

W [114] 361 The classic ethnographic work on the tribe, and the only work which contains any numerical data, is that of Gifford (1932) on the North Fork division of the Mono. This is supplemented by Merriam's manuscript entitled "Monache Tribes, Bands, and Villages." Gifford gives the names (text and map) of 67 North Fork villages, or, as he prefers to call them, hamlets. These were quite unlike either those of the Miwok or of the valley Yokuts, being very much smaller and subject to an extraordinary

361 turnover in inhabitants. Gifford makes it very clear that
[166] each family was accustomed to move every few years from one settlement to another and that sites were being continually occupied and deserted. The 67 names are therefore no criterion for population. For the time of the American occupation Gifford estimates the number of persons in the group or subtribe as approximately 300, which, divided directly by 67, would give the absurd average of 4 persons per hamlet. However, a more detailed analysis is possible.

361 Of Gifford's 67 names, 2 may be deducted as being
161 only camps, leaving 65 which at some period were permanently occupied. In his Appendix A (pp. 57-61) he lists the sites, together with the number of houses in each and the number of males and females inhabiting them. From these data may be computed the total number of families and the mean number of persons per family. There were 227 families in all. However, 36 of these are listed two or more times by virtue of moves made from one hamlet to another, which were remembered by Gifford's informants. This would leave 191 families for the subtribe, provided Gifford recorded all the moves. But Gifford clearly implies that he did not, since his informants could not remember them all. Hence the number of families must be further corrected. In Appendix A, 15 out of a total of 65 hamlets were concerned in the moves recorded. These 15 hamlets were inhabited at different times by 61 families but many of these, owing to frequent change of residence, are repetitions. Actually there was a total of 24 different families rotating among the 15 villages. Now if in the other 50 hamlets the same process was going on, although Gifford was not able to record the moves, it is legitimate to apply the same ratio as is in fact found for the 15 hamlets. The crude total of 227 families must therefore be reduced to 89. From Gifford's complete list it can be determined that there were on the average 4.93 persons per family. This gives a population of 439 for the period remembered by the informants.

On general grounds it is to be expected that the conditions reported by Gifford's informants were not entirely aboriginal. This is also indicated by the value of 4.93 persons per family, which is somewhat too low for a stable prehistoric population. Moreover, Gifford himself states that there were formerly 44 more houses than there were in the time referred to by the informants (figures given individually for the hamlets in App. A). About 1850 there were 227 houses, and if 44 are added, the aboriginal number would have been 271. Each house may be assumed to have held one family but the houses were probably occupied in rotation. The crude estimate of 271 houses or families, each containing (according to aboriginal standards) a possible 6 persons, would mean a total of 1,626 for the subtribe. If, however, we apply the correction factor for family moves we must reduce this estimate to 640, a far more reasonable figure. For the North Fork Mono, therefore, we may accept as the best estimate obtainable a population of 440 for the period near 1850 and of 640 for precontact time.

101 The other subtribes of the Mono provide no data com-
361 parable with those available for the North Fork group. Some method of extrapolation is thus called for.

The village method is very unsatisfactory. Kroeber says substantially nothing on this score and Merriam, although he lists 19 villages for the North Fork Mono, gives no more than one or two or, at the most, half-a-dozen names for each of the other groups. Tribal distinctions are also very confusing. Kroeber in the Handbook mentions 6 Mono subtribes: North Fork group,

12: Cook 8-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts
[P.38A] Western Mono NS25

W 101 361 Poagisa, Holkoma, Wobonuch, Waksachi, and Balwisha. Merriam subdivides to a much greater extent. His grouping may be expressed essentially as follows:

1. Pogesss . . . . . equivalent to Kroeber's Posgisa
2. Nim . . . . . synonymous with the North Fork subtribe
3. Kwetah . . . . . included in Kroeber's Holkoma
4. Kokoheba . . . . included in Kroeber's Holkoma
5. Holkoma . . . . included in Kroeber's Holkoma
6. Towincheba . . included in Kroeber's Holkoma
7. Toinetche . . . . included in Kroeber's Holkoma
8. Tsooeawatah . included in Kroeber's Holkoma
9. Emtimbitch . . classed by Kroeber as a Yokuts tribe
10. Woponuch . . . . equivalent to Kroeber's Wobonuch
11. Wuksatche . . . equivalent to Kroeber's Waksachi
12. Padoosha . . . . equivalent to Kroeber's Balwisha

Nos. 5 to 8 inclusive are consolidated by Merriam as smaller groups within a main group or subtribe called the Toohookmutch. Concerning these Merriam says: "Large tribe on King's River. On both sides but largest area on north side. Contains many rancheria bands."

*Y W 361 *161 Using Merriam's nomenclature, the Nim are generally conceded to have been the largest single subtribe. For this we may take as a working base line the previous estimate of 440 persons and Merriam's list of 19 villages. Elsewhere Merriam mentions the names of the following: Toinetche 3 villages, Holkoma 4, Woponuch 9, Emtimbitch 2, Waksache 1, Kokoheba 1, and Toohookmutch 10. The total is 30. By direct proportion the inhabitants should have numbered 695 but this would leave five of Merriam's groups with no population at all. If we consider that the Toohookmutch complex plus the Kokoheba and Kwetah are the equivalent of Kroeber's Holkoma we find 18 villages, which implies 416 people. Merriam cites 9 villages or, at the same ratio, 208 persons for the Wobonuch. The total for these three of Kroeber's subtribes would then be 1,064. If we guess that the remaining groups contained 500 persons, the figure for the Mono in 1850 would reach the vicinity of 1,600.

W 161 In view of the paucity of the village data for all subtribes except the North Fork group it is proper to fall back on area-density comparisons. The territory actually inhabited by the Mono is vague, particularly on the eastern border approaching the high mountains. Nevertheless Merriam's villages furnish a fair guide in outline, since his findings, while very incomplete, can be regarded as a reasonably well distributed sample. Moreover, his descriptions of tribal boundaries and village locations appear to be very accurate. When we plot the latter on a large scale map, therefore, the outlines of the Western Mono area become sufficiently distinct.

There are two possible variants of the method, one by computing stream distances and the other by measuring areas. Both must of course rest for their basis on the data for the North Fork subtribe. This in turn may entail some error, since the North Fork group may have been not only the most populous but also the densest.

For the North Fork territory the distribution shown by Gifford on his map (1932, p. 18) is used plus the area of Bass Lake, since Merriam has found that there were once villages there. The southern and eastern boundary is taken as the San Joaquin River, because the North Fork Mono apparently did not cross to the left bank of the river. Several miles of Little Fine Gold Creek must

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 38 B] Western Mono N525

W 161 also be included, according to Gifford's map.

In this region there were approximately 60 miles of streams, including the San Joaquin River itself. With a population of 440 this means 7.33 persons per stream mile. The stream mileage for the San Joaquin system as a whole within the Mono boundaries amounted to 100 miles. Hence the population in the same ratio would be 733. The analogous values for the Kings River system are 150 miles and 1,100 persons and for the Kaweah drainage 75 miles and 550 persons. The total population would then be 2,383.

If areas are calculated from the township lines on the map, that covered by the North Fork Mono is approximately 150 square miles and that of the Mono collectively is 1,090 square miles. Equating the North Fork population to the entire area gives for the Mono as a whole 3,185.

*Y [161] We may now return to the consideration of the Fresno-San Joaquin region. For the lower courses of these rivers, mainly in Yokuts territory, three values were derived, 2,633 from general estimates, 2,600 from Ryer's vaccinations, and 3,430 from village lists. We may accept the average, 2,890. For the Mono of the upper San Joaquin the best estimate, as given above, is 733. The total is 3,623 or, rounded off to the nearest hundred, 3,600.

FRESNO-SAN JOAQUIN 3,600

THE KINGS AND THE KAWEAH RIVERS

W 161 648 The Kings and Kaweah watersheds may be considered at this point in their entirety (see maps 1 and 3, areas 3 and 4). If we deduct 730 persons for the San Joaquin basin, the estimates for the Mono on the two former streams was estimated by the village method as 870, by the stream mileage method as 1,653, and by the area method as 2,465. If one regards some of these figures as too high, he should bear in mind that the natives on the Kings and Kaweah rivers were exposed to more intense contact with the white race for a longer period before 1850 than those on the relatively sheltered North Fork, and that their extermination proceeded with tremendous velocity after that date. This fact may well account for the inability of either Kroeber or Merriam to find more than a few villages on the Kings and Kaweah, as compared with the success of Gifford on the North Fork. The more exposed villages may simply have disappeared before the era reached by the memory of modern informants. If this is so, the stream mileage and area comparisons may be more accurate than otherwise might be supposed.

W 161 127 Considerable evidence for a rather high population in this region at the midpoint of the nineteenth century is to be derived from contemporary accounts and from statements obtained by Merriam. Among the papers in his collection is a clipping from the Stockton Record of February 21, 1935, containing an article by Walter Fry of the United States Park Service. Included is an account of early days on the Kaweah by Hale D. Thorpe, obtained by Mr. Fry in 1910. Mr. Thorpe says:

> When I first came to the Three Rivers country in 1856, there were over 2,000 Indians living along the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove. Their headquarters camp was at Hospital Rock . . . There were over 600 Indians then living at the camp.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P.39A] Western Mono N525

W 161 127

The Indians were mostly Mono, of the Patwisha tribe. Dr. Merriam evidently consulted Mr. George W. Stewart concerning this matter, since the file also contains a letter from Mr. Stewart written to Dr. Merriam on March 29, 1926, stating that this camp was occupied only during the summer and that there were several permanent rancherias along the stream. Mr. Thorpe's figure of 2,000 probably refers to Indians of all tribes, since by 1856 all the natives from the delta region had been driven up the river. The 600 at or near Hospital Rock were undoubtedly Mono.

In his manuscript entitled "Ho-lo-ko-ma, Cole Spring, Pine Ridge," Merriam has the following to say:

> Ben Hancock, who has lived in this country about 40 years [in 1903] tells me that when he came here there were about 500 Indians (Ko-ko-he-ba) living in Burr Valley, a few on Sycamore Creek, 600 or 700 at Cole Spring (Hol-ko-mahs) and about the same number (also Hol-ko-mahs) in Fandango Ground and in Haslet Basin. . . . He says a very large village was stretched along the south side of King's River two or four miles below the mouth of Mill Creek and for half a mile the dome grass-covered houses nearly touched. There were also large villages on Dry Creek and one above the forks of King's River some miles above Dry Creek. The tribe at the forks is now extinct."

W [361]

(There is only one survivor of the Burr Valley tribe.)

Although the numbers may be somewhat exaggerated, there is no reason why the essential correctness of this account should be questioned. This is particularly true in view of the circumstantial detail with which it is recorded. The Kokoheba must be regarded as having a population of at least 500 and the Holkoma of 1,200, making 1,700 for the Kings River Mono. If there were 730 on the upper San Joaquin and 600 on the upper Kaweah and if 500 are added for the Emtimbitch-Wobonuch group, the total is 3,530, not much more than was calculated by means of area comparisons.

For the Kings River as a whole the estimates of 1850 to 1853 indicate a substantial Indian population. Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) sets the number as 2,000, a remarkably low figure for him. G. W. Barbour and Adam Johnston (Sen. Ex. Doc. 4, 1853, pp. 253-256) both state that for the purpose of consummating treaties 4,000 Indians came to Camp Belt on the Kings River in 1851. Lt. George H. Derby in his careful account of the southern part of the central valley in 1851 says that there were 17 rancherias on Kings River, "numbering in all about three thousand including those situated among the hills in the vicinity" (Derby, 1852). Many of these were Choinimni, but at least half must have been Mono.

*Y [161]

If we accept Derby's count of 17 villages for 3,000 persons, the average number of inhabitants per ranchería would be 177. For the area farther north the equivalent number was taken as 70. There is reason to believe that for the basins of the Kings and Kaweah Derby's figure of 177 is a closer approximation. Ben Hancock's description of the village on the Kings below Mill Creek is very graphic and explicit (see citation above.) If the "dome-grass covered houses nearly touched" and stretched along the river in only a single row, and if each occupied 50 linear feet, then there must have been 52 houses in half a mile. Allowing 5 persons per house, in accordance with Gifford's data

W [361]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.39 B] Western Mono NS25

W 161 127 for the North Fork Mono, the inhabitants must have numbered 260. One of the rancherias seen by Derby was Cho-e-mime which had 70 "warriors." Reckoning the "warriors" as half the males the population would have been 280. Derby says the village of Notonto (of the tribe Nutunutu on the south bank of the lower Kings) had 300 inhabitants. These places were of course relatively large and important and do not represent the general average. However, the village of Notonto must have reached fully 150 persons.

Y *[16] [34]

Apart from the Mono, the tribes located on the Kings River were all Yokuts, as follows: Aiticha, Apiachi, Wimilchi, Nutunutu, Wechihit, Toihichi, Chukomina, and Choinimni. For these the modern ethnographers Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart have been able to locate and identify 25 villages inhabited during the youth of informants. Since this covers a somewhat larger territory than was seen by Derby, the correspondence in number of rancherias is reasonably close. At 150 persons per village the population would be 3,750. If we add 1,700 for the Kings River Mono, the total is 5,450. However, there may have been some overlap, so this figure may be reduced to 5,000. It should be noted that the area embraced within this estimate includes the Kings River basin as a whole, together with that of all its affluents.

Y *161 127

The Kaweah River from Lemon Cove to the town of Tulare diverges to form a delta, which originally contained a very large native population. At the time of the American occupation there had occurred a material reduction, which was accelerated by the fact that the region provided excellent farming land for the entering Americans. Hence the value for the population in 1850-1853 must be relatively low in comparison with preceding decades. In May, 1851, according to G. W. Barbour (1853, pp. 253-255) there were 7 tribes on the Kaweah, and 1,200 people came to treat with the commissioners. These tribes included the following: Chunut, Choinok, Wolasi, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. Of these, the first, the Chunut, inhabited the shore of Lake Tulare and should not be included as a Kaweah River tribe. The estimated population of the remainder would, therefore, be approximately 1,000, if the figure of the commissioners is to be taken without qualification.

With respect to the individual tribes there are a few scattered bits of information. Derby (1852) mentions three rancherias or bands in the area: Cowees (Gawia) with 200 people, Thulime (Telamni) with 85 men, or roughly 200 people, and Heame-a-tahs (Telamni) with 200 people. Merriam in his "Yokuts List" cites an informant who said that the Wukchumne "used to number" 5,000 and occupied the valley now called Lemon Cove and up and down the Kaweah River. Clearly this is an extreme overestimate, unless the informant was referring to the period prior to 1800. Finally Merriam cites a letter by Lt. N. H. McLean, which states that the "Four Creeks Country" included the "Cahwiahs, Okuls, Choinux, Wicktrumnees, Talumnies" and in 1853 had not over 1,200 souls.[4]

It thus appears quite evident that the six Yokuts tribes, except perhaps the Wukchumni, had no more than 200 persons apiece during the era under consideration. From modern informants Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta have obtained for the Choinok, Gawia, Telamni, Yokod, and Wolasi collectively the names of only 8 villages. Assuming the Kings River value of 150 persons per village,

[4] Merriam's manuscript entitled "Yokuts List" mentions a report from Lt. N. H. McLean, dated July 12, 1853, to H. J. Wessels, on file in "Old Files Division," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, no. N369. As far as I am aware, this letter has never been quoted elsewhere.

*161 which seems to be confirmed by Derby for the Kaweah River also, this means 1,200 persons for the five 102 tribes. Gayton and Latta, however, find 15 names for the Wukchumni, which would indicate a population of 2,250. Such a figure is highly unlikely. It is probable that earlier times are referred to by the informants or that there is confusion among tribal affinities. Alternatively, the Wukchumni villages may have followed the style of the hill-dwelling Mono and have been very much smaller than has been indicated by Derby for the valley-inhabiting Yokuts. Since we cannot resolve the difficulty with the data at hand, it is better to accept the practically unanimous opinion of contemporary white observers that the population below Lemon Cove did not exceed 1,200 in 1851. To these must be added the 600 Mono previously discussed, making a total for the Kaweah River as a whole of 1,800 persons.

*161 If the two river basins are considered jointly, the method of area comparisons as applied to the Mono, estimates by government officials, accounts by early pioneers, and the village lists secured from modern informants all apparently agree that the population of the region reached several thousand as late as 1850 and 1851. We may therefore accept the total of 6,800, or 5,000 on the Kings and 1,800 on the Kaweah.

KINGS-KAWEAH 6,800

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

The shores of Tulare Lake (see maps 1 and 2, area [101] 2) were aboriginally inhabited by three tribes, the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut. In close proximity on the northeast were the Nutumutu, but since the latter have been included with the Kaweah River tribal group, they must be omitted from consideration here. Savage allocated 1,000 Indians to Tulare Lake (Dixon, MS, 1875). McLean said there were 1,000 Indians "on the lakes" in 1853, 500 of which were "Notontos," leaving 500 for the "Taches" and "Tontaches" (Merriam collection). The most reliable account is that of Derby (1852). However, Derby in his terminology confused the Tachi with the Chunut, in which mistake he has been followed by Merriam (under title "Indians of the Tache Lake Region in 1850," MS). Derby makes it clear in his account that he found the village of Sintache (population 100) at the northern side of the then nearly dry Lake Tontache, that is to say on the southern shore of the big Lake Tache (Tulare). These were probably Chunut. There was also a small rancheria which he called Tinte-Tache at the south side of the same lake, i.e., Tontache (population 50). These are likely to have been Wowol. The tribe known to ethnographers as the Tachi were north of the big lake (i.e., Lake Tache or Tulare). Their chief told Derby that they had 800 people and that their principal rancheria was northwest of the lake (population 300). Since Derby also applies the name of Tinte-Tache to the northwest village, it is clear that there were two rancherias of this name included in his account.

Kroeber and Gayton mention a total of 8 villages for the Tachi. If one of these had 300 people, as Derby states, then the average population of the other seven was approximately 70. This agrees with Derby's two southern rancherias of 50 and 100 persons respectively. For the Chunut Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta all mention the village of Chuntau. Kroeber mentions one other,

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 40B]

*161 Miketsiu. This would indicate a population of nearly 150. For the Wowol the ethnographers give three villages, or an implied population of, say, 220. The total for the lakes would then reach 1,170, or very close to the general contemporary estimate of 1,000. The figure 1,100 may be accepted as a compromise.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 1,100

TULE RIVER, KERN RIVER, AND THE BUENAVISTA BASIN

*161 The remaining Yokuts territory is large in area but relatively small in population. It includes the water-
101 sheds of the Tule and Kern rivers together with those
131 of the small creeks between (Deer, White, and Poso creeks) and Buenavista Basin south of Bakersfield (see maps 1 and 2, areas 1F and 1G). The tribes placed by Kroeber in the region are the Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Bankalachi (Shoshonean), Paleuyami, Yauelmani, Hometwoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni.

*161 G. W. Barbour (1852), in a letter dated July 28, 1851, said that the area bounded by Buenavista Lake, Tule River, and Paint Creek contained a population of about 2,000. Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) said there were 1,700 on the Kern River and Barbour (1853) stated that, for treaty-making purposes in 1851, 1,700 congregated at Paint Creek below Tule River. The villages listed by Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta for the various tribes are as follows: Bokninuwad 2, Hometwoli 3, Koyeti 8, Kumachisi 6, Paleuyami 7, Tuhohi 1, Tulamni 3, Yaudanchi 3, and Yauelmani 7. The total is 45. The village size indicated by Derby for the Tulare Lake Basin and adjacent valley territory is 60 or 70; that for the hill regions is undoubtedly smaller. If we take 40 persons as the average village population, the aggregate for the region would be 1,800 and if we take 50 persons, it is 2,250. We cannot be far in error in setting the population at Barbour's value, 2,000.

TULE-KERN-BUENAVISTA 2,000

On the basis of gross estimates and semicomprehensive counts for the entire region the population for the San Joaquin Valley and neighboring foothills in 1851 was tentatively set at 8,600 (p. 34). The detailed consideration of the seven subdivisions of the entire region, as above, leads to an estimate of 19,000, as set forth in the following recapitulation.

Stanislaus-Tuolumne	2,000
Merced-Mariposa-Chowchilla	2,500
Cosumnes-Mokelumne-Calaveras	1,000
Fresno-San Joaquin	3,800
Kings-Kaweah	6,800
Tulare Lake Basin	1,100
Tule-Kern-Buenavista	2,000
Total	19,000

It is believed that this total is more reliable than that previously given for several reasons. In the first place, it is derived from a careful consideration of all available sources in detail. In the second place, the preliminary estimate was weighted heavily by the reports of government officials, who saw principally those Indians with whom they were able to make treaties or whom

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.41A]

*161 they were able to collect on reservations. That this seems to represent less than one-half the natives in the territory is not surprising. In the third place, recent investigations by ethnographers have brought

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 41B]

*|6| to light many local groups which were overlooked by contemporary observers, official and civilian alike. We may therefore accept the figure 19,000 as the population of the San Joaquin Valley surviving in 1852.

12: Cook 8-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 42A]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 In order to estimate the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley it is necessary to rely very heavily on the accounts furnished by the colonial Spanish and Mexicans. These were primarily ecclesiastics and military men who entered the territory for purposes of exploration, to seek new converts to the missions, or to chastise stock raiders. The more responsible of these left circumstantial and, as a rule, fairly accurate narratives and diaries. Unless there is in a particular case some reason for doubt, their statements may be accorded considerable confidence.

At the same time two circumstances often render the interpretation of the data derived from these documents difficult. The first is the lack of consistent designations for places. During the process of opening up the area it was inevitable that rivers and villages should be assigned different names by one explorer after another and that the same name should be applied to more than one locality. The second is that during the early phases of exploration some localities were visited repeatedly, whereas others were overlooked perhaps entirely. Hence the information available to us is very uneven; it permits us to achieve a reasonably clear idea of the population of one region but leaves another almost completely blank. As a result extrapolation by area is almost unavoidable.

It must also be constantly borne in mind that the Spanish records themselves do not give us an absolutely undistorted picture of aboriginal conditions. It is very evident from the reports of the earliest official pioneers, like Garcés in 1776 and Martin in 1804, that from 1770 onward and perhaps even before white men had straggled into the valley and had consorted with the natives. There is reason to believe that these unknown interlopers may have introduced diseases which adversely affected the population and may have initiated a process of general social disruption. The best we can do is get as close to the prehistoric condition as the records allow.

127 114 *16 Two other demographic consequences arise from this very early white contact. In the first place, the documentary record, if we ignore Garcés for the moment, runs nearly continuously from 1804 to approximately 1840. During this long period an uninterrupted change was going on among the native population: the population was continually decreasing. Hence later reports tend to deviate from earlier ones, and indeed may show an entirely new state of affairs arising within a very few years. In the second place, the deterioration in certain areas took place so rapidly in the first part of the nineteenth century that any information secured from informants alive since 1900 is completely useless. Unless very good documentary evidence is available for such areas, there is no recourse but to fall back on the method of extrapolation and area comparisons.

127 114 The principal Spanish accounts upon which we must rely include a few which have been published. Most of them, however, are to be found in manuscript form in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Some of them were translated for an unpublished manuscript by the Late Professor Herbert I. Priestley and

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 43 B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 162 192 there are several hundred skeletons excavated from habitation sites in central and northern California, the ages of which have been determined and which constitute a fair cross section of the native population during the centuries immediately preceding invasion by the white man. Of these skeletons 22.6 per cent represent persons dying under the age of twenty years, and perhaps 10 or 15 per cent persons dying under the age of ten.

*161 162 797 Further light is shed by the baptism records of the missions San Jose and Santa Clara (these are discussed in greater detail in a later paragraph) which list gentile baptisms according to village and distinguish between men, women, and children. In the two missions, from approximately 1805 to 1833 there were baptized a total of 5,217 persons from villages in the valley region. Of these 930, or 17.8 per cent were children and 1,939, or 37.1 per cent were listed as men. The sex ratio is 0.826. Evidently the natives captured and brought to the missions do not give us a completely true picture of the composition of the aboriginal population, despite the large sample at our disposal. It is highly probable that (1) the natural sex ratio was nearly unity and (2) many of the men were killed in warfare or escaped the clutches of the convert hunters. Therefore we are justified in setting the number of men equal to that of the women. If we do this, the population represented by the 5,217 conversions was actually 5,626, of which men and women each constituted 41.8 per cent and children 16.4 per cent.

*161 162 Finally, we have figures from Zalvidea (MS, 1806) with respect to villages at the extreme southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. (These are discussed subsequently in connection with the population of that area.) At two of these, after adjusting for disturbed sex ratio, he found respectively 13.5 and 9.6 per cent children. However, Zalvidea's account states specifically that in these villages he carries the age of childhood only through the seventh year. If he had counted as children those under ten years of age, the percentages would naturally have been higher.

The data just set forth render it abundantly clear that the children constituted between 10 and 20 per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary figure of 15 per cent. If we apply this factor to Bubal the result is not less than an aggregate of 1,333 persons, much greater than the value set by Moraga in 1806.

*161 162 797 With respect to the suggestion of Gifford and Schenck that the number of inhabitants of Bubal had been augmented between 1806 and 1814 by refugees from the missions the following points may be noted. In the first place, it has been possible to show (Cook, 1940) by means of the mission censuses that in 1815 the cumulative total of fugitives reported by all the missions in the colony amounted to 1,927 persons. Of these a great many who ran away in the earlier years were deceased. Many never went to the valley at all and the remainder were distributed from Sacramento to Bakersfield. It is highly unlikely that as many as 300 would be concentrated at one village such as Bubal. In the second place, the majority of the fugitives who did reach the village or its vicinity were former inhabitants of the locality who were merely returning to their old homes rather than coastal Indians, who would have constituted real refugees. On the whole, therefore, and this conclusion applies throughout the valley, true increase of population by immigration of foreign fugitives was negligible.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
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*161 A further problem of importance illustrated by our data for Bubal is the extent to which population estimates for villages were affected by local fugitivism or temporary scattering of the natives at the advent of the Spaniards. Very frequently the explorers left notations that the inhabitants of a certain rancheria had fled, or that many were absent. It seems clear that even by the year 1800 the natives were all too well aware of the purpose of the missionaries and soldiers and took measures to defeat that purpose. For this reason, remarkable as it may appear, the largest estimates are likely to have been the most accurate.

Returning now to the population of Bubal we find Martin counting "no less" than 200 children in 1804, indicating a total number somewhere in the vicinity of 1,300, although most of the adults apparently had absconded. In 1806 the same situation arose and Moraga found only 400 left in the village. In 1814 Cabot estimated that the village contained 700 people, despite the fact that some may have been missing. The apparent increase in 1814 can be very simply explained by the assumption that fewer natives had fled the village than had done so when Moraga arrived. Cabot's figure may be quite near the truth for the year 1814 since we must concede a drastic overall reduction of population in the area between 1804 and 1814. Certainly the population can never have been less than 700. The weight of the evidence at hand thus indicates that the estimate based upon Martin's account, i.e., 1,300 persons, is essentially sound.

*161 361 648 Further evidence of collateral importance is derived from consideration of the location of the village of Bubal. Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 27) place Bubal on Atwell's Island, near Alpaugh, in T23S, R23E, that is, on the east side of Lake Tulare. Neither Martin (in 1804) nor Moraga (Muñoz diary of 1806) locates the rancheria with any precision but Cabot (1815) left San Miguel on October 2, 1814, and on October 3 traveled over an immense plain, arriving late in the day at Bubal, on the shore of a big lake. This can have been only Lake Tulare and the west shore thereof. The next year Ortega (1815), approaching from the north or northwest, passed through Sumtache (i.e., Chunut) and went on to Bubal, where he arrived late at night, not having been able to find the village ". . . por haverse mudado de su sitio propio. . ." Estudillo was the next visitor who has left us a detailed account of this area. On October 22, 1819, he went from near Cholam to a place called Los Alisos near the edge of the foothills of the coast range. On October 23 he went across the plain and on October 24 arrived at Bubal, obviously from the west, and found it deserted, adding the comment that the village ". . . manifesto aver ya dias q. se fueron a otra parte." The following day he pushed five leagues south through tule swamp and found the settlement on the bank of the lake although his soldiers had to wade waist deep for two leagues farther in order to catch most of the inhabitants. Apropos of this incident he says regarding Bubal: "Esta es la rancheria de gentiles mas immediata a las misiones, y la q. con mayor frecuencia se hacen cristianos en la de San Miguel."

From these accounts it is very clear that the original site of Bubal was on the west, not the east, shore of the lake and that because of the depredations of the Spaniards the inhabitants fled into the lake itself, where they made at least temporary settlements. That these became their permanent home is attested by the fact that no later than 1826 Pico stated that Bubal was situated on an island in the lake. Subsequently contemporary writers as well as the modern ethnographers agree that the principal village

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*161 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

361 From the demographic point of view the chief justi-
648 fication for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter wherever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martin in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martin in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta
[648] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in bad straits, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting
[622] comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

*161 one of a number. The village he saw he examined sufficiently carefully to enable him to count the houses. Such an arrangement is incompatible with rancherias "each at some distance from the others." Furthermore four chiefs would imply four more or less equal subdivisions, or four rancherias and possibly 4,000 inhabitants. At first sight this appears preposterous. However, the following facts should be noted.

1. The area held by the tribe extended across the north and west shores of Lake Tulare from the present town of Lemoore to Coalinga close to the western foothills. This comprises a greater area than the Wowol and Chunut together.

2. Modern informants have been able to give the ethnographers Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta the names of 3 villages for the Wowol, 2 for the Chunut, and 8 for the Tachi. Although the number of villages has no strict quantitative significance, it does indicate the greater size of the Tachi.

3. As mentioned previously, Derby in 1850 found the Tachi tribe to contain about 8000 individuals, of whom 300 lived in the principal rancheria. In view of the very great attrition to which all the open valley tribes had been subjected between Estudillo's visit in 1819 and that of Derby in 1850 it is almost incredible that the Tachi should have diminished only from 1,000 to 800 during that period. It is much more reasonable that the principal village should have declined from 1,000 to 300 as would be indicated by the figures of Cabot and Derby. If so, then the tribe as a whole must have once contained much more than 1,000 people.

4. Father Martin in the description of his trip implies that there were 4,000 people living in the vicinity of Tache. It has generally been assumed, and is so stated by Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 22), that Martin was referring not only to the borders of Lake Tulare but also to the lower reaches of the Kaweah and Kings rivers. This is simply an assumption and rests upon no unequivocal evidence.

5. Cabot's quite careful estimate for the principal rancheria shows that it was larger than Bubal or Tuntache in 1814. Martin's data for Bubal showed that this town must have contained fully 1,330 persons in 1804. If we disregard any shrinkage prior to that year, the contemporary population of Tache would have reached at least 1,600 if Cabot's estimates for the two villages in 1814 are to be credited.

On the basis of all these facts the author believes that the Tachi aboriginally possessed one village with at least 1,600 inhabitants and that Cabot's figure for this village was reasonably accurate. In addition, the statements of Estudillo in 1819 and Derby in 1850—and both of these observers were trustworthy persons—point definitely to the existence of at least three other villages. These were undoubtedly smaller than the principal rancheria. In default of any concrete data each may be estimated as half the size of Tache, or 800 persons apiece. The total for the tribe would then be 4,000 or nearly twice as much as for the Wowol and Chunut combined.

An aggregate of 6,500 natives for precontact times seems to be indicated in the Tulare Lake basin. The figure 1,100 was obtained for the period of approximately 1850-1852. The reduction would then have been to a value of 16.9 per cent of the aboriginal level. If this seems excessive, it should be borne in mind that the area was subjected to the ravages of disease, both epidemic and venereal, from 1770 forward, as is attested or implied by both Garcés in 1776 and Martin in 1804.

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*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of
[133] rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once supported uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 6.500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

131 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below
*161 the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained
[101] three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod, the largest group being the Wukchamni.

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 600 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendre segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eagues with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eagues and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 2,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . .encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear indication of this condition is contained in the sentence 165 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . en- 731 contrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi- *161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em- 164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the 173 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

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*16 16A 73 from measles, dysentery, and other contagious maladies introduced by the whites. The whole picture is one of ruinous devastation in the Kaweah delta just prior to 1816, with accompanying disorganization of the local economy and reduction of population.

The effect of war, disease, and starvation cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor can mention be made of them too often. On account of their debilitating influence the populations seen in the Kaweah delta and reported in the documents cannot possibly be overestimates of the aboriginal number. On the contrary, they undoubtedly represent too low, rather than too high, a figure.

*16 36 Reverting now to the villages reported, Moraga mentions eight places, four of them by name or other specific reference. Martinez mentions four, all by name. Cabot refers to Telame as the largest village in the Tulares. Elsewhere (MS, 1818) he states that before reaching Telame there are five rancherias, including Quiusmine and Yulumne. Quiusmine is no doubt the Quihuams of Martinez.

Telame was one village, according to all observers except Moraga (actually Muñoz, who wrote the diary). Moraga ascribes 600 people to the first Telame and 200 to the second. The first estimate, be it noted, was "segun corto computo," or according to a short count. The estimate must therefore on Moraga's own admission be increased, certainly to 1,000 and perhaps more. In view of the size of the well known rancheria Bubal, fully 1,300, Telame must have contained 1,200 persons.

In addition to the two Telames Moraga mentions a "big rancheria" one league to the east. Hence there were three villages which comprised what may be termed the Telame complex. No figures were given by Moraga for the unnamed rancheria, since it was entirely deserted. However, since it was regarded as "big," there must have been several hundred inhabitants, say 500. The total for the triad then would have reached nearly 2,000.

The Martinez description is apparently somewhat at variance with that of his predecessor. Martinez saw, cites distances for, and mentions by name three rancherias: Telame, Lihusuhilame, and Gelecto. They were located within a radius of one league of each other and must correspond to the three seen by Moraga. Gelecto was in ruins, with only the cemetery still in evidence. Hence Gelecto may very well have been the big, deserted rancheria of Moraga. Martinez gives no population data for Telame but says there were 300 heads of families in Lihusuhilame, which was, therefore, without much doubt the largest of the three. According to Moraga's figures, Telame I was the largest. Hence the concordance seems to be that Telame, Lihusuhilame, and Gelecto of Martinez correspond respectively to Telame II, Telame I and the "big" rancheria of Moraga. As pointed out previously, the total inhabitants to be deduced from 300 heads of families, under the conditions existing in 1816 was 1,200. This is twice the estimate of Moraga.

*16 An important point arises here with respect to Moraga's estimates. At Bubal, it will be remembered, Martin found evidence of 1,300 people in 1804 whereas Moraga reported only 400 in 1806. At Lihusuhilame Martinez found according to the statement of the village chief 1,200, although Moraga had reported ten years previously only 600. Furthermore Cabot, at Bubal eight years after Moraga, found 700 persons. For these two important villages therefore Moraga differs flatly with three other competent authorities by a factor of two or three. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in

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*161 which Moraga's population figures are far too low. It seems difficult to escape the conclusion, consequently, that Moraga (or Muñoz) consistently underestimated the native population. The reason is not immediately apparent, although several possible suggestions may be offered. Moraga personally had little interest in such matters. Although he himself did not write the account of the expedition to the Tulares in 1806, he did write that of his expedition to the Sacramento Valley in 1808. The latter diary shows very clearly, through the extreme paucity of its population data, that Moraga either made no direct counts or estimates, or considered them too unimportant to mention in his manuscript. For the 1806 trip the estimates were all supplied, obviously, by Muñoz. There is no reason to impugn either the judgment or veracity of this missionary. However, if one examines his account, it becomes evident that Muñoz based his figures either (1) on statements of gentiles or (2) on the number of natives seen by him. The former source might or might not be accurate. The latter was almost certain to yield too low values because the Moraga expedition was notoriously hostile to the natives and at nearly every village approached the inhabitants fled if they could possibly do so. Muñoz therefore consistently saw only the residue, a fraction of the actual number.

For the above reasons the writer believes that a correction factor should be applied to the Moraga-Muñoz data, and unless there is specific reason to believe otherwise, the figures should be regarded as indicating only about 50 per cent of the true population. Such a correction should not be applied to the figures of other explorers, like Cabot or Estudillo, who were far more careful in their methods of estimate.

If, now, we apply a correction factor of 2, Moraga's estimate for Telame I becomes 1,200, or the same as that found by Martinez for the same village (Lihuauhilame). On the same basis Telame II (Telame of Martinez) would have had 400 persons. Gelecto (unnamed by Moraga) was "big" but probably not as big as Telame I. Hence we may assume an intermediate value, say 800. The total for the Telame complex, or the triad of villages, would have been 2,400.

In addition to the triad we have Uholasi and the "otras varias rancherias" of Moraga. Since Moraga gives 100 for Uholasi we may increase that number to 200. Among the other rancherias we have Quihuame (or Quiuamine) and Yulumne, which were noted by later visitors. Moraga, however, in saying "otras varias" clearly means more than two, probably at least four. It is pertinent to note in this connection that some of these may have disappeared during the turmoil of 1806 to 1816 and that their surviving inhabitants may have been absorbed by other, larger villages. Such an explanation would account for the failure of Cabot and Martinez to refer to them. If we assume four villages at the time of Moraga's expedition (and of course the aboriginal number would have been no less), it is safe to consider them as having been relatively small. According to the size scale of the Kaweah villages as a whole 200 inhabitants could reasonably be ascribed to each of them, or 800 for the group.

The aboriginal population of the Telamni and the Wolasi may therefore be set as closely as we can get at 3,200. The Choinok appear to have had only one rancheria. At least there is one and one only which recurs repeatedly in the Spanish documents. This is Choynoque (Moraga, 1806), Choynoct (Ortega, 1816), Choinoc (Cabot, 1818) or Choijnocho (Estudillo, 1819). Moraga gave 300 as the population, as did also Estudillo. The two values are comparable, if we remember the attrition occurring

*161 between the years 1806 and 1816. We may then apply the correction factor of 2 and get 600 as the most probable number in 1806. Such a value is also consistent with the status of the Choinok as an independent tribal entity of the Kaweah basin, although it does not take into account any reduction in population prior to the expedition of Moraga. There was doubtless such a reduction, but since we have no direct evidence bearing upon the matter it will be better to let the figure 600 stand.

The total for the Kaweah delta group (Telamni, Wolasi, Choinok) is 3,800. This is indeed surprising but the figure perhaps is corroborated by the statement of the Franciscan President for the California missions, Father Payeras—made in support of the establishment of new missions in the valley—that the Telame district alone contained 4,000 unconverted heathen.

[101] The middle Kaweah above Visalia was inhabited by the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. The Gawia are represented in Moraga's account by Eagues (300 inhabitants) and the Yokod by Cohochs (100 inhabitants). The Wukchamni were by far the most numerous and for an excellent account of them we are indebted to Estudillo. This officer, in addition to being a competent field commander, appears to have been a scholar and a gentleman. His report on the Wukchamni village of Chischa is unquestionably the most complete and accurate left us by any of the Spanish explorers and as such is worth discussing in detail.

Estudillo was the first white man to see Chischa. On this point he is very explicit:

> . . . su capitan joasps, ni su gente jamas havian visto tropa, siendo esta la primera vez q. havilan llegado alli, pues hace mucho tiempo paso por abajo (este fue D. Gabriel Moraga en el reconocimiento q. hizo en 1806) y solo noticia tubo por sus amigos de Telame . . .

Consequently, allowing for possible communicable disease, Chischa was in its aboriginal state when Estudillo saw it.

*161 Chischa was 5 leagues east of Telame and 3 leagues from Choinocko. This places the village, according to
361 the maps of Kroeber and of Gayton, at or just above Lemon Cove in the territory ascribed by these ethnographers to the Wukchamni. Estudillo measured off the dimensions of the village by pacing. The shape was semilunar, crescentic or approximately that of the sector of a circle. The short side ("por su frente") was 624 varas long and the long side ("por la espalda") was 756 varas. A figure plotted on coördinate paper to scale shows that the area was 80,000 square varas. On the assumption that the Spanish vara equaled a yard, and that an average city block measures 300 feet on a side, the village of Chischa would have covered eight city blocks.

*161 Estudillo caused the Indians living in the village to form a line before the town, with the men in a single file and the women and children massed in front of them. He counted the men and found that there were exactly 437 warriors ("jovenes de arma") and "como 600 mugeres y ninos." According to the translation made for Merriam (MS in his collection):

> Then I went opposite where the invited guests were lodged, and as they all, men and women and boys and girls were presented to me in a confused

Y
*161 mass, I could not count them as I did those of Chischa, but there were perhaps 600 men."

He specifies the 600 men as "jovenes" and adds that there were 200 "mugeres jovenes." He then describes going behind the village to the arroyo, where he saw more than 100 "mugeres de mayor edad," washing seeds for atoles for the celebrants of the fiesta, and an even greater number of "jovenes moliendo en piedras dhas semillas."

The extraordinary care with which Estudillo conducted his investigation can leave little doubt of the accuracy of his figures. He saw 437 "jovenes de arma" in front of the village together with 600 women and children, plus 100 "mugeres de mayor edad" and more than 100 "jovenes" behind the village preparing the meal. Even allowing for some duplication of individuals the population must have reached at least 1,250. The solidity of this evidence for Chischa renders even more probable comparable figures for Bubal and the other large villages of the general area.

Estudillo saw 600 young men and 200 young women who were visitors. If we use the same ratio of young men ("jovenes de arma") to total population for these groups as for Chischa, then the 600 young men represented a total of 1,700 persons. These were all, says Estudillo, from the "roblar," or the Kaweah basin. When he arrived at the village, he was met by seven chiefs (who were already on the scene), two from Telame, one from Choynoco, and four from other rancherias of the "roblar" near the sierra. We may assume that the seven visiting chiefs were accompanied by approximately equal retinues, or 114 persons each. If two of the chiefs and 228 persons came from the Telame district and one chief with 114 persons from Choynoco (i.e., Choinok), then the remainder, 458, were from other tribes. By the same proportionality factor these represented a total of 980, or let us say 1,000, Indians. The Wukchamni and their satellites must therefore have numbered 2,250 individuals in the year 1819. Estudillo himself says that the population of Chischa and its neighbors was 2,400, but he may have included some Telamni among this number. On the other hand, the visitors to Chischa on the occasion of the fiesta could scarcely have included all the inhabitants of the villages whence they came. Some, for one reason or another, must have remained at home. Hence the estimate of 1,000 is probably under the true value.

Y
[731] Now it is important that Estudillo was in the "roblar" in 1819. In view of the severe disorganization, "mortality," and "famine" of 1814 to 1816, the population of the Wukchamni must have undergone a serious decline before Estudillo saw the tribe. Despite the absence of any specific figures the documents give the impression that the reduction of population around Tulare Lake was almost complete by 1819 and that the valley tribes along the margin of the foothills had lost fully half their number. It will be proper therefore to ascribe a one-quarter reduction to the Wuchamni, Gawia, and Yokod. If we accept Estudillo's estimate of 2,400 for the year 1819, the aboriginal population for these groups would have been 3,200.

W
161 In the meantime the Mono of the upper river had scarcely been touched, save possibly by epidemics of which we have no record. It is significant that at the great gathering at Chischa there appeared, near the middle of the day, a chief with 60 men and 42 women from a rancheria called Apalame in the interior of the Sierra Nevada. These natives, probably Balwisha or

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 48 A] Western Mono NS25
Miwok NS16

W 161 Waksache, had never seen troops. To arrive at the population of the entire Kaweah basin in aboriginal or proto-aboriginal times these tribes must be included. Their strength, as previously estimated, was of the order of 600 persons.

Y *161 Computing now the total for the Kaweah river and delta as first described by white men, we find an aggregate of 7,600 inhabitants. As set forth previously, the survivors in 1850 numbered about 1,800 or 23.7 per cent of the aboriginal (or early historical) value. Excluding the relatively undisturbed Mono the comparable value for the lower river and delta is 17.2 per cent. These percentages are in close agreement with those found for the ecologically similar area bordering Lake Tulare.

KAWEAH RIVER 7,600

THE MERCED RIVER

M 161 It will be convenient at the present juncture to consider the watershed of the Merced River, although this area lies at a considerable distance from that just examined (see maps 1 and 4, area 6).

In the preceding section it was concluded that only 500 to 600 natives still remained in 1850 on the lower portion of the river below the foothills, whereas the population of the southern Miwok in the foothills and higher ranges amounted to approximately 1,250. The latter figure was based principally on Merriam's village lists and the population counts obtained from informants by Gifford for the Miwok farther north. The question must now be propounded whether these data, which appear to be fairly accurate for the year 1850 or even 1840, can be taken as showing the population under substantially aboriginal conditions, let us say those obtaining prior to the intense Spanish invasion of the valley in the decade 1800 to 1810.

1. As a matter of generalization it can be stated that the environment as remembered by the oldest informant or even his parents can scarcely reach into pre-Spanish times. Hence the village populations and distributions as reported in good faith to Gifford or Merriam must have been subjected in some measure to the disruptive effect of the white man. The great disturbance in the valley itself, which was manifested by the entire extinction of whole Yokuts and Plains Miwok tribes, must have had reperçussions in the near-by hills through disease, kidnaping, and minor dislocation of food supply, even though the actual territory of the natives was not physically invaded by the newcomers. Hence, a priori, one might anticipate that the populations as derived from ethnographic sources would be somewhat less than truly aboriginal.

2. In the discussion of Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono it was shown, on the basis of persons per family and houses per village, that the population in the memory time of the informants was about 440 whereas the precontact value must have been nearer 640. The population residue in 1840-1850 would then have been 68.8 per cent of the aboriginal level.

3. For the upper Tuolumne and Stanislaus Gifford's population figures were based upon the values given by his informants for 40 villages. The average was 20.8 persons per village, a number which was accepted as valid for the period of 1850. The distribution of population for the villages is as follows:

12: Cook 8-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts
[P.48B] Miwok NS16

161

Inhabitants per Village	Number of Villages	Number of Persons
60	1	60
55	1	55
35	3	105
30	6	180
25	8	200
20	9	180
15	6	90
10	12	120
5	1	5
0	2	0
Total	49	995

Now it may be assumed that under normal conditions few if any villages would contain less than 20 persons and that those listed by Gifford with 15 or less were the victims of a general decline in numbers. Hence to the latter may be ascribed a minimum of 20 persons. At the same time the other villages must have suffered some reduction. Although there is no positive evidence bearing on the matter, it would not be excessive to add five persons to each of the others. Making these corrections the total becomes 1,340 instead of 995. The residue in 1850 would then be 74.2 per cent of the aboriginal level. Incidentally, the inhabitants per village would then be only 27.35, a value by no means excessive for prehistoric times.

Some confirmation for these assumptions can be obtained by further consideration of Gifford's study of the North Fork Mono. As previously mentioned, Gifford shows the number of houses and hence the number of families living in the hamlets of this tribe. For many hamlets two or more sets of houses are given, implying consecutive, not simultaneous, occupancy. The average number of houses per hamlet occupied at one time is 2.7. However, informants were able to recollect an additional 44 houses, which had been formerly used. Including these, the average number per occupied hamlet is 3.21. Gifford's family number is 4.89, a value which may be increased to 6.0 to cover aboriginal conditions. Thus the mean size of an active prehistoric Mono hamlet may be taken as 19.25, or let us say 20 persons. Since the Mono villages were intermittently inhabited whereas those of the Miwok were permanent and probably somewhat larger, the average value of 27.35 for the latter seems in no way excessive.

From the above considerations the conclusion is warranted that for the northern Mono and the Miwok the population as derived from good modern ethnographic data is about 70 per cent of the precontact value. The estimate for the upper Merced, derived from Merriam's village lists was 1,239. If the factor of 70 per cent is applied, the aboriginal population becomes 1,770.

For the lower Merced Valley we are dependent entirely upon the account of Moraga's visit in 1806. Coming from the west, he crossed the San Joaquin River on September 27 and moved three leagues north to camp on or near Bear Creek in T8S, R10E. The following day, September 28, Moraga divided his expedition and sent one group north and another northeast to explore. Both groups found a great river, with many natives, all of whom fled on seeing the white men. At least one rancheria was found, because Moraga "adquirio la noticia de otras 5 rancherias sitas en el rio fuera de aquella en que se hallaba del parte de 250 almas, segun el informe de los gentiles." On the 29th the camp was moved three

161 leagues ENE (more probably NNE) to the river, the Merced. There were two rancherias on the river bank, the people of which had fled through fear of the white men. On the 30th a party went up the Merced and found many natives "sin duda de sus 5 rancherias."

Moraga then went north and returned to the Merced on October 7. The Spaniards saw many natives and were visited by 79 warriors from the rancheria "del otro lado del rio," i.e., on the south bank. The 8th of October the expedition visited the rancheria just mentioned; to judge by the number of men (the women having fled) the rancheria had 200 souls. This place was called Latelate, and there was another village near by, called Lachuo, with the same number of inhabitants. The next day the expedition moved on southeast.

Moraga evidently saw two villages and heard of about five others. The two which he saw, Latelate and Lachuo, are said, on the basis of the warriors seen, to have contained 200 persons each. Since warriors of one village, Latelate, numbered 79, the estimate of 200 total inhabitants, or a ratio of 2.5 to 1, is entirely reasonable. If the other five villages had the same number, the aggregate for the river would have been 1,400. However, some of the others may have been larger. In the list of rancherias appended by Muñoz, the approximate sequence of the journey is followed. Five rancherias can be ascribed logically to the Merced: Chineguis, Yunate, Chamuasi, Latelate, and Lachuo. Chineguis follows Nupchenche in the list, Nupchenche having 250 souls and Chineguis the same population. Likewise, Yunate and Chamuasi have the same "segun compute regular." Latelate and Lachuo are given 200 each, thus corresponding to the text of the diary. The other two villages are not mentioned by name in the list but it may be presumed that they were of approximately the same size, let us say one of 250 souls and the other of 200. Thus the Muñoz-Moraga count gives us 1,600 inhabitants.

It will be remembered that the figures cited by Moraga for the population of villages in the Kaweah-Tulare region were uniformly at variance with those of other observers and were always too low. Hence a question may be raised with respect to his data for the Merced valley. The villages in this area, by all subsequent accounts, were smaller than in the heavily populated territory farther south. Furthermore, Moraga's was the first expedition of which we have record which explored the Merced Basin. These facts would tend to indicate that Moraga's figures may be reasonably accurate. On the other hand, the repeated statements that the Indians fled on the approach of the white men and the fact that estimates had to be made from the number of warriors seen leave the possibility open that there actually were more people than Moraga thought. Hence it will be reasonable to ascribe an aboriginal population of 250 to each of the seven rancherias, giving as a total 1,750 for the lower Merced River.

The population of the entire valley then would have been 3,520, or, rounding off to the nearest hundred, 3,500. The survivors along the lower river amounted to approximately 550 in the year 1852. If the population in Moraga's time was 1,750, then the reduction from 1806 to 1852 was to 31.4 per cent of the original level. In view of the somewhat more remote position of the Merced, this figure checks quite well with the values found on the Kaweah River and Lake Tulare.

MERCED RIVER 3,500

THE KINGS RIVER

*161 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be
101 divided into three sectors. The first comprises the
131 delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

*16 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of
[62] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber,
[36] Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at
[36] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

*161 Derby, only by the rancheria of Notonto which then had 300 inhabitants. The population had thus fallen to 17.6 per cent of its former value. A footnote to the decline of the native inhabitants in this region is the fact that within a year or two after Derby's visit the village of [648] Notonto was attacked by American cattlemen and farmers. The rancheria was devastated and 200 of the 300 people present were massacred in cold blood.

For the second sector of the Kings River we are dependent primarily upon the record of the Moraga expedition. Moraga and Muñoz evidently covered the river from the vicinity of Reedley to, or nearly to, the junction of the main stream and Mill Creek. The villages mentioned by them belonged principally to the Aiticha and the Choinimni. The Wechihit and the Toihicha may have been included but the Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich seem to have been overlooked. Hence the figures given by Moraga are undoubtedly incomplete.

On October 16, 1806, having arrived from the San Joaquin River two days previously, Moraga sent out two scouting parties. One went upstream and found a [361] rancheria of "como de 60 almas," called Ayquiche (or Aycayche). They were no doubt among the Aiticha, above Sanger. Here they heard about, but did not see, six other rancherias "sitas a la orillas del rio por la parte de la sierra." The other party went downstream and found three villages close together on a spacious plain along the banks of the river. They had a total of 400 inhabitants, but most of the people had fled. The "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" gives the names of these villages: Aycayche, which "according to the Indians" had 200 people, Ecsaa with 100, Chiaja with 100, and Xayuase with 100. In addition there was Capitau, which was very small and a "sugeto" of Xayuase. It had about 10 people. Apparently in October Muñoz and Moraga found only 60 Indians left in Aycayche, whereas in April they learned that it really contained 200. The difference must be ascribed to fugitivism.

The three downstream villages are credited by the "List" with 100 inhabitants apiece, but the diary states that there was a total of 400. The latter figure is more likely to be correct. Thus, with Aycayche, Moraga saw in this sector four villages and 600 persons. The other group of villages, six in number, was farther toward the mountains and no particular information concerning them is given in the diary. The "List," however, is more explicit. Under Aycayche it is stated:

> Aqui hay otras 6 rancherias que no se pudieron reconocer y son todos, segun la noticia de los indios de esta rancheria como del porte de almas de Pizcache.

Pizcache is said to contain 200 souls. An aggregate of 1,200 persons is therefore indicated or, for the entire region seen by Moraga, 1,800.

The middle course of the Kings River has been discussed in the preceding section and it has been pointed out that in the middle of the nineteenth century this region was relatively heavily populated. The accounts of several contemporary observers indicate that in 1850 or thereabouts somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000 natives were still to be found between the remnants of the Nutunutu on the west and the foothills Mono on the east. The ethnographic data supplied by Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart show approximately 25 villages remembered by informants. If we use the fairly conservative average of 150 persons per village, the total

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*161 is 3,750. To assume 3,500 is merely to stay within the bounds of the existing evidence.

If we accept tentatively 3,500 as the number of Indians on the middle Kings River in midcentury, then we are confronted with the problem of backward extrapolation. For the Tulare-Kaweah region the probable decline from 1800 to 1850 was probably to the level of approximately 20 per cent of the original value. Direct application of this factor to the Kings River gives a value for 1800 of 17,500. This is manifestly far too high. For the Mono and the Miwok in the upper foothills many facts point to a population decline to approximately 70 per cent of the prehistoric value. Application of this factor gives 5,000 for the Kings River, a high but not impossible figure.

Other considerations are worth mention at this point. In his diary of 1826 José Dolores Pico describes his adventures on the Kings River in January of that year. He was chasing stock thieves and trying to recover stolen animals. From January 10 to January 14 he beat back and forth along the Kings River, from the sloughs to the foothills, attacking every Indian in sight. The results were discouraging. He captured no animals, killed not over a score of natives, and was completely
[619] outmanoeuvered by the combined forces of the Wimilchi, the Notontos, and Chukamina. The entire tenor of the document suggests an active, competent, and quite powerful local confederacy of tribes. This diary of Pico describes the only expedition to the Kings River of which we have documentary knowledge between 1806 and the coming of the Americans.

These facts suggest, first, that there was a sizable population which managed to maintain itself reasonably well for several decades along the Kings River. Secondly, they suggest that there may perhaps have been a slow migration of the more exposed valley people, like the Nutunutu, higher up the river. Both these factors would tend to keep the population decline to a minimum.

In view of the confusion surrounding the evidence in this area and in view of the apparent inadequacy of the Moraga figures the aboriginal population of the middle Kings River may be set at 5,000, with the full realization that this value represents the best guess under the circumstances.

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*161 The upper river was inhabited by the Mono groups, Holkoma and Wobonuch, for which an 1850 population of
W 1,700 was computed. The decline to 70 per cent may be
161 accepted here without serious reservation; hence the original number would have been 2,340. Adding the values for the three sectors of the river we get 9,130 or, estimating to the nearest hundred, 9,100.

KINGS RIVER 9,100

UPPER SAN JOAQUIN, FRESNO, AND CHOWCHILLA RIVERS AND MARIPOSA CREEK

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*161 The area between the Merced and the Kings rivers (see maps 1 and 4, area 5), which includes the courses of the upper San Joaquin, the Fresno, and the Chowchilla rivers, together with Mariposa Creek, is very poorly represented in the early documentary sources. The central valley itself, as far as the foothills, was apparently traversed by numerous expeditions and raids, and the population was largely missionized, killed, or dispersed. The written record is, however, quite inadequate. It is therefore not feasible to consider each of these river systems separately, as was done in the

*161 discussion of the population about 1850. It is preferable to discuss the entire region as a unit and, when necessary, pass to indirect methods of estimate.

The Pitkachi on the San Joaquin are mentioned in 1806 by Moraga, who allows 200 persons to their rancheria. The tribe appears again in the baptism record of Soledad Mission (MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley) according to which 205 Indians from "Picatche" were baptized from 1821 to 1824 and another 18 in 1831. An additional 23 came from rancherias in the vicinity, a total of 246. Another rancheria, Capicha, is referred to by Pico in 1815, who said it was uninhabited at that time, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. As late as 1853 Wessels said that the Pitcache, together with the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, numbered 500 to 600 souls. Kroeber mentions three villages remembered by modern informants.

If 246 Indians were baptized in one mission, the tribe as a whole must have numbered at least four times as many, or 1,000. If two [illegible]-sized rancherias are mentioned by the Spanish [illegible], the entire tribe may well have possessed [illegible], which again implies a population of 1,000. If there were approximately 300 survivors in 1853, by comparison with other open valley areas the original population must have been fully three or four times as great, or perhaps 1,200. If three rancherias were known to modern informants, they must formerly have been important places with anywhere from 200 to 400 people, again indicating a total of 1,000 for the tribe.

Concerning the Hoyima there are two references, one by Pico in 1826 and one by Rodriguez in 1828. Pico states merely that he attacked the rancheria and captured 40 gentiles and 1 Christian, a fact which in itself would not furnish a very significant clue to population. He also noted "mucha guesamenta y cueros casi frescos de caballada que habian matado."

The account by Rodriguez is more circumstantial. This soldier went along the San Joaquin River in late April of 1828. On the 24th he sent a group of men to scout the "rancheria de los Joyimas, que es adonde an comido la caballada." At dawn the next day they attacked the village, "que estaba en medio de los dos brazos del rio" (the San Joaquin west or northwest of Fresno). He captured 26 Indians and 27 animals (horses). Another 60 or 80 horses escaped "en el monte." At about this time a gentile captain came from a rancheria designated Guche or Getche, depending upon how one deciphers the handwriting of the manuscript. He "vino a los Joyimas a comer caballo." The rancheria named here is probably that of the Heuchi on the Fresno River. This gentile said there was another rancheria "mas arriba" at which there were horses. Rodriguez sent Simeon Castro to investigate. He found no one at the rancheria mentioned but went on 2 leagues to another rancheria, likewise deserted but containing the carcasses of 100 dead horses, which had been slaughtered and were about to be eaten. It was noted by Rodriguez that: "Estas 3 rancherias son una misma que es la de los Jaimes." It was also remarked that the rancheria was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. From this account it is clear that the Joyimas had at least three villages. Allowing somewhat over 300 persons each, the population of the group would reach 1,000.

177 The slaughtered horses open up an interesting field
*161 of speculation. It is clear that by 1828 large segments of
262 the aboriginal population had entirely given up the sedentary ancestral mode of life in favor of an existence based upon stock raiding. To do this it was necessary to recast

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
*16 order to catch the horses for food other horses were
262 essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal
settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and
new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
[25] preserved, according to general practice, it was sufficient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
[10] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
[31] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and
131 are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
important position in the early nineteenth century. In-
*161 deed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

*161 Tulares at "Arroyo nombrado San Jose," which was close to the rancheria of the Cheneches. At dawn of the 8th he attacked the village and captured 66 persons, but ". . . la mayor parte de esta gente se fue pr estar dha rancheria en mal parage." The gentiles said that 4 leagues up the San Joaquin River was Nupchenche, thus placing Cheneches on the river in the southern part of T8 S, R11E. This location checks well with the [361] statement made elsewhere in the diary by Pico that Cheneches was near the junction of the San Joaquin and "Las Mariposas," or Mariposa Creek. If Pico captured 66 persons but "the majority" escaped, the total number must have reached from 200 to 400, if not more.

*161 Pico then scouted Nupchenche and learned that all the inhabitants had fled. He therefore by-passed the 361 village and went 8 leagues southeast up the San Joaquin to the rancheria Copicha. This rancheria, which by the way must not be confused with the Cutucho of Moraga, was thus located on the river several miles north of Firebaugh, probably near or in T11S, R13E. As a check on this location is Pico's further statement that Copicha was in the valley of the San Joaquin "junto del Tecolote," or the Chowchilla. On November 10 he moved 8 leagues southeast from Copicha and saw haorses from the rancheria Tape, which, from the distances, was near Mendota. This view is supported by Estudillo, who saw the region in 1819 and says that the spot ". . . donde Tape tenia su rancheria" was 24 leagues south of Cheneches and 25 leagues north of Notonto. Actually, Mendota appears to be approximately halfway between these two points.

Pico mentions one other village, Malim, which he places near Cheneches. Confirmation is found in a letter of Fr. Marcelino Marquinez (MS) on May 25, 1816, stating that the Cheneches recently have killed two Christians from Malim. The latter rancheria thereupon allied itself with Notoalh and Luchamme. No other trace of the two last-named villages is found.

Other writers who mention the Nupchenches group include Fr. Antonio Jaime, who mentions Cutuchu (MS, 1816) as a rancheria from which Soto brought back gentiles, and Ortega, who, in his 1815 diary, mentions Cupicha as having been attacked by Pico. Finally Inocente Garcia in his manuscript of 1878 records an expedition against the Nupuchineches under Ignacio Vallejo. The rancheria, even in the 1830's was "muy Populosa." The expedition captured 100 warriors and 300 of all ages and sexes, arguing a population of over the 300 claimed as captives.

From these accounts emerge six rancherias, each of which is mentioned independently by at least two writers. From north to south they were: Cheneches and Malim, Nupchenches and Cutucho, Copicha, Tape. Moraga says Nupchenches had 250 people and Cutucho had 400. From Pico's statement concerning captives we may ascribe a minimum of 300 to Cheneches, and Copicha, Malim, and Tape can scarcely have been much smaller. Hence the entire group can have numbered no less than 1,800 in 1816.

*161 At Tape on November 23 Pico found 16 live horses and mules recently killed together with "mucha carne enterciada." If we neglect the meat, 254 whole animals, dead or alive, were actually counted. From November 25 to 28 the party traveled steadily from Tape to Cheneches. From Tape to Cheneches inclusive they saw 500 dead horses. It is not clear whether the 238 animals seen at Tape were included in this figure. If, however, assuming that they were, we use the same ratio of dead horses to inhabitants as was discussed

*161 with respect to the Hoyima, these villages should have contained 2,500 persons. This figure is quite reasonable if we grant that the horses were to be consumed by the entire group of villages, rather than only one or two of them, and may be provisionally accepted.

On the basis of the records presented, a probable population value for the valley floor between the Merced and the Kings rivers in the decade 1810-1820 was 5,100. But this may well be an underestimate and be representative of the aboriginal population. Evidence pointing in this direction is the almost complete obliteration of these tribes before 1850. That very serious attrition was going on among these exposed people is evident from the records of all the explorers. The massacre and kidnaping described by Pico is itself significant. In addition, we have the discussion by Estudillo in 1819, who found almost the entire surviving population of Tape sick and dying. He also points out that at the moment there were no less than four expeditions, including his own, ranging up and down the open valley, bent upon destruction. To explore the problem further indirect methods must be employed. We may therefore turn to estimates based upon stream distances.

If minor local variation is disregarded, the habitat provided by the Merced and the Kings rivers from the lower foothills out to the center of the valley is in no essential respect different from that characterizing the Mariposa, the Chowchilla, the Fresno, and the San Joaquin throughout its length below the foothills. The
[361] native villages were spaced more or less uniformly along the larger rivers. Hence an approximate proportionality should have existed between riverbank distance and the number of inhabitants. No high degree of precision can be expected from calculations based upon these premises but the method yielded rational results for the period centering around 1850 and from it the correct order of magnitude should be obtainable.

Airline distances are used for the rivers. The general
[33] course of all the streams is substantially straight and the numerous small meanders are uniform in size and occurrence throughout the area. Three river sectors are used as a basis: the lower Merced River, the middle Kings River from and including Mill Creek to Kingsburg plus the principal tributaries, and the lower Kings from Kingsburg to Lemoore. The data are compiled briefly as follows in tabular form.

River Sector	Miles in Length	Population	Persons per River Mile
Lower Merced...	32	1,750	55
Middle Kings....	75	5,000	67
Lower Kings	20	1,500	75

Despite the uneven nature of the basic information these figures show considerable internal consistency. The mileage of the San Joaquin, Fresno, Chowchilla, and Mariposa amounts collectively to approximately 190 miles (the four streams west of Kroeber's line of the valley Yokuts and down the San Joaquin as far as the mouth of Bear Creek). At 65 persons per mile (the approximate mean of the three values cited above) the population would be 12,350, or, let us say an even 12,000. This is more than double the number indicated directly by the Spanish accounts. It has been pointed out, however, that these accounts are incomplete with respect to the villages seen and recorded. Furthermore the records demonstrate a condition of severe disorganization on the part of the native society. Hence the indirectly

Y *161 computed figure may reflect more closely the aboriginal population level.

The population in 1850 for the part of the Yokuts territory here being discussed was considered in a previous section. The best estimates were found to be 1,000 for the Mariposa and Chowchilla and 2,900 for the Fresno and San Joaquin. The total, 3,900 is 32.5 per cent of the estimated aboriginal population and represents, therefore, a reduction of the same general extent as was demonstrated for the Kaweah-Tulare Lake region.

The foothill region drained by the four rivers being discussed includes the extreme northern Yokuts tribes, the North Fork Mono, and some of the southern Miwok. In the consideration of the 1852 population it was not advantageous to segregate river sectors as has been done for the earlier data. This is because, with certain exceptions, the data pertaining to the later period cover as a rule the entire stretch of each river, rather than the central valley plain as distinct from the foothills. Nevertheless it is possible to arrive at the result desired indirectly.

For the Yokuts on the middle Fresno River it was concluded that the average number of inhabitants per village was 60. This value was based on village numbers and general estimates for the period of 1850 and included also the assumption that the villages had been much reduced in size by that year. For precontact times it is quite justifiable to maintain that the average size was of the order of that demonstrated for the Kings and the Merced, or let us say 150. The tribes on the Fresno and San Joaquin not seen or at least not reported by the Spanish writers are the Gashowu, Wakichi, Kechayi, Dumna, Toltichi, Dalinchi, and Chukchansi. The total number of villages recognized for these seven tribes by Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta is 36. This total of course rests on the memory of informants and pertains to conditions in the period 1840 to 1850 or perhaps 1860. There is no proof whatever that the village number in 1800 was the same, yet the whole history of Indian-white contact in the valley region leads one to believe that it can hardly have been smaller. Since there is no evidence to the contrary and since the hypothesis is inherently reasonable, we may concede 36 villages of 150 persons each or 5,400 in all.

M 161 For the southern Miwok on the upper Mariposa and Chowchilla, calculated by means of village counts and Gifford's average of 21 Indians per village, the values of 273 and 410 respectively were obtained. The factor of a reduction to 70 per cent of the aboriginal population may be here applied, yielding a total of 975 for the two streams. The figure for the North Fork Mono in prehistori[illegible] has already been placed at 640.

Y *161 If we now add 12,000 for the valley and marginal Yokuts, 5,400 for the foothill Yokuts between the Miwok border and the Kings River, 975 for the southern Miwok M 161 on the Mariposa and Chowchilla and 640 for the North Fork Mono the total becomes 19,015.

Y *161 The validity of this figure can be subjected to a check through comparison by area. This method cannot be expected to show up minor or secondary errors but it will bring to light any fundamental or serious discrepancies. We may block out four major regions: the Kaweah-Tulare Lake, the Kings River, the Merced River, and the segment between the Merced and the Kings. Each of these represents fundamentally the same type of environment, i.e., a rough strip extending southwest to northeast, beginning with the lakes and sloughs of the central valley axis, passing across the valley floor to the foot-

*161 hills, and reaching ultimately the middle altitudes of the Sierra Nevada. Four cross sections are thus obtained, differing in width but fairly uniformly including the habitats represented. It should be noted that the water surface of Lake Tulare as it existed in 1860 has been deducted from the area of the Kaweah-Tulare region; also that the two northern regions include a relatively greater expanse of uninhabitable mountain territory than do the two southern regions. The western boundary has been drawn along a line approximately five miles west of the San Joaquin River and the prolongation of its axis toward the lake. The westward extension of the Tachi toward Coalinga had to be neglected since there are no clear tribal boundaries in this area. The number of square miles was computed by township lines and the error of estimate must be considered at least plus or minus 20 per cent. The results follow:

Region	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Population density per sq. mi.
Kaweah-Tulare	1,880	14,100	7.12
Kings	1,530	9,100	5.85
Merced	1,400	3,500	2.50
Mariposa-San Joaquin	3,760	19,000	5.05

The density of the Mariposa-San Joaquin area is quite close to that of the Kings River Basin. The Kaweah-Tulare territory has a somewhat higher density, but this finding is compatible with the known enormous concentration of population around Tulare Lake and in the Kaweah delta. The value for the Merced strip is unduly low. The discrepancy can be accounted for on two grounds. The first, already mentioned, is that this river, throughout its length, passes through a greater area of uninhabitable mountains than do many of the other streams. The second is that our estimates for the lower Merced are insufficient. They rest in essence on the single report by Moraga, who, as has been shown, tended to underestimate and who did not see, or at least did not report upon, the entire course of the lower river. Moreover there is no report at all from Spanish sources with respect to the San Joaquin between the mouth of the Chowchilla (Nupchenche group) and the mouth of the Tuolumne. That villages did exist throughout this region is attested by the illuminating account of J. J. Warner, who was a member of Ewing Young's expedition to the great valley in 1832 and 1833. (I use the text as quoted in Warner, 1890.) He says (p.28):

> 361 *161 In the fall of 1832 there were a number of Indian villages on King's River, between its mouth and the mountains: also on the San Joaquin River from the base of the mountains down to and some distance below the great slough. On the Merced River from the mountains to its junction with the San Joaquin there were no Indian villages; but from about this point on the San Joaquin, as well as on all of its principal tributaries, the Indian villages were numerous; and many of these villages contained from fifty to 100 dwellings.

*161 It is noteworthy that Warner saw no villages on the lower Merced, precisely at the spot where Moraga in 1806 had recorded no less than seven. All of these must have been obliterated during the intervening twenty-six years, striking testimony to the devastation being wrought among the open valley peoples. But from the junction of the Merced and the San Joaquin rivers, along the main

*161 axis of the valley the villages were numerous, some of them containing 50 to 100 houses or at least 250 to 500 people.

What happened to these villages is graphically told in Warner's own words.

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> On our return, late in the summer of 1833, we found the valleys depopulated. From the head of the Sacramento to the great bend and slough of the San Joaquin, we did not see more than six or eight Indians; while large numbers of their skulls and dead bodies were to be seen under almost every shade-tree near water, where the uninhabited and deserted villages had been converted into graveyards; and on the San Joaquin River, in the immediate neighborhood of the larger class of villages, which, in the preceding year, were the abodes of a large number of those Indians, we found not only graves, but the vestiges of a funeral pyre. At the mouth of King's river we encountered the first and only village of the stricken race that we had seen after entering the great valley.

*161 This was the pandemic of 1833, concerning which, in comparison with some accounts, Warner's description is a model of conservatism.

It is evident that a combination of circumstances prevents us from making an adequate assessment of the aboriginal population of the lower Merced River and adjacent segments of the San Joaquin. Our density figure is about half the expected value. If we had the full facts, we could perhaps double the estimated population. Under existing conditions we can feel reasonably sure of the value given for the area between the Mariposa and the San Joaquin rivers.

MARIPOSA-SAN JOAQUIN 19,000

THE SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

The southern end of the valley, beyond Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River, can best be considered in three parts. The first is the foothill strip from the Kaweah to the Tejon Pass, which was inhabited by the Yokuts tribes Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and Yauelmani (maps 1 and 2, area 1G). The second comprises the lower Kern River together with the former Buenavista Lake basin. This area was held by the Yokuts tribes Hometowoli, Tubohi, and Tulamni. The third includes the peripheral fringe of relatively high foothill and mountain country of the southern Sierra Nevada and Tehachapi and was inhabited by non-Yokuts people: Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, Kitanemuk, and the Tokya branch of the Chumash (maps 1 and 2, areas 1A to 1E).

Only the Koyeti are described by the Spanish authorities hitherto consulted. Moraga mentions the rancheria Coyahete with a population of 400 in 1806. Estudillo in 1819 found a rancheria, which he called Arroyo de Copaipich, with 200 and one called Canyon Agapa with 400 people. The latter may perhaps be Moraga's Coyahete. If so, the tribe had a population of at least 600 in 1819, but it must have suffered some decline prior to that year. Latta's informants were able to remember 8 villages. Moreover, the tribe was oriented ecologically toward the Kaweah delta and oak forest, although it was [131] actually situated on the lower Tule River. Thus an estimate of 800 persons would not be too much for the pre-

*161 contact period. The Yaudanchi on the upper Tule River also, according to Kroeber and to Latta, had 8 villages and cowered considerably more territory than the Koyeti. Hence the same population may be ascribed to them. The Bokninuwad were evidently a smaller group, since Kroeber reports for them only two villages and Latta none. It would not be safe to allow them more than 200 persons. If we do so, then the tentative estimate for the three tribes must be put at a total of 1,800.

For the remainder of the territory held by the Yokuts there are only two documentary references, the diaries of Garcés in 1776 and Zalvidea in 1806. Both these writers give population data which have been subject to considerable controversy.

For the Buenavista region the four pertinent villages are mentioned by Zalvidea and are as follows:

Village and Tribe	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
Malapoa (Tulamni)	...	29	22	8	59
[361] Buenavista (Tulamni)	...	36	144	38	218
Sisipistu (Hometwoli)	28	50-60	...	...	...
Yaguelame (Yauelmani)	...	92	...	...	300

From even casual inspection it is apparent that Zalvidea did not see the complete population of any one of these villages and that many of the inhabitants had been removed by previous expeditions or were in hiding. The village of Malapoa is small but presents no serious demographic discrepancies. The number of children was low, but as has been pointed out in a previous discussion Zalvidea was counting as men or women everyone over the age of seven years. The children, calculated according to his method, amounted to 13.5 per cent of the total.

At Buenavista he found only 36 men to 144 women, an incredible situation unless most of the men had fled or had been killed. Under normal conditions the number of men should at least approximately equal that of the women. Therefore in order to reconstruct the probable population we are forced to assume the presence of at least 144 men. This gives a total of 326 persons of which 8.8 per cent would have been children. For the other two villages only the number of men is given, no doubt the men actually seen. Indeed at Yaguelmane Zalvidea "counted" the 92 men he specifies. Significantly, however, he counted men "from 7 to 40 years" and infers that the village had a population of 300. If for Yaguelmane we allow 10 per cent of children seven years old or younger the adults would number 270. If the sex ratio were near unity, then, with 92 men 40 years or younger, there must have been 47 men over that age and 135 women of all ages. If the same ratios are applied to Sisipistu with 55 men from 7 to 40 years of age, the population would be 180. This figure is quite consistent with the number of houses, 28, for the number of persons per house would then be 6.43. The four villages (Malapoa, Buenavista, Yaguelame, and Sisipistu) consequently must have had populations of 59, 326, 300, and 180 respectively. The average of the four is 191 persons.

Since there are no other historical data pertaining to
[129] the lake region, it is necessary to utilize the village lists of Kroeber (1925) and Latta (1949). These investigators, through their informants, have located 3 villages

*161 for the Hometowoli, 1 for the Tuhohi, 3 for the Tulamni, and 2 for the Yauelmani of the lower Kern River, making 9 in all. As suggested with respect to other areas the number of villages was undoubtedly as great in 1806 as in 1840 or 1850. Hence we can be assured of at least 9 in 1806. For size it is proper to use Zalvidea's average of 191 inhabitants, thus giving as the population of the Buenavista basin 1,720.

For the southern foothills we must rely upon the diary of Garcés. Gifford and Schenck (1926) discuss this document at length, concluding (p. 21) that the population actually seen by Garcés north of the slopes of the Tehachapi was 750 and that the total population "south of the Tule River" was 1,000 to 1,500. Since the present writer must differ from these authors, it is worth while to review once more the evidence furnished by the Garcés account. In so doing the exact route of the explorer must be made plain.

On May 1, 1776, having previously descended the southern mountains to the valley floor, Garcés broke camp:

> Having gone one league northwest I came upon a large river which made much noise, at the outlet (al salir) of the Sierra de San Marcos and whose waters . . . flowed on a course from the east through a straitened channel.

(Coues, ed., 1900, pp. 280-281). The river of course was the Kern and the spot was without question the point at which the river suddenly breaks out onto the plain from its canyon. The water was here swift ("made much noise"). It literally "sallied forth" from the mountains, and its course from the east was through a narrow channel. This place is about 14 miles east-northeast of Bakersfield on California State Highway 178.

Garcés then went downstream "a little way" and found a rancheria (no. 1) on the right bank. After going a little way farther he saw a rancheria (no. 2) on the left bank and another (no. 3) "to the west." He went downstream no more than 2 or 3 miles, otherwise, as was his invariable custom, he would have specified his distances in leagues. Three rancherias can therefore be located on the Kern between the last abrupt slope of the eastward hills and just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. These correspond on the map to Kroeber's villages Altau and Shoko of the Paleuyami and Konoilkin of the Yauelmani, although the actual identity is by no means assured.

After crossing the river with difficulty Garcés struck northwest "and a little north" for 3 leagues. This brought him to a stream where there was a rancheria (no. 4). From a point 3 or 4 miles below the entrance of the Kern River canyon a line running northwest by north extends diagonally about 7 miles across T28S, R29E to reach Poso Creek near the northern boundary of the township.

After passing the night at the rancheria mentioned (no. 4), Garcés went straight north for 4-1/2 leagues. On the way he went by some deserted rancherias. These villages were not temporarily deserted, with the inhabitants in hiding. They were "rancherias despobladas," that is, permanently depopulated or abandoned. It is interesting to speculate on the cause of this phenomenon, for the depopulation can have been due only to intertribal warfare or disease. We know nothing of any native wars of sufficient magnitude to have destroyed several whole villages. On the other hand, as Garcés himself later points out, Spaniards had already penetrated the region. Pedro Fages was in the southern valley in 1772 on his

*/61 way to the Colorado and Garcés found at least one deserting soldier living with the Indians. It is quite possible that decline of population had already begun as early as 1776.

After traveling 4-1/2 leagues Garcés found another rancheria (no. 5), at which he spent the night of May 2-3. This must have been somewhere near the hamlet of Woody at the southern boundary of T25S, R29E. On May 3 he moved another 2-1/2 leagues, still north, to reach the White River near or slightly to the west of the village of White River in T24S, R29E. Here he camped at a rancheria (no. 6) of 150 souls. On May 4, having reached his farthest point north, he visited another rancheria (no. 7) half a league east. At rancheria no. 6 he found an Indian who was a fugitive from the coast and also heard that two Spanish soldiers had been killed for molesting Indian women. The contact with the whites [179] was therefore clearly established. Stephen Powers (1877), who was in the San Joaquin Valley in the decade of 1850, says that "on White River there are no Indians, neither have there been any for many years." Here again is an indication of depopulation at a very early date.

On May 5 Garcés started to retrace his steps southward, reaching at 2-1/2 leagues the previous rancheria (i.e., no. 5). From here he must have diverged somewhat eastward of his northbound trail for at 2 leagues he saw another rancheria (no. 8) "to the east" which he had not seen on the way up. This probably was toward the eastern side of T26S, R20E. Tnen, he says, he went southeast 3 leagues to Poso Creek. This would put him on Poso Creek near the center of township T27S, R30E, a point about 9 miles airline above his place of crossing on May 2. Here he found a rancheria (no. 9), the chief of which told him about another rancheria (no. 10) to the east where a Spanish renegade lived with an Indian wife. The following day, May 6, he started out again south or southwest and got lost in the hills of upper Poso Creek. In these hills between Poso Creek and the Kern River he found another rancheria (no. 11) of "more than 100 souls." This was probably in the northern part of township T28S, R30E. Finally on May 7 he reached the Kern 1 league above his first crossing. His first crossing had been accomplished 2 or 3 miles below the mouth of the canyon hence he must have come out very close to the mouth. He then went downstream to the rancheria where he had crossed (no. 1) but he did not stop here. He continued down the river for 2 leagues to a rancheria he had not seen before (no. 12) and which had "some 150 souls."

Two leagues downstream from rancheria no. 1, or about 3 leagues below the mouth of the canyon would have put him at a point roughly 5 to 6 miles east-northeast of Bakersfield, not at the site of the city, as is supposed by Coues (1900, p. 299). On May 8 he went 3 leagues south-southwest, then turned and traveled 6 leagues southeast and east to the Tehachapi. These distances and directions plotted on the map place him just at the mouth of Tejon Creek.

To summarize the rancherias mentioned: Garcés saw four villages on the Kern in territory of the Paleuyami or Yauelmani (nos. 1, 2, 3, 12), six on Poso Creek [361] or minor watercourses to the north thereof (nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), all Paleuyami, and two on White River (nos. 6, 7) in the territory of the Kumachisi.

The size of these villages has been subject to some debate. Garcés cites two with 150 persons and one with 100, but Gifford and Schenck think that he specifies population only for the largest places. The other nine would therefore be smaller. These authors, however, put the average village size at about 60 (750 people in 12 villages).

*161 Deducting 400 for the three rancherias specified, the average of the other nine would be 39 which seems much too low. If Zalvidea's figures are any criterion, the villages on the Kern should have averaged at least 100 inhabitants, and it must be noted that Garcés found two rancherias in the hills with 150 and 100 persons respectively. Thus it seems reasonable to allow an average of 100 rather than 60. If so, the population seen by Garcés was in the vicinity of 1,200.

Now it is evident that Garcés did not see all the villages in the region. He covered about 10 or 12 miles of the Kern below the canyon, a good deal of upper Poso Creek, and perhaps 5 miles of White River. He never reached the lower stretches of the rivers at all. It is fair to assume that there were as many rancherias which he did not see as there were seen by him. If so the estimate of the population should be doubled, making 2,400.

One secondary piece of evidence is at hand. Garcés saw 8 villages of the Paleuyami (6 in the hills, perhaps 2 on the Kern). Now Zalvidea in 1806 says that the Pelones (Paleuyami) had at that time 13 rancherias. Allowing for shrinkage in the intervening thirty years, this is twice the number seen by Garcés.

We may at this juncture have recourse to river mileage estimates. It was found previously (p. 36) that for the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Merced, Mariposa, and Chowchilla there was in 1850 0.34 village per mile of stream, with the Chowchilla having the lowest value, 0.20 village. For the Merced and the Kings rivers below the foothills in the first years of the nineteenth century it was calculated that there were on the average 65 persons per river mile. Assuming that the average village size was 150 inhabitants, there would have been 0.44 village per river mile. The southern streams were probably more sparsely inhabited than those just mentioned. Hence it is reasonable to apply the factor found for the Chowchilla, 0.20 village per mile, to the White River, Poso Creek, and the Kern River. There are about 150 miles of stream in these systems east of a line running from Porterville to Bakersfield, a line which Kroeber takes as the approximate westward limit of the foothill tribes. This means a probable 30 villages. If the average of 100 persons per village is used, as suggested above, this means a population of 3,000. The direct documentary approach thus gives 2,400 and the indirect method 3,000. A fair figure would be the mean of the two, or 2,700.

The peripheral hills on the southeast and south were held by several tribes. The entire upper Kern River, above the present village of Bodfish, belonged to the Shoshonean group, the Tubatulabal (area 1E). Kroeber thinks they may have reached a population of 1,000, which seems a reasonable figure. From the Kern and Walker's Pass south to Sycamore Creek (area 1D) were the Kawaiisu, a tribe, according to Kroeber, of 500 persons. In the southeastern corner from Sycamore Creek to Poso Creek were a few Yauelmani and the Kitanemuk. Pastoria Creek and Alisos Creek were occupied by a northward extension of the Alliklik, and from Alisos Creek westward to Bitter Water Creek were found the Tokya group of the Chumash.

For the groups beyond the Kawaiisu there are no population data of any kind. Even Kroeber fails to make an estimate. If we say 1,000 for them all in aboriginal times it will be a pure guess, but one which may be somewhere near the truth in view of the extent and character of the terrain involved. The total for the peripheral region would then be approximately 2,500 and that

*161 for the southern end of the valley as a whole 6,920, or in round numbers 6,900.

SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 6,900

THE NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

*161 114 The remaining portion of the Yokuts-Miwok territory lay in the valley and foothills north of the Merced River. This area (see maps 1 and 5, areas 8-13 inclusive), particularly the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, was entered relatively early by the Spaniards and by the year 1820 had been almost completely swept of its native population. The names of many whole tribes have been lost and the exact locations of many others are now almost impossible to ascertain. Of village names only those few are known to us which were preserved, often by chance, in the mission records and accounts of expeditions. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the aboriginal human geography but none has been entirely successful. Kroeber's account, which accompanies his discussion of the Plains Miwok and northern Yokuts in the Handbook of California Indians, is manifestly incomplete. Merriam's paper on the Mewan Stock of California (1907) is helpful, but probably the best work of the modern investigators is that of Schenck (1926). The early nineteenth-century accounts for this region are also less satisfactory than for the central and southern parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Moraga's record is useful only for the Tuolumne River, and the delta is covered only by Abella and Duran. It is true that both Sutter and Gatten give figures for villages south of Sacramento but their information pertains only to the badly depleted natives of the 'forties. Hence their censuses are of little value for assessing the aboriginal condition.

*161 127 797 One source not available for other areas is the mission records. The converts from the delta and lower San Joaquin Valley were brought almost exclusively into the San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara missions. The baptism books of these missions have been preserved, and two copies have been made. The first, of the San Francisco Mission, was made by A. Pinart in 1878 and is at present in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The other records, copied by S. R. Clemence in 1919, include the records of all three missions and are now to be found, in typed form, among the manuscripts in the file of C. H. Merriam. The baptism books set forth the name and village of origin of every native in the mission, as well as the date of baptism. Newly converted gentiles are readily distinguished from infants born in the mission itself, since the origin of the latter is ascribed to the mission and not to a village. In addition to the names of villages, not all of which can be located with certainty, the dates of baptism constitute almost conclusive evidence. If the baptisms from San Francisco and Santa Clara are tabulated by village and date, it is very clear that the villages of local tribes were cleaned out before the year 1805. At this point an entirely new set of names appears, most of which are undoubtedly in the Tulares. Hence, if the name of a village does not correspond to any now known to ethnographers and no baptisms are reported from it prior to 1805, the conclusion is warranted that the village was actually situated in the central valley. The same assumption may be made with somewhat less certainty concerning the San Jose records. This mission was founded in 1797 and its earliest converts were drawn from the Costanoan tribes on the east shore of San Fran-

*16 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming
127 in by that year Hence there is a chance of overlap.
1997 This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

*16 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abella in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since
[34R] a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

*16 Luís Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition under the command of one Soto, whose party was at-
648 tacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

*161 100 Indian auxiliaries. Nothing like an equal number of natives could have withstood them. Soto's estimate may
698 be cut in half but at least 500 warriors must be allowed, or 125 for each of the four rancherias. Now the fighting population, even in a great emergency, does not coincide with the total male population. If there were 500 warriors, there must have been fully 300 young boys, invalids, and old men who were not present. Hence we must concede a
*161 male population of no less than 800 for the four villages. If the percentage values established previously are used, the mean village size was approximately 475.

To the villages just described may be added the one seen by Moraga on the Stanislaus River in 1806, which had 200 inhabitants.

These twelve villages thus yield an average of 362 inhabitants each. Although throughout the territory many rancherias were doubtless small, it is equally probable that some were very large, approaching the magnitude of Chischa and Bubal in the south. Hence, unless in some particular instance there is clear reason to believe otherwise, 300 cannot be regarded as an excessive estimate for the average village of the delta.

In considering in detail the population of the delta (see map 6, area 13), it is convenient to segregate groups according to tribal distinctions rather than strictly according to geographical points. The reason lies primarily in the fact that the early writers and the mission records were relatively explicit with respect to names of villages and groups but were badly confused with respect to localities. In the densely populated but physiographically homogeneous delta region, with its scores of small streams, sloughs, and islands, explorers found it very difficult to establish clear landmarks by which the inhabitants might be oriented. A state of confusion has arisen of a kind to generate many controversies among ethnographers, controversies which are not pertinent in the present connection and which it is desirable to avoid as far as possible. In order to adopt a more or less uniform system with respect to tribal nomenclature and arrangement it is proposed to follow here the practice of Schenck (1926), who has made an exhaustive study of the area.

Bolbones (syn. Cholbones, Chilamne, Chulame).—This large group occupied the sloughs of the lower San Joaquin west of Stockton. Schenck, on his map (1926, p. 133) shows their territory as being bounded by the main stream of the San Joaquin River on the east and by the channel now known as the "Old River" on the west. This delineation of their habitat is supported by the diaries of Abella and Viader. Schenck classifies the subtribes or divisions of the main group as follows:

Cholbones	a group
Pescadero	a village
Jusmites or Cosmistas	a village plus
Fugites or Tugites	a village plus
Tomchom, under Fugites	a village
Nototemnes.....	a village

Although these natives are mentioned frequently in the correspondence of the period, the first recorded exploration of their area was that of Fr. José Viader in 1810. This missionary left Mission San Jose on August 15 and went by way of Pittsburg and Antioch to the mouth of the San Joaquin, whence he traveled southeast to Pescadero, ". . . la rancheria de los Cholvones." Leaving the rancheria he went on up the river. Viader's second expedition was carried out during the month of October of the same year. This time he went directly from San Jose to Pescadero, which he says was 15 leagues

*161 northeast to east-northeast of Mission San Jose. The account at this point is not particularly lucid. The entry for October 20 states that at Pescadero the gentiles were having a dance (bayle). That for the following day begins with the statement that at dawn Viader's party attacked ". . . asaltamos una rancheria de este lado del rio y solo escapo un Christiano . . . ." Then they attacked another rancheria on the other side of the river and captured 15 Christians and 69 gentiles. From the context it may be inferred that the first rancheria attacked was the one at which the dance was being celebrated on the evening of the 20th, that is to say, Pescadero. If it was, then there was another, quite sizable, village just across the river. If the first village was not Pescadero, then there were two other villages in close proximity to it.

The next visitor was Fr. Ramon Abella, who left San Francisco by boat on October 15, 1811. Passing Sherman Island on the 18th and wandering erratically through the swamps he reached the "tierra de los cholbones" on the next day. On October 20 he reached the village of Pescadero but made no comment on it in his diary. After examining the territory of the Cosmistas and Boyboses 5 to 15 miles to the east, the party turned about 8 to 9 miles (3 leagues) northwest, following the general trend of the river downstream. At this point they found a rancheria of 900 persons "divididas en tres rancherias, alguna distancia una de otras. No vimos que la una: Se presentan como 150 personas . . . y nos enseñaron al desembarcadero y las mismas casas que havía duplicado gente . . . ." Abella's distances are extremely inaccurate but it is apparent that the three villages mentioned were north or northwest of Pescadero.

The key village in this complex is Pescadero, a rancheria to which repeated reference is made in the documents of the period and whose identity neither Viader nor Abella could have mistaken. That it belonged to the Bolbones is attested by Viader's expression ". . . la rancheria de los Cholvones." Viader saw at least one and perhaps two other villages near by belonging to the same tribe. Abella clearly states that he saw three rancherias in addition to Pescadero. One of these may have been the one attacked by Viader, and if so, the entire group included a minimum of four villages. Otherwise, there were at least five. Abella's count of 900 persons for the three villages appears accurate and reasonable. On the other hand, Pescadero was evidently regarded as the most important rancheria of the area and probably was more populous than any other. Hence it must have contained no less than 400 persons. The sum of the four villages would then be 1,300.

Between 1806 and 1811 the mission records show a total of 200 baptisms ascribed to the Cholbones, most [195] of them at San Jose. In addition, there were 81 baptisms from 1821 to 1828 designated Chilamne. At the time of Abella's visit, therefore, the area had been subject to repeated raids for the purpose of securing converts and must have undergone serious social and economic disturbance of the type noted throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. Merely adding the 200 missionized natives would bring the population estimate for the Bolbones up to 1,500, and the aboriginal value was probably even higher.

The Jusmites, or Cosmistas, are credited by Schenck with "a village plus," meaning certainly one and probably two or more. Viader, on his second expedition, found "los indios Jusmites" about 2-1/2 leagues southeast of and up the river from the second village, which he at-

*161 tacked on October 21. This places them in the locality shown by Schenck on his map (1926, p. 133), i.e., in northwestern T1S, R6E. No further information is given by Viader. The next year Abella found "la rancheria de los Cosmistas" in approximately the same region, but gave no data regarding size. Neither author implies in any way that there was more than one village. At San Jose 86 converts were baptized from "Jossmit," a number which suggests a village of fully 300 inhabitants.

Viader on his first expedition, on August 20, went south-southeast from Pescadero for 3 leagues and reached a village "cuyo capitan se llama Tomchom." He then went 2-1/2 leagues southeast from the Jusmites and reached "los indios Tugites." Both Tomchom and Tugites therefore appear to have been in the same general area. For this reason Schenck has placed the Tugites, as a tribe, directly south of the Jusmites and has called Tomchom a village of the tribe. It is perhaps more likely that there were two villages involved (rather than a tribe and an included village), designated respectively Tomchom and Tugites. This view is substantiated by the baptism data. Of the entire group 268 were baptized, rather equally distributed between San Jose and Santa Clara. Over half the conversions occurred in the year 1811. The San Jose book lists 126 from "Tamcan" and 7 from "Tuguits." The Santa Clara book has 125 from "Los Tugites" and none under any other designation. It may therefore be concluded that two villages, or subtribes, were involved, one of which was taken to San Jose and the other to Santa Clara. A total of 268 converts would imply a population of at least 500 persons at the time of conversion and probably more aboriginally.

The village of Nototemnes is mentioned only by Duran in his diary of 1817. In the night of May 22-23 he passed "la rancheria de los Nototemnes," but did not actually see the village or count its inhabitants. However, the rancheria furnished 97 converts to Mission San Jose. It must therefore have contained at least 200 people. Schenck shows the Nototemnes as covering nearly two townships in the northern delta region and calls them "a village plus." He cites, however, no authority for this view other than Duran, and Duran, as mentioned above, refers only to the rancheria of the Nototemnes. There is no reason, consequently, for assuming more than one village for the tribe or group.

In summary, the Bolbones tribal complex consisted of fully eight medium to large villages. Those belonging to the Bolbones proper, four in number, were estimated to contain 1,500 persons. The Jusmites were allowed 300 persons, the Tugites 500, and the Nototemnes 200. The total is 2,500, and the average village size slightly over 300 persons.

(Bolbones .....2,500)

Leuchas.--Schenck shows this tribe as living east of the San Joaquin River 10 to 15 miles south of Stockton. He implies that the tribe contained two villages, Coyboses and Pitemis (Aupimis), in addition perhaps to other settlements. The mission books mention all three names and show baptisms (figures in parentheses), which may be tabulated as follows.

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	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
Leuchas...	"Leucha" (26), 1805-1812 (88 per cent in 1805-1806	"Los Leuchas" (81), 1805-1809 (85 per cent in 1805)

	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
*161 997 Pitemis...	None	(60), 1814-1831 (98 per cent in 1814-1816)
Coybos....	(94), 1808-1826 (71 per cent in 1811-1812	None

To judge by the three separate periods in which the majority of the baptisms occurred there were three groups of people: the Leuchas, who were brought into the fold primarily during 1805 and 1806, the Coybos, principally in 1811-1812, and the Pitemis, converted two or three years later. The Leuchas were taken to both missions, but the Coybos were brought only to San Jose and the Pitemis only to Santa Clara. Abella said that in 1811 the village of Coybos had 180 inhabitants, a figure which has been used in computing the average village size. But the aboriginal population was probably greater. This view is substantiated by the events which preceded Abella's visit. In 1805 Father Cuevas of San Jose Mission went on an unauthorized expedition to the Leuchas—the best account is that by José Argüello (MS, 1805)—in search of converts.[5] He was badly treated and some of his men were wounded by the natives. This and the punitive expeditions which immediately followed no doubt accounted for the wave of conversions in 1805 and 1806. But at the same time the entire aboriginal group unquestionably suffered heavily from battle casualties and economic disturbance so that the population five years later must have been seriously reduced. It is thus justifiable to assume that originally there were three villages and that each was of average size. The population may therefore be set at fully 900 persons.

[LAB]

*161 Some further information is derived from the recollections of José María Amador (MS, 1877). This pioneer, who received his facts second-hand from his father, mentions (pp. 13-15) the campaign of 1805 against the "Loechas," who, he says lived 4 to 5 leagues from Livermore. This would put them west of the San Joaquin River, south of the Bolbones, in T1S, R5E, not on the east bank as shown by Schenck. Amador then goes on to say that after the Cuevas affair the Leuchas ". . . se habian ya cambiado el rio de San Joaquin a una rancheria que se llamaba de los Pitemis." They were all captured and taken to San Jose. It is thus reasonably clear that the Leuchas originally did live west of the river, and crossed over to the east side as a result of the punitive expeditions of the Spaniards. Furthermore, the village of the Pitemis was already in existence at this time, probably at or near the spot shown by Schenck. Coybos undoubtedly was another village within the same area. This region, therefore, at the time of Abella's visit in 1807 contained the established villages of Pitemis and Coybos plus a residue of unconverted, fugitive Leuchas who had taken refuge in them.

Amador's assertion that the Leuchas were all captured and taken to San Jose is not borne out by the baptism figures, which show only 23 Leuchas enrolled at Mission San Jose in 1805 to 1806. Many more, actually 73, were baptized at Santa Clara in 1805. The total is 96, and scarcely represents the entire personnel of the group. Nevertheless, if we add the casualties of battle, disease, and exposure to those baptized in the missions, and allow for the dispersion of the remainder, the sum will amount to no less than the 300 assumed above for the Leuchas.

[5] There are numerous other letters pertaining to this matter in the same volume of the Provincial State Papers.

*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coyboa.

114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distipct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. ..... 900)

*161 Ochejamnes.--This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the
[131] Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 446) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsisa," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Ochegames, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian
[CAB] fighting in the delta (Berryesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yunisumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relative [illegible]plete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750.

(Ochejamnes ..... 750)

*161 Guaypem.—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) re-
[131] gards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that
[199] Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

(Guaypem ..... 300)

Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck (p. 136). They covered, according to him, "the south-
[131] ern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Hermdo Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensiat, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2os estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensiat) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

(Quenemsias ..... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 26, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A64; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumes was found 8 leagues (leguas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is
[114] probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

*161 of distances. Here Duran counted 35 houses whereas Argüello says 36, a sufficiently close correspondence. As indicated previously, a population of 315 persons is probable. Continuing their journey, they went on for 4 miles (Argüello); Duran says approximately 3 leagues. There they stopped at a rancheria, "arruinada" according to Argüello, although Duran makes no mention of this.

On May 18 the party went on upstream, making during the day 4 leagues (Duran) or 16 miles (Argüello). Duran states that after going 1 league they got back into the main stream of the Sacramento. This was clearly at the head of Grand Island, close to Courtland. At 1 league beyond this point, on May 19, they found the rancheria Chuppumne, which was deserted. The location therefore was very close to that shown by Schenck on his map (p. 133) and, if we can put any credence in the Duran-Argüello account, a good many miles north of Chucumes. Near Chuppumne Duran saw three other rancherias in the distance (inland ?) but could not get at them. On May 20 the expedition pressed on upstream for 5 miles (Argüello) or 4 leagues (Duran), at which point they turned around and began the return trip. On May 21 Argüello says that they passed "algunas rancherias," all deserted, which may well have been those mentioned by Duran on May 19.

On the river frontage covered from May 17 to May 21 the expedition saw a minimum of 6 villages, 2 of which are mentioned by name (Chucumes and Chuppumne) and for 1 of which the houses were counted. If all these villages were of comparable size—as they may have been aboriginally—then the total population represented would have been 1,800. This estimate would of course not include other villages which the expedition did not see.

[795] The mission records show for San Jose a total of 377
[799] persons baptized from Chucumne and Chuppumne, of whom 322 were converted during 1823 and 1824. We may predicate, therefore, a residual population of 700 to 800 just prior to those years. That the area had suffered severely before that is attested by the deserted and "ruined" rancherias seen by Duran in 1817. It is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached a value of 1,500.

(Chucumes, Chuppumne ..... 1,500)

Chupunes (Chupcanes), Tarquines (Tarquimenes, Tauquines), Julpunes (Tulpunes) and Ompines.—This constellation of tribes is best considered collectively, first, because there are no direct estimates of their population, and second, because they occupied a relatively unified area.

Schenck places them along the south shore of Suisun
[131] Bay from the east entrance of Carquinez Strait and through the slough region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers as far upstream as Isleton on the Sacramento. However, he points out that there is great uncertainty with respect to their exact location, an uncertainty which is emphasized by the wide divergence between his views and those of Merriam. Even the Spanish accounts present numerous discrepancies. In view of this state of our knowledge Schenck makes the very reasonable suggestion that the lower delta tribes may have been so greatly disturbed and shifted around during the period from 1775 to 1810 that the aboriginal locations were forgotten. It is worth while to examine in some detail some of the evidence on this problem. We may begin with examination of the area at and just east of Carquinez Strait on the south shore of Suisun Bay. This

*161 consideration entails a preliminary discussion of two small groups, the Aguastos and the Huchium (syn. Habastos, Quivastos, Juchium, Huchimes, Tuchimes, etc.).

This tribe or group of tribes, which must have been of some importance, is not mentioned by name by Kroeber or Schenck, but there is a brief set of typed notes in the Merriam collection in which the location is discussed (MS entitled: "On the East Side San Francisco Peninsula"). The multiplicity of synonyms, however, as well as the large number of neophytes involved, indicates that these tribes were very familiar to the missionaries.

The Merriam notes (pp. 5 and 6) point out the following considerations.

1. "Abella's diary (1811) speaks of present Point San Pablo as the Point of the Huchunes and says their territory extended on the mainland from this point to Pt. San Andres (Pt. Pinole)."

2. Several rancherias belonging to this tribe are mentioned as being on the east side of the bay.

3. "The mission books locate the Habasto tribe 'on the other side of the Bay from the Mission of San Francisco toward the estero which goes to the rivers (Suisun Bay).' Abella's diary calls Point San Pedro the Point of the Abastos."

Merriam therefore was strongly of the opinion that these tribes inhabited the south shore of San Pablo Bay and did not extend farther than Carquinez Strait.

On the other hand, the item in the mission books quoted by Merriam (par. 3, above) indicates Suisun Bay rather than San Pablo Bay. Moreover, there is another statement in the baptism books alongside the designation "Aguastos 6 Huchum" to the effect that this tribe was 16 to 18 leagues by water from San Francisco. This distance would place them close to the site of the modern town of Pittsburg, that is, on the southern shore of Suisun Bay. But this area is assigned by Schenck to the Tarquines and perhaps the Julpunes, tribes which are also clearly mentioned by name in the mission records.

If the Aguastos extended from Richmond to Crockett or thereabouts, they were Costanoan and strictly bay people; hence not pertinent to this study. If they lived along Suisun Bay, regardless of their ethnic affiliation they may be included for demographic purposes among the delta tribes. Some further light can be thrown upon the problem by an analysis of the dates shown for baptisms in the San Francisco Mission records.

*161 If the baptisms of gentiles are tabulated according to village and year, it is seen immediately that the con-
997 versions in the first year, 1777, were all from local rancherias. This group was extended during the following decade until the San Francisco peninsula had been completely covered. However, after the year 1792 all mention of the peninsula abruptly and entirely ceases. As early as 1778 on the other hand baptisms are listed from a village (Halchis) specified as being in the "sierra orients de la otra banda." In the succeeding years villages ascribed to the "otra banda" become more frequent and reach a peak between 1790 and 1795. Subsequent to 1800 the conversions from these places diminish rapidly and disappear. Now we know by following the documentary accounts of expeditions that during the decade 1790 to 1800 the great effort of the San Francisco Mission was expended in securing neophytes from the east shore of San Francisco Bay as far north as the Carquinez Strait. There are no baptisms of gentiles whatever listed in the San Francisco books for the years 1797, 1798, and 1799. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the supply of Costanoans from the east bay had been exhausted. Fur-

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

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*161 thermore, village names qualified by the term "otra banda" and appearing in the baptism record for the first time prior to 1800 must certainly refer to villages in this region. Among these are rancherias stated as belonging to the "nacion Juchium" together with the separate designation "Tuchimes." Thus it is clear that the Huchium lived, as Merriam believed, on the east shore of the bay.

After the inactive period at the end of the century a flood of neophytes began to pour into the mission together with a completely new set of names. One of the first of these is Habastos, a rancheria which contributed 137 converts in 1800 and 1801 and which is now stated, for the first time in the mission book, to lie "acia el estero de los rios." Later, the variants Quivastos and Aguastos are used. Conversions from this tribe continued until 1810, after which the name disappears from the lists.

*161 The sharp segregation of dates of conversion are clear evidence that, whatever the racial or linguistic affiliation, there were two groups of Indians, one converted before 1801 and living along the shore of the bay generally south and west of the Carquinez Strait, the other converted between 1801 and 1810 and living at the east end of the strait and along Suisun Bay. There probably was no clear separation of the two in the minds of the Spaniards; hence the confusion of names. We are concerned here with the second group, the one uniformly designated Aguastos, which inhabited the approaches to the delta.

With respect to the aboriginal population of this group we have no direct evidence whatever. On the other hand the record of the San Francisco Mission shows 396 baptisms. This immediately sets a lower limit to the number of Aguastos for there certainly can have been no fewer members of the tribe than were baptized. Regarding the upper limit it can be pointed out only that the group was completely obliterated at the time of conversion and its name never appears again in either contemporary or modern records. Hence it is safe to assume that substantially all the Aguastos were taken to San Francisco and that the baptisms include the entire tribe. We may thus ascribe to them a population of approximately 400 persons.

We now encounter the Chupunes (or Chupcanes), concerning whom Schenck (1926, p. 143) has this to say:

> The Chupunes (Chupcanes), apparently a group, were located along the southern shore near the east end of Carquinez strait. West of the strait, also on the southern shore—in the Pinole region of San Pablo bay—were the Huchones.

The earliest documentary reference is to the diary of Abella, in 1811. On October 16 he went through Carquinez Strait by boat. Then he says that the strait ". . . remata en la tierra de los Chupunes, porque hay ya ensancha . . . ." The "ensancha" or widening begins at Port Costa and continues to Martinez. This, then, is the boundary of the Chupunes. On October 28, discussing the Suisunes on the north side of the bay, he says that "La rancheria citada de los Suisunes cahe al nordeste de los Chupanes, tierra adentro del Cerro de los Karquines . . . ." The Cerro de los Karquines is, of course, Mt. Diablo.

In his account of the expedition of 1817 Duran tells how he arrived at noon of May 14, by boat from San Francisco, at the "remate" of the "estrecho de los Chucanes," at a point 14 leagues northeast of San Francisco

*16 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish [114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near [361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at [226] least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

[79r] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of the Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.62-B]

*161 Argüello and Duran both refer to the "tierra" of the Ompines. The hypothesis is possible, although admittedly there is no real proof, that the Ompines may have originally occupied the sloughs and islands at and above Antioch, that they may have been pushed north at an early date by Spanish intrusion from the south and west, and that they may have been further dispersed, or exterminated without extensive conversion, prior to 1830. If such a theory in any way represents the course of their decline and disappearance, then it also follows that the aboriginal population was considerably greater than the baptism number would lead one to suppose.

*161 131 To turn now to the Julpunes, there seems to be little difference of opinion regarding their original location. This was as Schenck pictures it: the south shore of the San Joaquin estuary from Antioch to the line between R3E and R4E. The "Informe" of Hermengildo Sal, written in 1796 and previously referred to, specifies the "Tulpunes" as a "nacion" living on the "orilla del estero." Fourteen years later in 1810 Viader went 7 leagues from Pittsburg to the "old river" west of Stockton. He was: ". . . esta tierra es de los Tulpunes." Duran, May 24, 1817, on his return journey downstream reached the region of the Julpunes at 8:00 A.M. and joined the other boat at 6:00 P.M. of the same day at Carquinez Strait.

Schenck (1926, p. 137) points out that Kotzebue, who was in the area in 1823, implies that the Julpunes were living on the north bank. Merriam (1907, p. 348), says that the Hulpoomne "occupied the east bank of the Sacramento River from a few miles south of the mouth of American river southward . . . ." Schenck's explanation of the discrepancy appears to the present writer entirely sound: the Julpunes retired across the estuary to the north bank and then upstream nearly to Sacramento. In so doing they may very well have carried the surviving Ompines with them. The San Jose record lists 148 baptisms of Julpunes but the name is absent from the records of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Rafael, and Solano missions. Along with the Ompines the Julpunes must have escaped the active proselyting effort of San Rafael, and particularly Solano, between 1824 and 1834, by a rapid retirement so far up the river as to elude the parties sent out from the missions. The converts at San Jose must have been captured by the Viader, Duran, Argüello, and similar expeditions before the migration upstream.

*161 114 [131] The Tarquines are claimed by Schenck to have been ". . . a single group. It seems to have stretched from east to west entirely across the marsh area between the main channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and then to have extended along the southern shore of Suisun Bay" (pp. 134-136). Schenck's belief in this remarkable distribution is based upon three documentary references (at least he cites no more than these three in his tabulation on p. 135).

The first of the three documents, chronologically, is the first expedition of Viader, in 1810. In his entry for August 17 Viader says that, having spent the preceding night near the present location of Pittsburg, he reconnoitred these lands which " . . . son de los Tarquines, que lo mas, 6 casi todos son Cristianos de San Francisco." After noting the mouths of the two rivers, he goes on to mention a spot on the estuary ". . . en donde dicen estabe la rancheria de los Tarquines" (emphasis mine). Let it be emphasized that in 1810 the Tarquines are almost all Christians in San Francisco, and Viader saw there the rancheria which was, or had been, that of the Tarquines. The San Francisco baptism book shows 18 "Talquines" converted in 1801 and 63 more in 1802, making a total of 83. This number could well be the

*161 majority, or almost *all, the inhabitants of a moderate-*
114 sized rancheria. Schenck is therefore technically correct in placing the tribe on the south shore of the eastern end of Suisun Bay.

The second document is the diary of Abella in 1811. On October 25, in the course of the return trip downstream, some distance below the junction of the channels of the San Joaquin, he found a rancheria of the Tauquimenes, one part of each side of the river, which was 30 to 40 varas wide. This point was apparently at or near the head of Sherman Island. The rancheria had 60 houses. He saw 200 warriors. He then crossed through the sloughs to the Sacramento River and on or opposite Sherman Island saw one rancheria of 14 houses and several of 2 to 3 houses. He says that all they passed this day was ". . . parte de una isla" (i.e., Sherman Island). Furthermore

> . . . en todo este dia andubimos como unas 12 leguas [overestimate] y podra haver gente, como 200 almas, todavia puede que haiga mas, porque en la primera [rancheria] habraumas 1,000, segun lo grande que por aqui son las casas, tienen un circulto de 28 o 30 varas, con su orcon en medio . . .

This account deserves comment on several grounds: with relation to Viader's visit of the previous year and the baptisms at San Francisco it is evident that whereas the southern extension of the Tarquines' habitat, whatever its size, had been swept clear prior to 1810, nevertheless the tribe persisted on the estuarine islands in truly large numbers. Moreover, since there is evidence of no more than one rancheria on the south shore, it
[131] appears that the territory in that region allotted by Schenck to the tribe is too large and should be restricted to a small area of the southeastern corner of Suisun Bay.

With respect to population, Abella's figures are quite credible. It has been suggested that one of the huge houses found in this region could accommodate 9 persons without difficulty. Then the large village should have had 540 inhabitants. Allowing 24 houses for the other villages seen, 216 persons should be added, making a total of 756, a figure not far from Abella's guess of 1,000.

The final reference to the tribe occurs in the diary of Duran. During the night of May 22-23, 1817, he went up the main channel of the San Joaquin, in T3N, R4E, and passed the Tauquimenes on the left, that is to say, on the east bank. Schenck thinks that the group covered the entire strip from Pittsburg to the east bank of the main river contemporaneously. Now it has been pointed out as probable that the southwestern outliers were missionized, or pushed back into the swamps, as early as 1801. It is equally possible that the island communities described by Abella in 1811 were pushed, in the next five or six years, off the islands altogether and clear back eastward to the far bank of the main river. Of considerable significance is the fact that whereas both Viader and Abella mention the Tarquines as being in the estuary region, Duran, who covered this area thoroughly, is completely silent with regard to their presence. It is highly unlikely that, had there been any of the tribe left in their former habitat, he would have failed to note them.

*161 The details are very obscure but the main outlines of events in the first three decades of the nineteenth century can be perceived. Aboriginally and perhaps till nearly 1800, there was a dense population of natives extending from Port Costa along the southern shore of Suisun Bay and up the rivers for fifteen miles beyond

*161 Antioch. Among them were included tribal groups, or rancherias, called Aguastos, Chupunes, Ompines, Julpunes, and Tarquines, belonging very likely to different ethnic and linguistic stocks. Under the pressure of the Spanish military power, which was the real force behind missionization, portions of these groups were exterminated, other segments gave ground and shifted habitat, and occasional remnants persisted in the old localities. Thus each visitor in turn found a different geographical organization, until the entire native society was obliterated.

An accurate assessment of aboriginal population in this area is impossible. The best we can do is try to make an intelligent guess. Several methods are available for this purpose—group comparisons, mission figures, area comparisons.

Throughout the plains of the lower San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys the native social units appear to have resembled rather uniformly the political organization of the Yokuts in the central and southern San Joaquin Valley. There were aggregates, or communities, consisting of perhaps one, but usually more than one, village, and occupying a more or less clearly defined territory. These groups, as they may be called, can be identified by the plural names which are ordinarily attached to them—the Bolbones, the Leuchas, and so forth. Naturally these groups varied considerably in size, and concerning no single one of them can we be absolutely sure of the number of their people. Nevertheless, if we had data concerning enough of them, the variations due both to inherent difference and to inaccurate estimate would tend to cancel out and an approximate average could be secured. No pretence can be made that we have enough estimates to establish a mean which would be statistically satisfactory. Nevertheless, as so frequently happens when we are dealing with data of this character, we have to employ the information available to us or forsake the problem entirely.

We have hitherto considered a number of the local groups mentioned above and have estimated their population as follows: Bolbones (restricted group, see p. 58), 1,500; Jusmites, 300; Tugites, 500; Nototemnes, 200; Leuchas, 900; Ochejamnes, 750; Guaypem, 300; Queneemsias, 400; Chucumes and Chuppumne, 1,500. The average for the nine groups is 705 or, in round numbers, 700. If we consider that the Aguastos, Chupunes, Ompines, Julpunes, and Tarquines were groups of the same character as the foregoing, then their total population may be taken as 3,500.

The total baptisms shown in the mission books of the five northern missions (in fact, only San Francisco and San Jose) for these groups is 911. In previous instances we have estimated the aboriginal population by doubling the baptism number. This procedure is admittedly purely arbitrary and based upon the general consideration that, except for small local populations relatively close to the mission, it was impossible for the missionaries and soldiers to prevent the escape of a sizable fraction of the people. Of the five groups here discussed, the Aguastos, it is evident, were completely missionized or at least obliterated. A much greater proportion of the other tribes survived, as is attested by their probable migrations up the rivers. Hence for the entire population it is doubtful if even one-half received baptism. Using the value of one half, the aboriginal number would have been approximately 2,000.

Linear distances along streams are useful as a basis for comparison in country where the rivers are similar ecologically but are clearly separated spatially and where

*161 the human population is concentrated along the stream banks to the exclusion of the interfluvial hinterland. Where a territory is marked by a network of creeks and sloughs, and the intermediate land is marsh, the linear comparisons become impossible. Areas must be substituted.

In relation to the present problem three such areas may be delineated. The first comprises the territory of the Bolbones (including all the subordinate villages) [131] and the Leuchas. Following Schenck's map, it embraces all the land between the channels of the San Joaquin plus a strip approximately two miles wide east of the main river in T1 and 2S, R6E which accounts for the Leuchas. The area, as projected from a large-scale map onto coördinate paper, is 775 square miles, the population 3,400, and the density 4.39 persons per square mile. The second comprises the home of the Ochejamnes, Guaypem, Quenemsias, and Chucumnes-Chuppumne. For the habitat of these groups we have followed Schenck as far as possible. Our line runs actually from the junction of the east and west channels of the Sacramento at the foot of Grand Island southeast to the main channel of the San Joaquin, thence northeast and north to just east of Walnut Grove and then, at a distance of about 2 miles east of the eastern channel of the Sacramento, to a point 4 miles north of Courtland. Here the line crosses the river and continues downstream, 2 miles west of the river, to the starting point. This strip of the western bank of the western branch of the Sacramento is included in order to take in the Chucumes, who may have lived on the west side of the river. The area of this territory is 330 square miles, the population 2,950, and the density 8.94 persons per square mile.

The third area is the one shown by Schenck as belonging to the Chupunes, Tarquines, Julpunes, and Ompines, with the exception of the region east of the San Joaquin attributed to the Tarquines. For reasons stated previously the author does not believe that the Tarquines occupied this spot aboriginally. A strip 2 miles wide is included on the north shore, however, between Rio Vista and [131] Collinsville, in the probable land of the Ompines. The eastern boundary is formed by the borders of areas one and two. In area three there are 600 square miles. The mean of the densities of the other two areas is 6.67 persons per square mile. Hence the population would have been 4,002 persons. No significance should be attributed to the third and probably also the second digit in these numbers. They are used only for purposes of estimate.

The three methods employed have yielded respectively 3,000, 2,000, and 4,000 as the most likely population of the five groups here being discussed. In default of any other evidence we may take the average 3,000.

(Chupunes, Tarquines, Ompines, Julpunes ... 3,000)

Adding the totals for the tribes known to inhabit the delta region of the great rivers and the southern shore of Suisun Bay, we arrive at a total population of 9,350.

Delta area 9,350

It is now preferable to depart from a strictly tribal sequence and revert once more to a classification based upon river basins. Three areas of this type are sufficiently clearly marked out; those corresponding to (1) the Cosumnes River, (2) the Mokelumne River, and (3) the lower San Joaquin River from just below the Merced to the head of tide water near Manteca. The inhabitants may be designated village or tribal groups in accordance with the river system where they were located.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts

[P 64 B] Miwok NS16

161 The Cosumnes group.—On the river of this name lived
the large and important aggregate of peoples known popu-
131 larly as the Cosumnes, which included a restricted tribe-
let or subgroup also called Cosumnes. Ethnically a portion of the Plains Miwok; they extended from Sloughhouse, close to the foothills, along the lower course of the Cosumnes River to its confluence with the Mokelumne near Thornton, and from that point northwestward to the Sacramento. The tribe as a whole was divided into either villages or tribelets, the names of many of which have come down to us from the Spanish records or have been ascertained by informants from ethnographers. As might be expected, there is considerable confusion among the different sets of names.

161 The mission documents are replete with village and
tribal names but the number of baptisms was not as
648 large as might be anticipated from what must have been
799 a very populous aggregate of natives. The reason probably lies in the fact that missionizing expeditions to the Cosumnes were preceded by exploratory and punitive expeditions which, to be sure, brought home a few converts but which were chiefly preoccupied with military objectives. The Cosumnes, together with the Mokelumnes and other peoples of the lower San Joaquin Valley, had the time and the opportunity to develop great facility in the raiding and stealing of livestock and consequently for many years were in a state of uninterrupted war with the coastal settlers. The bitter hostility thus generated, together with the aggressive psychology which accompanied successful physical opposition to the Spaniards, made extensive conversion to Christianity very difficult. As a result the relative proportion of the natives baptized was unquestionably much lower than among the bay and delta tribes previously considered. The baptisms which appear in the mission records follow.

Tribe or Group	Date of Conversion	Baptisms
Cosumnes (Tribelet)	1826-1836	84
Junisumne (Anizumne, Unsumne)	1813-1834	363
Lelamne (Llamne)	1813-1836	128
Gualacomne	1825-1836	158
Amuchamne (Mackemne)	1834-1835	13
Sololumne	1828-1834	6
Locolumne	1826-1834	52
Total		804

161 If we apply the general principle used with the delta groups and double the baptism number, the population becomes 1,608, a figure which is much too low. The Lelamne, with 128 baptisms, comprises the group attacked by Soto in 1813, at which time we have estimated that there were four villages of 475 persons each involved in the battle. This calculation implies a total of 1,900 for the Lelamne alone. On the other hand, the account is not entirely clear as to whether or not there were members of the Cosumnes tribelet concerned. If so, we may be dealing with both the Lelamne and adjacent neighbors who were designated locally Cosumnes. If we include the baptisms of all those under both names, we have 212. Furthermore, the Junisumne (or Unsumne or Anizumne) were often confused with the Cosumnes. If the 363 baptisms listed under the Junisumne are added

161 we get 575 and, multiplying by 2, the population of the three divisions collectively would have been 1,150. This estimate also appears too small and leads to the conclusion suggested above on historical grounds that a baptism factor valid for the delta would not be applicable to the Cosumnes group as a whole.

Another documentary source is of interest in this connection. This is the account by José Berreyesa in 1830 (MS) of an affray along the lower Sacramento River in which Americans participated under Ewing Young. Christian fugitives from the missions had been protected by the Yunisumenes (Junisumne), who had joined with the Ochejamnes. They were opposed by the Mexicans and their allies, the Sigousamenes (Siakumne), the Cosomes, and the Ilamenes. These last tribes had gathered an army of 450 "Gentiles auciliares." The Yunisumenes, Cosomes, and Ilamenes are, of course, precisely the three subtribes discussed in the preceding paragraph. Now if the Sigousamenes, Cosomes, and Ilamenes contributed 450 men collectively, they each may be considered to have furnished 150 men. Since the opponents were fairly well matched, it is likely that the Yunisumenes supplied a similar number. We can assume that for routine fighting of this sort, particularly where two of the tribelets were ranged with the Mexicans instead of against them, the armies included no more than the strictly military population, or not in excess of half the males over the age of ten years. Hence, if the sex ratio was unity and the young children constituted approximately 15 per cent of the population, the aggregate number of the three subtribes would have amounted to 1,920, or almost the same as was estimated from the Soto report in 1813 for the Lelamne (Ilamenes) above, or perhaps the Lelamne augmented by some of the Cosumnes tribelets or subtribes. The Berreyesa episode occurred in 1830, after all these groups had suffered twenty years of attrition owing to perpetual minor warfare, disease, and starvation. Hence the population of the three tribelets jointly, Junisumne, Cosumnes, and Lelamne, must have reached fully 3,000 in 1813. The baptism factor, consequently, would not have been 50 per cent, but 575 divided by 3,000, or 19.2 per cent.

Three other villages or tribelets which can be identified in the mission records as being closely associated with the Cosumnes are the Amuchamne, Sololumne, and Locolumne. The first two probably correspond to Merriam's Oo-moo-chah and So-lo-lo, which in later times at least were rancherias. Assuming all three to have been villages, we may consider that each contained an average number of 300 inhabitants. The respective baptism numbers were 13.6, and 52. In relative terms the baptisms amounted to 4.3, 2.0, and 17.3 per cent.

The last division listed above is the Gualacomne, synonymous with Merriam's Wah-lah-kum-ne. Merriam (Mewko List, MS) places them between the lower Stanislaus and the Tuolumne rivers, but quotes Hale, who saw them in the 1840's, as saying that they lived on the lower [131] east side of the Sacramento River. Hale's statement is strongly supported by the fact that they appear in J. A. Gatten's census of 1846 (MS, 1872). Gatten enumerated only the tribes along the lower Sacramento. Whether the Gualacomne can be affiliated with the Cosumnes ethnically is doubtful but it is reasonable to include them with this group demographically.

Of the Gualacomne 158 were baptized in the missions. That the group was fairly large is attested by the fact that Gatten reported, under the name Yalesumne, that 485 were alive in 1846. Since no open valley group could

161 possibly have retained more than one-third of its former members in 1846, it does not seem excessive to ascribe 1,455 persons to the tribelet. The baptism factor is 10.8 per cent, and the average of the five values secured with the Cosumnes group is 10.7, or, let us say 10.0 per cent. The total population on the lower Cosumnes and adjacent Sacramento rivers, according to the discussion above would be 5,355 souls.

161 361 We may approach the problem from a different direction if we start with the villages compiled by Merriam (1907, p. 349). He mentions sixteen villages on the Cosumnes River system from Sloughhouse nearly but not quite to the Sacramento. It is extremely probable that there were other villages on the Sacramento River itself. Nevertheless, let us take Merriam's list as it stands. The upper seven villages lie between Sloughhouse and the junction of the Cosumnes River with Deer Creek, the remainder below that point. Of the lower nine we may consider that four correspond to those seen by Soto, which were quite large. It was estimated that they contained 475 persons apiece. The other five lower villages, although perhaps not so populous, must have held fully 300 inhabitants each. The upper seven were no doubt smaller but still should have reached the values given by Moraga for similar stretches of the Tuolumne and Merced, i.e., approximately 250 persons. The total would then come to 5,150, very close to the previous estimate. It will be both adequate and conservative to establish the population at 5,200.

Cosumnes group 5,200

161 The Moquelumne group.—Here are included the Indians living on the lower course of the Mokelumne River, the [131] Calaveras River, and the plain between the two. Five tribes mentioned by the Spanish writers fall within this category: the Moquelumnes, the Siakumne, the Passasimas, the Yatchikumne and the Seguamne. The exact territorial status of these tribes has been a subject of considerable disagreement among ethnographers.

The original Moquelumnes of the Spaniards were undoubtedly located on the Mokelumne River itself from Campo Seco nearly to the junction with the Cosumnes at which point they adjoined the Cosumnes tribe. According to George H. Tinkham, in his History of San Joaquin County (1923), they extended in a north-south direction all the way from Dry Creek to the Calaveras River, but by the middle of the nineteenth century they may have spread out from their original habitat. The Yatchikumne are shown by Schenck as filling the space between the lower Mokelumne and the lower Calaveras and extending westward to the San Joaquin River. Merriam (Mewko List, MS) quotes F. T. Gilbert to the effect that they occupied the Mokelumne River basin, but if they did so, it was because of the displacements during the mining era. The Passasimas are placed by Schenck on the left bank of the Calaveras River at, and for several miles [131] upstream from, its junction with the San Joaquin River.

The Siakumne and the Seguamne are subject to some confusion. This difficulty arises partially from the similarity in name. The Siakumne are called Si-a-kum-ne by Merriam and Sakayakumne by Kroeber. In Gatten's census of 1846 they appear as Sagayakumne. In the San Jose baptism book we find Seicomne, Zicomne, Siusumne, and Sigisumne. The Seguamne, on the other hand are designated Seguamnes and Saywamines by Merriam and Sywameney or Seywameney by Sutter in his New Helvetia Diary (1939). Gatten calls them Sywamney. They appear in the San Jose

161 record as Secuamne, Seguamne, Seyuame, and other variants.

The Siakumne lived somewhere between the Calaveras and Stanislaus rivers according to Merriam, who places one of their villages at Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus. Schenck doubts Merriam's location and Kroeber puts the rancheria Sakayakumne as far north as the Mokelumne. Sutter (1939, p. 88) says that some of these people came to work for him, an unlikely event if they had been living as far away as the Stanislaus. It is probable that the lower Calaveras River is as close as we can place them. The Seguamne are not mentioned at all by Schenck. Merriam (Mewko List, MS) says they were a "tribe or subtribe on E. side lower Sacramento River" and may have been a subtribe of the Bolbones. Sutter and Gatten both refer to the tribe, and the sphere of activity of these men did not extend much below the Sacramento River itself. Hence, although there are grounds for including the Seguamne with the Bolbones or the Cosumnes, no serious error will be committed by placing them in the Mokelumne group.

The Moquelumnes were unquestionably quite numerous. In Spanish and Mexican times they were the most [648] aggressive and belligerent of all the valley tribes and gave the coastal settlers a very rough struggle. Nevertheless, in spite of their detestation of the missionaries they furnished 143 converts between 1817 and 1835. At a ratio of 10 per cent this would mean a population, prior to the mission period, of about 1,400 souls. J. M. Amador (MS, 1877, p. 43) says that once, during the later colonial period, they furnished 200 auxiliaries, a fact which would argue fully 1,000 people at the time. Gatten in his census of 1846 gives them a total of 81 persons but G. H. Tinkham says that in 1850 or thereabouts they possessed four sizable villages with four chieftains. This may have meant between 200 and 400 persons, a really considerable number of survivors for a tribe which had suffered so extensively in the preceding three decades. These indications, and it must be admitted that they are only indications, would lead one to infer that the aboriginal population reached at least 1,500.

Precisely because the Moquelumnes were so brutally handled in the colonial era the modern ethnographic accounts of villages are very incomplete. Neither Mer- [361] riam nor Schenck gives us any list. Kroeber puts three on his map (1925, opp. p. 446): Mokel (-umni), Lelamni, and Sakayak-umni. I think we are now in a position to state that these names represent former tribes and if they were applied to villages by informants, it is because the component units had shrunk to very small size.

Stream density comparisons are of value for the Mokelumne group. On the Cosumnes River, from Sloughhouse to Thornton, Merriam shows thirteen rancherias (omitting those close to the Sacramento River). As was proposed above we may ascribe from 200 to 400 inhabitants to each of these, say on the average 300. Now there is no reason to suppose that the Mokelumne River from the San Joaquin-Calaveras county line to just west of Lodi was less heavily populated than the Cosumnes. If so, the number of villages per linear river mile must have been very nearly the same. For the stretches under consideration there were 24 miles on the Cosumnes and 22 on the Mokelumne. Thus we would get 12 villages and 3,600 persons living on the Moquelumne River.

The Yatchikumne and, if we are to credit Schenck, the Passasimas occupied a position on the Calaveras River comparable to that occupied by the Moquelumnes

161 on the Mokelumne. Schenck regards the Yatchikumne as a tribe equal in importance to the Moquelumnes, and the county historians speak of them as a large group. Their river frontage is equivalent to that of the Moquelumnes. For these reasons we would be justified in ascribing to the Yatchikumne and Passasimas the same population as the Moquelumnes, i.e., 3,600. The evaluation of the other two groups from the geographical standpoint is difficult, owing to the uncertainty of their location. The Siakumne may be regarded as living somewhere on the lower Calaveras and, if so, must be included with the Yatchikumne and Passasimas in the estimate for the Calaveras. The Seguamne may or may not have inhabited the banks of the Mokelumne and Calaveras rivers. In view of our ignorance on this point it may be well to omit them from consideration in this connection and leave the estimate with the existing total of 7,200.

We may attempt some direct tribal comparisons. In considering the northern San Joaquin Valley and delta 21 tribes and tribelets have been examined, namely: Aguastos, Bolbones (4 tribes), Leuchas, Ochejamnes, Guaypen, Quenemsias, Chuppumne, Chupunes, Tarquines, Julpunes, Ompines, and the Cosumnes group (7 tribes). For all these the average population calculated has been very close to 700. If this figure is applied directly to the Moquelumne group, its population becomes 3,500. However, some adjustment is necessary. The Moquelumnes by all accounts, Spanish and American, were an unusually large tribe, probably reaching at least 1,500. The Yatchikumne may not have been as numerous but were apparently above the average size, let us say 1,200. The Passasimas, despite the fact that Schenck thinks they were a "group plus" may be regarded as smaller, perhaps no more than average. For the Siakumne and Seguamne we must also assume the average figure, 700. With these adjustments the total reaches 4,800.

The baptism books give us a record of the following conversions.

[799]

Tribe	San Jose	Santa Clara
Moquelumnes	143	...
Yatchikumnes	118	...
Passasimas	145	...
Siakumne	22	...
Seguamne	47	116

[131] The Passasimas, Siakumne, and Seguamne were situated in the vicinity of the San Joaquin River and hence were more exposed to the Spanish expeditions than the tribes along the lateral streams. Hence the proportion of those taken for conversion may have been higher than the 10 per cent of the aboriginal population found for the Cosumnes, although it would not have attained the value of 50 per cent characteristic of the more westerly delta tribes. We may take an intermediate figure, 30 per cent. This would give the Passasimas a population of 725, the Siakumne 110, and the Seguamne 815. The great disparity between the figures for the last two tribes may well be due to confusion of names in the mission records. The total for the three is 1,650. For the Yatchikumne on the Calaveras River no more than 10 per cent baptisms can be assumed, yielding a population figure of 1,180. If only geographical location were considered, the same factor could be used for the Moquelumnes but this tribe resisted missionization with extraordinary tenacity. Hence we are not justified in using a factor of more than 7 per cent, from which we may infer that the population

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161 was 2,040. The baptism data would then give us a total for the group of 4,870.

According to the estimates furnished by pioneers and government officials for the period just preceding the Gold Rush the population ran into the thousands. The census by Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) puts 4,000 on the Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and Calaveras and 2,500 on the Stanislaus. F. T. Gilbert (1879, p. 13) says that "before the advent of Sutter" there were 2,000 on the Mokelumne and, as far as I can ascertain, he implies that on the Cosumnes and Mokelumne together there were fully 5,000. These figures were undoubtedly greatly exaggerated but nevertheless indicate a very large population in the area just before the discovery of gold and subsequent to the destructive epidemics of 1833-1835: Even if we cut these estimates in half, there would remain in mid-century approximately 2,000 persons in the basins of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and adjacent San Joaquin rivers. A residue of 2,000 in 1850 means certainly an original population of three times as much, i.e., 6,000.

To recapitulate the estimates for the Moquelumne group, we find:

By stream densities	7,200
By adjusted tribal averages	4,800
By baptism data	4,870
By extrapolation from American estimates	6,000
Mean	5,720

The mean, 5,720, appears entirely reasonable for the aboriginal population of such a vigorous and important group.

Moquelumne group 5,720

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* 161 The lower San Joaquin River group.—Here are included for convenience the tribes and fragments of tribes inhabiting the banks of the San Joaquin River from the habitat of the Leuchas, in the vicinity of Manteca, to just below the mouth of the Merced, together with those living along the lower courses of the Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers (see maps 1, 5, and 6, area 8). The San Joaquin villages or tribes appear to have been Cuyens, Mayemes, Tationes, and Apaglamnes. The first two are regarded by Schenck as villages only and the latter two as "villages plus." The only Spaniard who described the area was Viader, in the accounts of his two expeditions of 1810.

On his first expedition, having left the village of Tomchom, he went south-southeast up the river for 2-1/2 leagues to another village ". . . cuya capitan se llama Cuyens." This was very close to section 10, in T3S, R6E. After a journey of another 2-1/2 to 3 leagues he found another village, whose captain was Maijem (sec. 8, in T4S, R7E). Then, after 2 leagues, still another village, whose captain was Bozenats (in sec. 34, in T4S, R7E), was seen. Three leagues farther in the same direction brought him to the rancheria ". . . cuyo appelido es Tationes." In the meantime he had seen 30 gentiles from the Apaglamnes. The Tationes were located close to section 27, in T5S, R8E.

During his second expedition, on October 22, Viader went from Pescadero southeast up the river for 5 leagues to "los indios Tugites." Three leagues farther on he was met by Indians from Cuyens, who went with him to the "Rancheria de Mayem," another 4-1/2 leagues farther on. Then, having forded the river to the east shore, they went still another 2 leagues to a rancheria "que se llama . . . Taualames." The Rio Dolores (Tuolumne) was supposed to be 2 to 3 leagues north. However, Viader went upstream on the east bank 6 leagues to the Rio Merced, having in the meantime passed "en frente de . . . los indios Apelamenes y Tatives."

*161 The distances on both trips are very consistent and the village locations check closely with those shown on Schenck's map, except that only the Taualames should be placed on the east bank of the river. Viader is very explicit in saying that all the others were on the west bank.

Cuyens, Mayem, and Bozenats are beyond doubt villages, since each was named after its chief, or captain. The Tationes and Apaglamnes are given in the plural: "los indios Apelamenes y Tatives." They may well have possessed more than one rancheria each, as is supposed by Schenck. Schenck thinks that Cuyens and Mayem were transient parties from Kroeber's Miwok villages, Chuyumkatat and Mayemam, which were on the Cosumnes. Aside from the possible similarity in names there is not the slighest evidence in Viader's diaries to support such a theory. Viader definitely specifies rancherias, and the missionaries of that period were able to distinguish rancherias from fishing parties.

From the record we have in this area five villages certain and at least one other probable. For six villages of average size (there is no indication that they were smaller) the population would be assumed as 300 persons each, or 1,800 in all.

The mission records show for baptisms:

Tribe or Village	Dates of Conversion	Number of Baptisms
Cuyens	1811-1813	88
Mayemes	1813-1823	91
Apaglamnes	1818-1824	48
Tationes	1805-1811	243

The total is 470. These were San Joaquin River natives, not from the delta and marsh region. On the other hand they were less remote from Spanish influence and attack than the tribes which extended up the lateral streams. Hence the proportion of baptisms was probably intermediate between the value of 50 per cent assumed for the very exposed bay and delta people and that of 10 per cent ascribed to the Cosumnes. An estimate of 25 per cent would be reasonable, yielding a population value of 1,800. The two methods of calculation coincide, and the result, 1,800 inhabitants, may be allowed for the area.

For the lower Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers the only tribes mentioned in the Spanish documents are the Tauhalames (or Taulamnes) on the Tuolumne and the Lakisamne (or Lakisumne or Laquisemne) on the Stanislaus. Kroeber (1925, p. 485) writes: "the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River . . . the Lakisamni . . . on the Stanislaus . . . ." Schenck says (p. 141):

[361] > The villages of Taulamne and Taualames are both definitely placed, the former on an inaccessible rock on the Stanislaus river in the foothills, the latter at the ford of the San Joaquin just below the mouth of the Tuolumne river . . . . This seems to establish the region between the lower Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers as Taulamne territory. Merriam agrees in assigning the same region to the Tuolumne.

Schenck's only reference to the Lakisamne is on the same page: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." But the mission records and all other documents clearly distinguish between the two groups, rendering Schenck's hypothesis entirely untenable.

Some of the confusion may derive from the account of

*16 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherias," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 6 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, [36] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concerning tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*16 648 In the later documents there is little if any reference to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*16 [10] From the citations above it appears probable that the Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the

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*161 portion of the Stanislaus below Taulamne which was covered by Moragà in his march of 6 leagues upstream. No villages are mentioned in connection with this march but they could scarcely have failed to exist. Hence we may add another 500 without much fear of exaggeration, making a total of 2,000 for the course of the river from the San Joaquin to several miles above Knights Ferry. On the Tuolumne "varias rancherias" were seen, all deserted by their occupants. However, Moraga also remarked that the lower Tuolumne resembled the lower Merced. On the latter were 8 rancherias, hence there may have been an equal number on the Tuolumne. At a conservative 225 persons in each, the aggregate would have been 1,800. The sum for the two rivers would be 3,800.

The baptism lists show 151 conversions for the Lakisamne and 263 for the Taulamnes, or 414 in all. In view of the notorious hostility and the successful resistance these groups opposed to the white men, evident even in Moraga's day, we are justified in setting the baptism factor as low as for the Mokelumnes, or 7 per cent. This gives a potential aboriginal population of 5,920.

The midcentury American estimates would indicate more than this number. H. W. Wessells (1859) claims 500 to 700 on the Stanislaus and Tuolumne in 1853. Adam Johnston (1853) put 1,350 on his map of the same area in 1852. W. M. Ryer vaccinated 1,010 on the two rivers in 1851. The Daily Alta California for May 31, 1851, said that the Indians were 1,000 strong between the Stanislaus and the Tuolumne, and Savage, for an earlier period, put them at 4,600 (Dixon, MS, 1875). On the other hand, it must be remembered that as a result of Spanish and Mexican, not to mention American, aggression most of the strictly San Joaquin River people had long since retreated up the lateral streams. Hence the natives seen by the commissioners between 1850 and 1853 included the residues of all the river tribes from Manteca to Merced. For the southern part of the San Joaquin Valley it was determined, in a previous discussion, that the population remainder in 1850 represented approximately one-third of the aboriginal population. Of the estimates just cited the most reliable is that of Ryer. Following the suggestions presented in the consideration of his activities, we must make a correction to account for persons who missed vaccination. Such a correction would bring the number to 1,420. Then application of the factor one-third gives an aboriginal value of 4,730.

The three modes of estimate yield respectively a population of 3,800, 5,920, and 4,730, with an average of 4,817. We may use a slightly greater value and call the population 5,000. To this must be added the 1,800 persons estimated to have lived along the San Joaquin River itself. The lower San Joaquin River group as a whole, therefore, may be assigned a population of 6,800.

Lower San Joaquin River Group 6,800

NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY..... 27,070

THE MIWOK FOOTHILL AREA

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161 Above the central valley itself and occupying the foothills from the Cosumnes to the Tuolumne lived the northern and central Miwok. This region was not
[997] reached by the Spanish expeditions nor were many, if any, of the inhabitants incorporated in the missions. It is therefore necessary to rely exclusively upon the

161 reports of the ethnographers. In a preceding discussion of the central Miwok, who lived on the upper Stanislaus and Tuolumne, there were cited the data secured by Gifford, Kroeber, and Merriam for 70 villages. This area in 1850 was estimated to contain a population of 1,470. There are no data comparable to Gifford's for the rivers farther north, largely because the natives on the upper Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and Calaveras were thoroughly dispersed during the Gold Rush and village names and locations have become lost to the memory of Indian and white man alike. It is possible, however, to get a reasonable estimate of the population indirectly.

The territory of the northern Miwok, from the ecological standpoint resembles closely that of the central

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[P. 69B] Miwok NS16

161 Miwok. Hence stream mileage and area comparisons are justified. If we use the boundaries of the two groups substantially as given by Kroeber in the Handbook (map, opp. p. 446) and plot rivers and areas on a large-scale map, the equivalent aboriginal population for the northern Miwok by stream mileage and area is 2,480 and 1,535, respectively. The discrepancy in the two estimates is due to the greater frequency of streams and creeks in the northern area. The average of the population calculated by the two methods is 2,008, very close to that found for the central Miwok. The total for the foothill strip is then 4,138 or in round numbers 4,150.

MIWOK FOOTHILL AREA.....4,150

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[P. 70A]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*161 From the data presented in detail in the last section we may now derive the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley as a whole.

Region		Population
Tulare Lake Basin		6,500
Kaweah River		7,600
Merced River		3,500
Kings River		9,100
Mariposa, Fresno, Chowchilla, upper San Joaquin		19,000
Southern San Joaquin Valley		6,900
Northern San Joaquin Valley		
Delta area	9,350	
Lower Cosumnes	5,200	
Lower Mokelumne	5,720	
Lower San Joaquin, Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Stanislaus	6,800	27,070
Foothill strip (central and northern Miwok		4,150
Total		83,820

The total, 83,820, is more than four times as large as the population estimated to be surviving in 1850 (19,000) and much exceeds any previous estimate advanced by modern students of the California Indians.

*161 119 Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1905 computed the population of the entire state of California as 260,000, of whom perhaps one-fifth may have occupied the San Joaquin Valley, although Merriam does not attempt to assess the population of this area as such. Kroeber discusses the matter at length in the Handbook (pp. 488-491, 880-891) and concludes that the population of the

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[P.70B]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*16 114 whole state was 133,000. Of these the Yokuts had 18,000, the Miwok (Plains and Sierra) 9,000, the Western Mono about 1,000, and the peripheral tribes in the south perhaps 2,000, a total of 30,000. Schenck is more liberal, since for the delta region he allows for a spread of between 3,000 and 15,000 persons. The present estimate for the same area, as closely as it can be determined, is in the vicinity of 13,000, or within Schenck's limits although toward his upper extreme.

Since the data and reasoning upon which the present figure of 83,820 is based are set forth in detail in the preceding pages there is little value in repeating them, nor will anything be gained by attempting a rebuttal to the arguments presented by Kroeber. At the same time the author may be permitted to recapitulate three points wherein he thinks many modern scholars have been misled.

1. All available information from the Spanish and Mexican sources must be consulted. To confine an argument or an estimate to a single account, such as that by Moraga, may lead to a false impression. Kroeber seems to have been thus deceived in his discussion of the population of the Yokuts.

2. It must be remembered that in the central valley, as contrasted perhaps with an area like the Klamath River, no informants speaking since 1900, and particularly since 1920, can possibly have furnished a true picture of conditions prior to the Spanish invasion in the decade following 1800.

3. The depletion of population in the San Joaquin Valley between 1800 and 1850 was far greater than has been appreciated, although the basic facts have always been recognized. Warfare, massacre, forced conversion, starvation, and exposure all took a tremendous [73] toll of life but the sweeping epidemics of the 1830's were even more devastating. Together these forces destroyed in the aggregate fully 75 per cent of the aboriginal population.

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APPENDIX

*161 129 After this manuscript was completed, the writer had an opportunity to examine those documentary files of the Office of Indian Affairs and of the War Department which are at present in the National Archives at Washington. Several letters in the files containing information on the native population of the San Joaquin Valley have never, so far as could be determined, been published. Since the data thus procured are fragmentary and since they do not apparently invalidate the conclusions set forth in previous pages, they have not been incorporated in the body of this paper. These items, however, have some intrinsic interest and therefore merit specific mention. They are briefly abstracted as follows.

War Department

Record Group 98. 10th Military Dept. Letters received Calif., Document no. K 21. E. D. Keyes, Camp Magruder, June 17, 1851.

The 8 tribes on the Kaweah, with whom a treaty was concluded on May 30 contain 1,240 individuals.

The 4 tribes on Paint Creek with whom a treaty was concluded on June 3 contain 1,660 persons.

Record Group 98. Letters received Calif., 1854. Enclosure to document no. W 2. John Nugent, Camp Wessells, Dec. 31, 1853.

The Four Creeks region (Kaweah) from the Sierra Nevada to Tulare Lake will not contain more than 1,000, all told.

Record Group 98. Letters received Calif., 1854. Enclosure to document no. W 12. H. W. Wessells, Fort Miller, March 7, 1854.

The Indians under control of Fort Miller include those on the Fresno, San Joaquin, Kings, and Kaweah Rivers. They are much reduced in numbers, owing to the recent sickness.

Fresno River: 400 persons, including 100 able men.
San Joaquin River: 350, including 80-90 able men.
Kings River: 1,100, including 250 able men.
Kaweah River: 800, including 200 able men.

Office of Indian Affairs

Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1854. Enclosure to document no. H 758. D. A. Enyart, Fresno Reservation, Nov. 3, 1854.

The Indians on the Fresno Farm include: 30 Chowchilla, 220 Choot-chances, 90 Pohonicha, and 100 Potohanchi.

The Indians in Mariposa, Stanislaus, and Tuolumne counties do not exceed a total of 2,000.

By river system he breaks them down thus: 300 on the Merced, 350 on the Tuolumne, 250 at Plant's Ferry on the Stanislaus, 100 elsewhere on the Stanislaus, and 100 scattering through the country.

Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1855. Enclosure to document no. H 1050. Report of D. A. Enyart, Fresno Reservation, Aug. 22, 1855.

"I find that there are at least about 1,000 to 1,500 Indians on the River (i.e., San Joaquin) . . . . This does not

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APPENDIX

*161 include the 'Mono' tribe which is the most numerous of any tribe . . . ."

127 Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1859. Enclosure to document no. M 66. M. B. Lewis, Fresno Agency, Aug. 30, 1859.

A report on the 22 tribes which recognize the Fresno

*161 Agency as their headquarters. Abstracted as follows:

127 Wel-leelch-um-nies:
131 the most northerly tribe; is "temporarily" on the Tuolumne River because of displacement by the whites. 85

Poto-en-cies:
have abandoned their native land, the Merced Valley and are now on the Chowchilla. 110

Noot-choos:
"a union of the remnant of other tribes," including some Yosemites. Now on the north fork of the Chowchilla. 85

Po-ho-nee-chees:
on the headwaters of the Fresno. 105

Chow-chillas:
have moved from the Chowchilla to the Fresno River. 85

Cooc-chances:
the largest "unbroken" tribe in the agency, originally on Coarse Gold Creek; some still there, some at agency. 240

How-ches:
once large; always have been on the Fresno. 18

Pit-cat-ches and Tal-linches:
(two distinct tribes); native habitat was the San Joaquin River; still near Fort Miller. 150

Coss-waz:
"to some extent identified with the Pit-cat-ches"; native land is Deer Creek. 88

Monos:
on Fine Gold Creek and the upper San Joaquin River. 535

War-to-kes, Itee-ches, and Cho-pes:
all on Kings River; "constitute one nation" but have separate heads (on Wartoke Creek). 290

Wat-ches:
since 1854 have been on Kings River Farm. 75

No-to-no-tos and We-melches 190

Tat-ches and Wo-wells:
these four tribes are native to the lower Kings River and Tulare Lake. They were recently driven to their homes on the Fresno Farm. 165

Cow-willas:
their home is the mouth of the Kaweah at the foothills. 110

Tel-em-nies:
on the Kaweah, near Visalia. 105

Total 2,436

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Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of Positions of Map Facing p. 74.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

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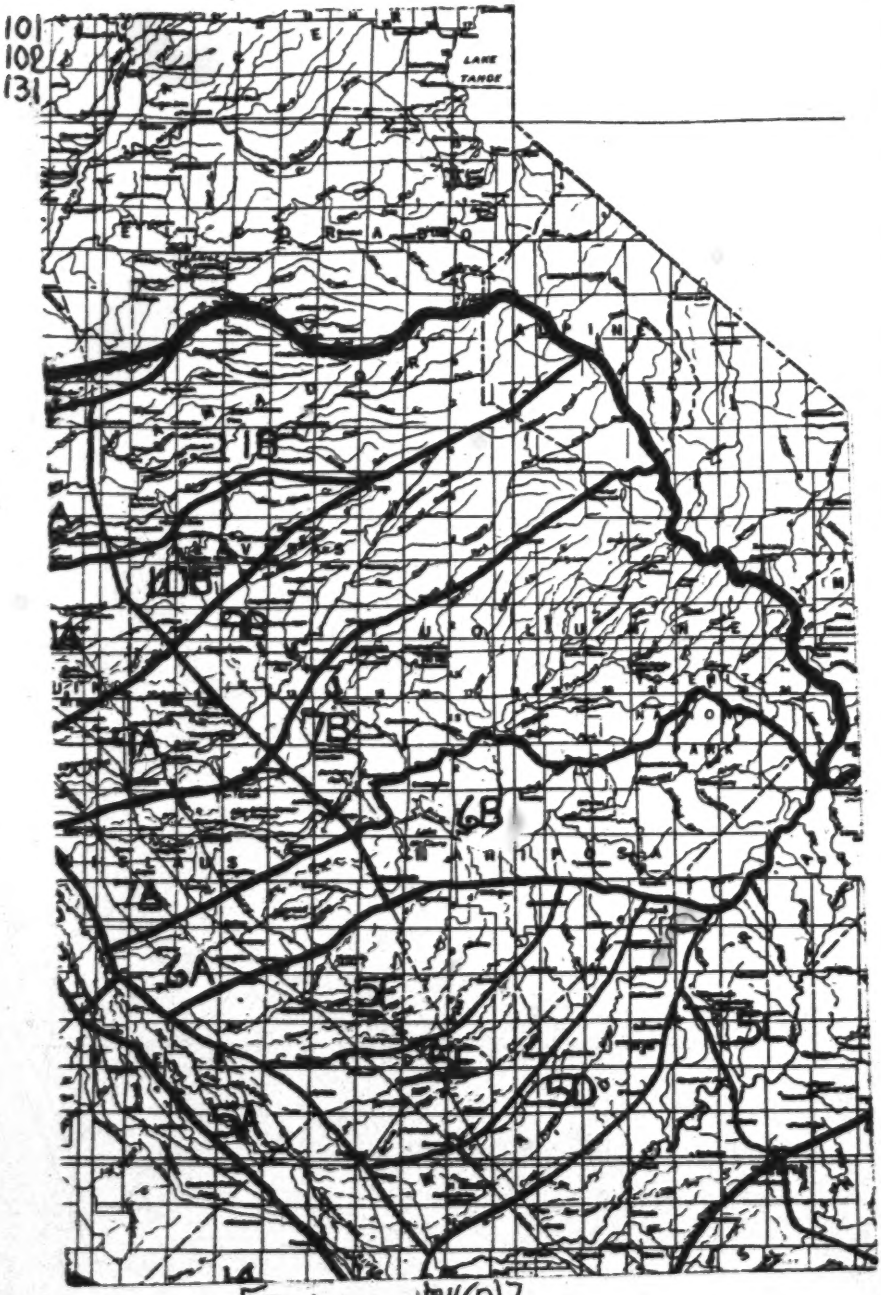
102
131

[Facing p. 74(A)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1



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12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map I

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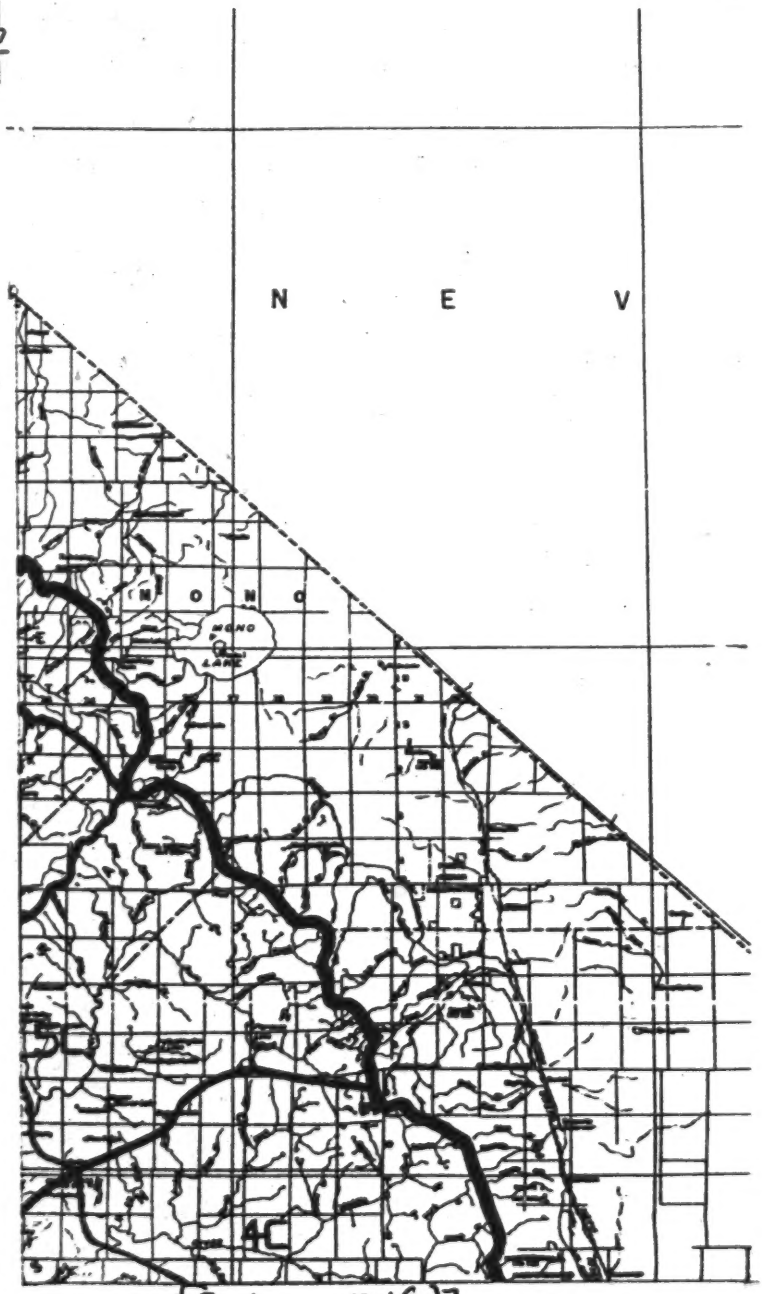

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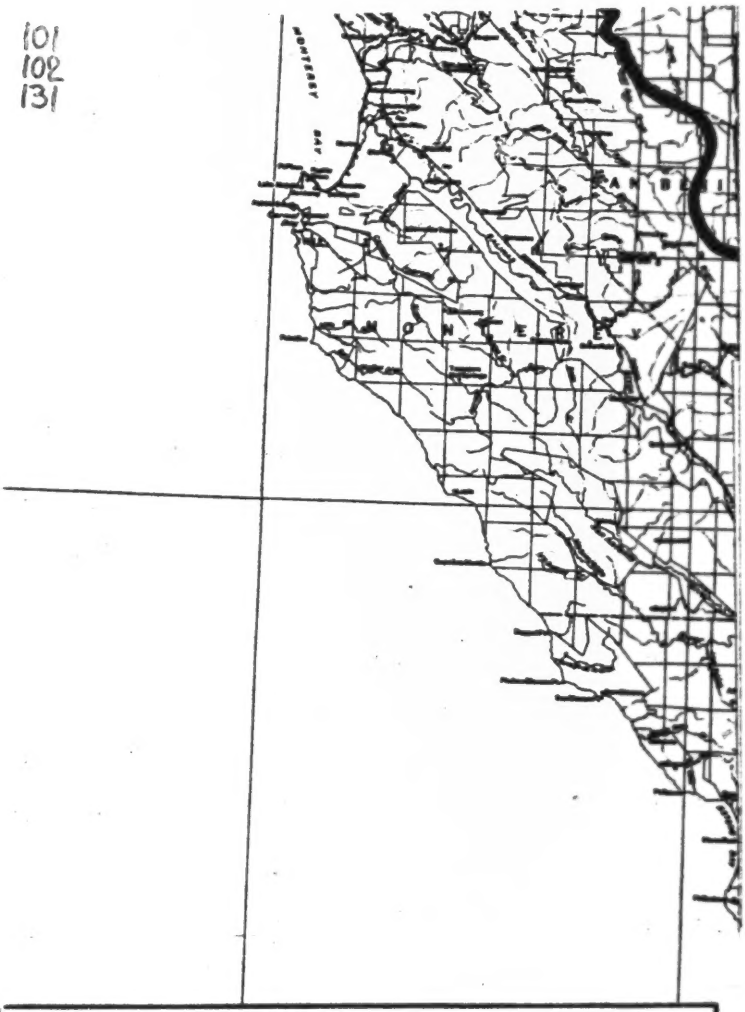


Map 1. This map covers the entire area under discussion, extending from the Cosumnes River to the Tehachapi. The smaller divisions, denoted by numbers and letters, represent the habitat areas considered in detail in the text. The succeeding maps, drawn to larger scale, show these same areas with the tribal divisions entered as far as possible.

0 5 10 20 30

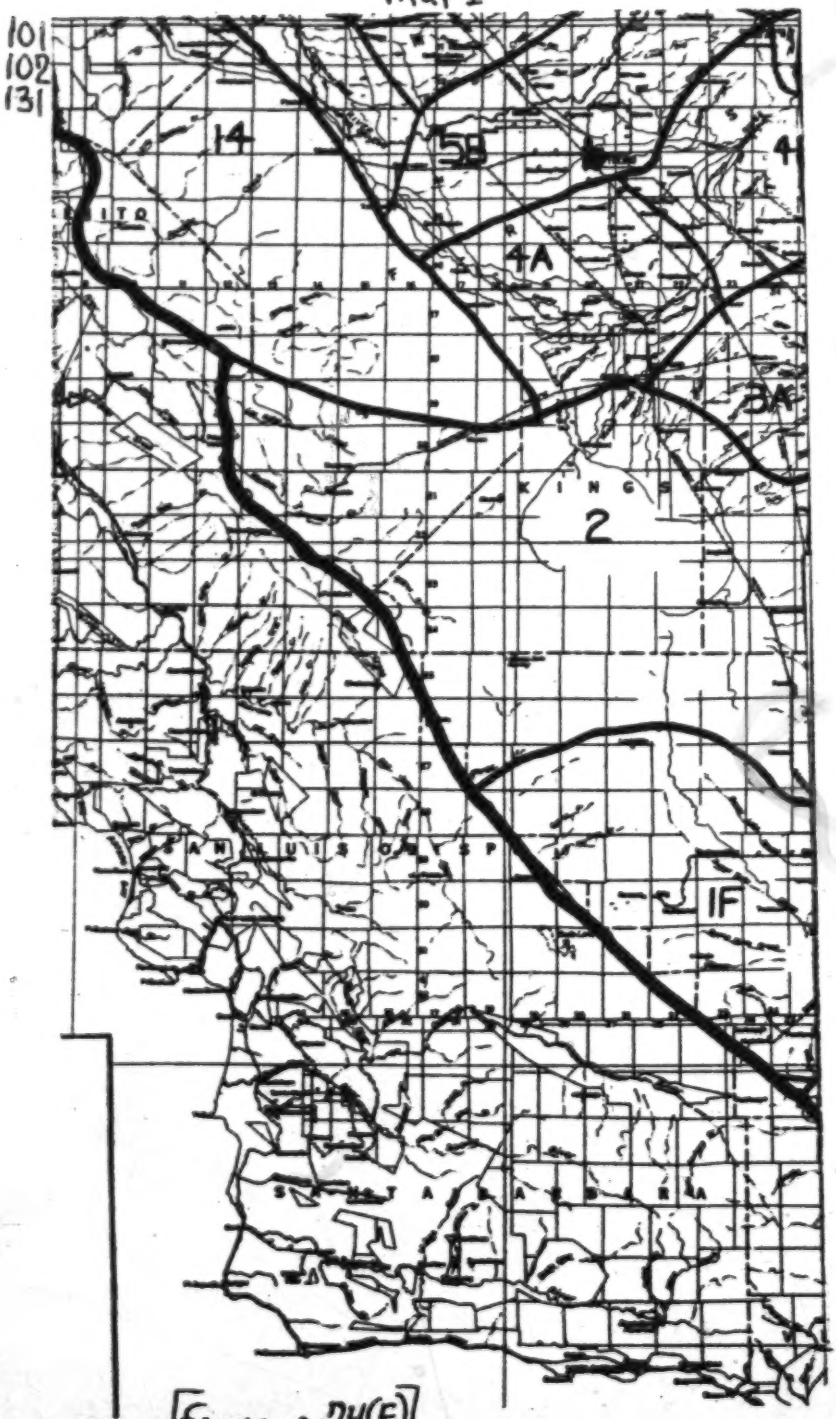
MILES

To accompany Cook, "Aboriginal Population of San Joaquin Valley," Univ. of Calif. Publ., Anthro. Rec. Vol. 16, No. 2.

[Facing p. 74(D)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

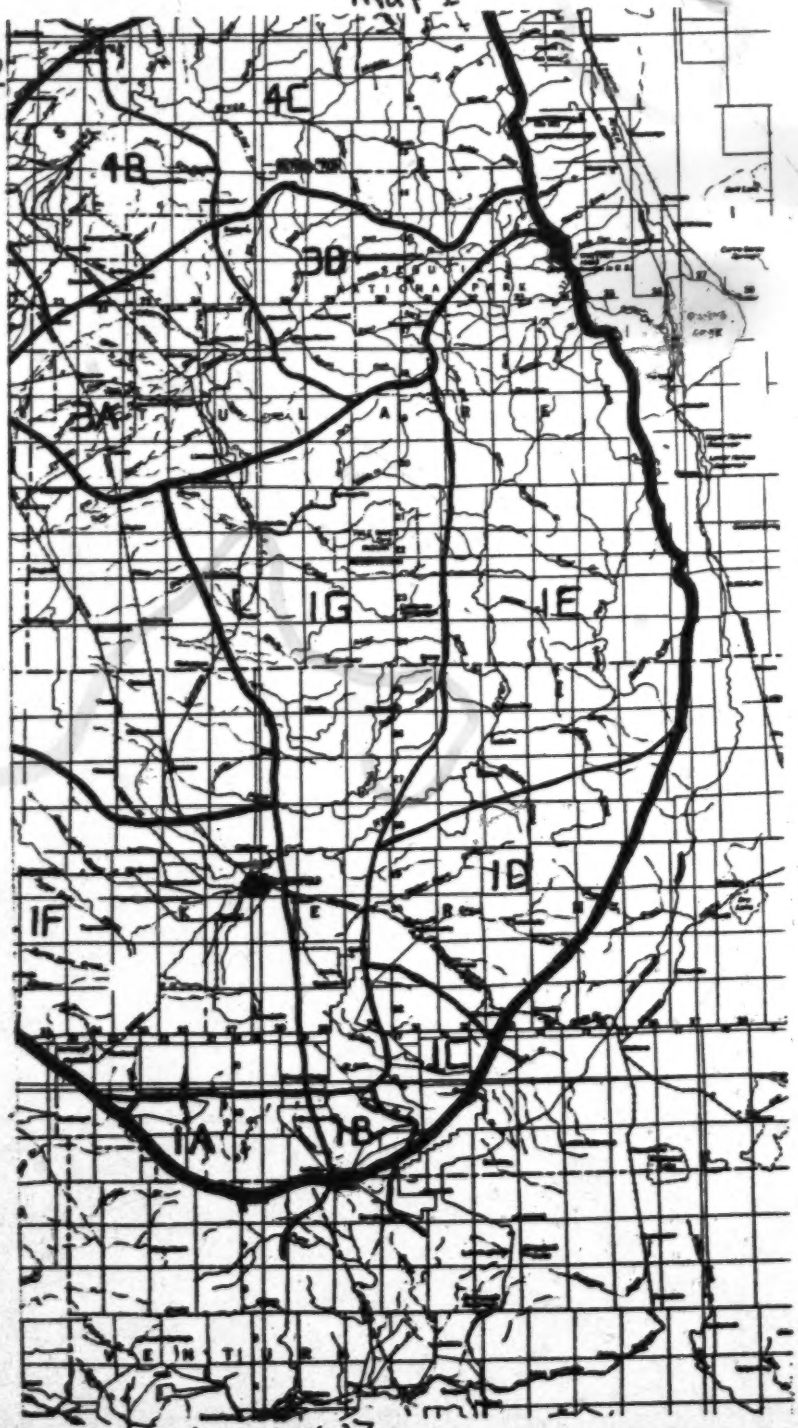
Map 1



[Facing p. 74(E)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map I



facing p. 74(F)]

[p. 75]

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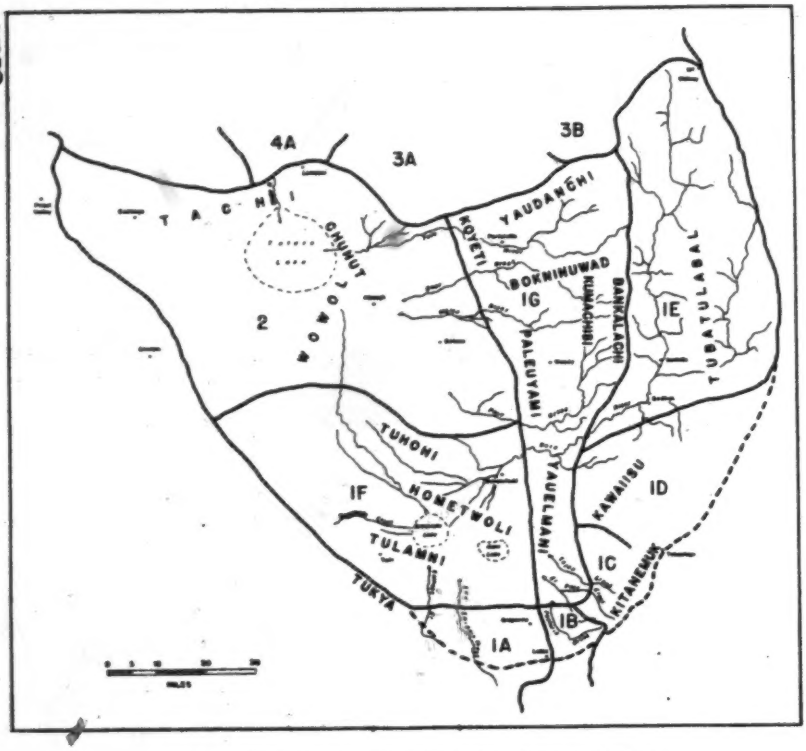

Map 2. Habitat areas 1A-3: the southern Tokuts and peripheral tribes.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25

[P.76]

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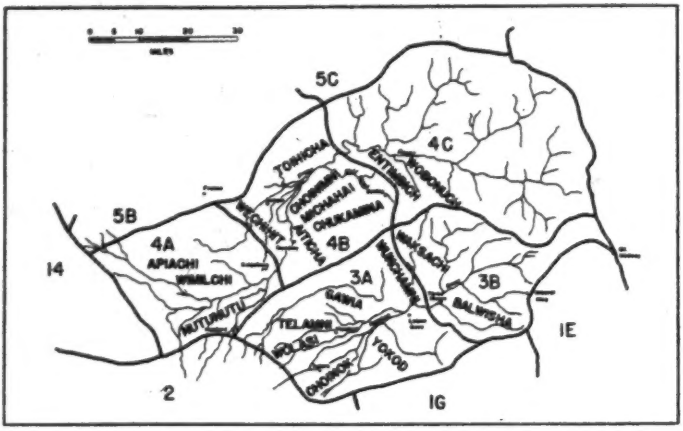
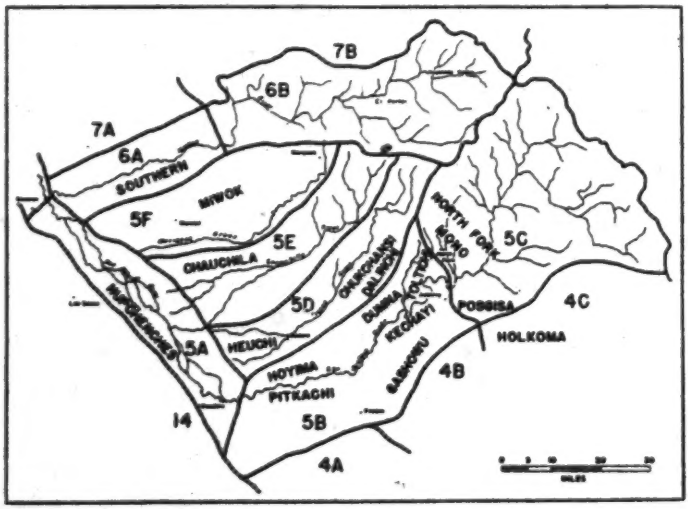


Map 3. Habitat areas 3A–4C: the basins of the Kaweah and Kings rivers, including the Yokuts and part of the Mono.



Map 4. Habitat areas 5A–6B: the Yokuts, part of the Mono, and the Southern Miwok.

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Miwok NS16
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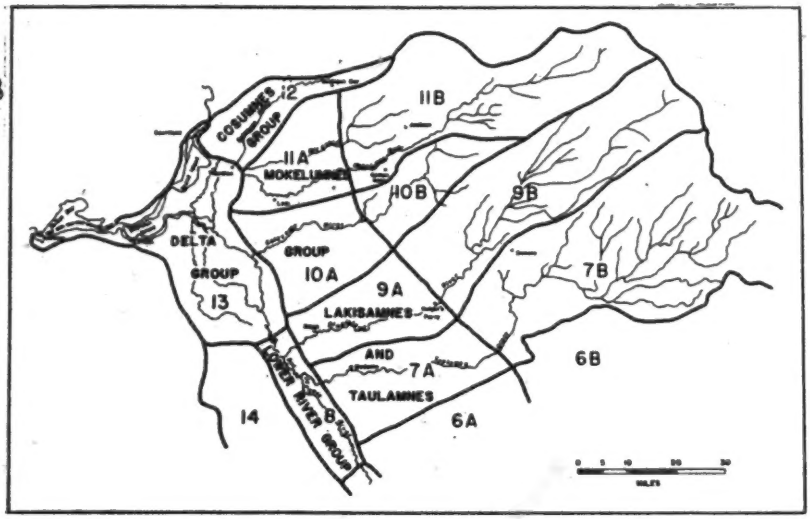

Map 5. Habitat areas 7A-14: the Northern Yokuts, Central and Northern Miwok.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

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[pp. 79-80 blank]

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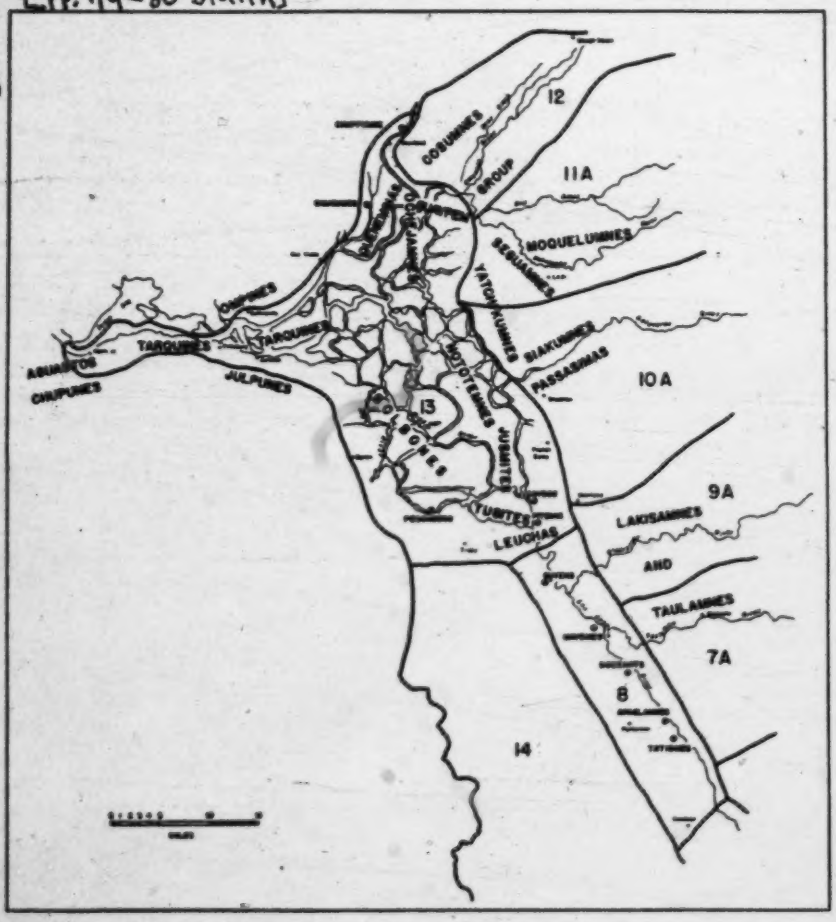

Map 6. The Lower San Joaquin River and Delta areas (particularly areas 8 and 13).

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29
161

[For information on population statistics, see category 116, pp. 31A-31C, 33B-34B, 36B-37A, 38A-48A, 49B-64A, 67A-68B, and 70A-71B. --Analyst]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Vol. XXIX *January-February, 1955* *No. 1*

[TITLE PAGE]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom 115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts 789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier. 796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who 789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him 578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans 791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of 789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

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796 He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground,
789 picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made
791 certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

791 After telling about the successful display of power by the
789 weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they
[222] would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

791 José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys
825 following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

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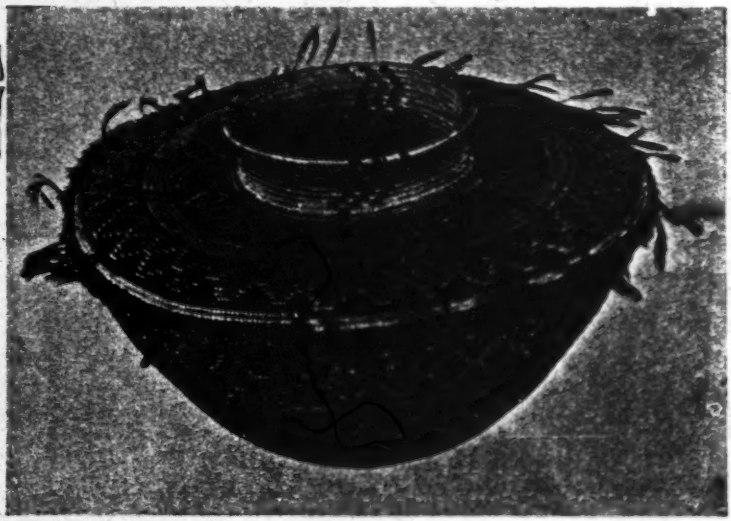

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be-
[789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

797 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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14:Hatch E-4,5 (1957) 1958 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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THE KROEBER ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY PAPERS

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TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. 533 He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He 756 had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cult: among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community 533 from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may pa?a seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo pa?a seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

533 Therefore the compression occurs after the third repeat of the first phrase, after the second repeat of the second phrase, and so on.

Almost all the songs were sung by both males and females with no apparent
533 difference or "parts" such as found on the northwest California coast. One
462 of the exceptions to this statement is the single work song recorded -- the Acorn Grinding Song. This song was sung only by the women, who did the acorn grinding, while the males did not, or pretended not, to know it. It is true that the males know more songs than the women; no reason was given why the women could not sing them if they wanted to. The one example of harmony, which occurs in the Sepas Song, is certainly accidental.

The tempos ranged from andantino to vivace, from 63 beats to 138 beats
533 per minute, with the bulk of the songs falling at the latter end of the scale. In some of the songs there was considerable rhythmic variation. This was for two reasons: the first was that some of the songs, like the Deer Song mentioned above, were supposed to be sung without a fixed beat. The second reason for variation stemmed from the fact that individual singers, when singing alone, could and would vary rhythm and melody much more than when the group sang together. The combination of the group's clapsticks and singing would carry the song to its conclusion with a minimum of discontinuity.

The spread of the melodic contour was rarely over eight or ten semitones, with the largest group falling between six and seven semitones. This is in contrast with the northwest California coast, where an octave and one-half are extremely common, especially in the Brush Dance and White Deerskin Dance Songs. This again contrasts with the limited spread which is found among
[171] the Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, and other north central and northeastern groups. Among these groups melodic spreads of three or four semitones are not uncommon, and there is one grass game song, recorded by Dr. Kroeber, characterized by a two semi-tone spread.

The scale was predominantly pentatonic, although the limited spread of some of the songs made it difficult to evaluate. Some, but not all, of the songs showed a definable rise. The rise in Tachi music can best be described as a low-pitch low-contrast section alternating with a rise of a fourth or a fifth and a descending lyrical passage back to the low-pitch low-contrast section. The Tawanic or Morning Song shows a rise beginning in the 5th measure, and again in the 18th. The Lizard Handgame Song #4 begins with a rise.

Another feature of the songs was the sparseness of lyrics. Most of the songs averaged no more than two or three phrases totaling 10-12 syllables. Common repetition patterns for lines were:

1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2; 1,1,1,2,2,2,1,1,2,2,3,1,1;

and so forth. The repetition of the Lizard Handgame Song showed some variation:

1,1,1,1,2,1,1,1,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,1,2.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. 533
In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases toteling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75).

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This 538
song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area.

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on
	the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach his curing power, 539
Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater en- 756
trance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake [789]
(kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma [825]
and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by.

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At length he came to the end of the cave. It was a new and strange land which he had not seen before. After looking around, he came upon the doctor sitting steadfast as a stone and looking straight before him. After a time the doctor looked up and asked Sapagay, "What are you doing here? How did you get in? You must have some sort of power to get past my guardians." Sapagay told him of the charms he had used and the doctor approved of them. They were the right charms for the man who wanted doctor power.

Sapagay looked about and saw that there was no one around. He said, "This must be a very lonely place; there are no other people here." The doctor replied, "You don't seem to like it here; why did you come?" And he continued, "I will show you the people who live here." So he called, and a long line of deer came out of the black mountain to the west. Sapagay thought to himself, "These aren't real people, but just deer from the woods." But the deer came and formed a circle about him and lost their horns and hooves, and turned into beautiful girls dressed in string aprons, beads, and clamshell ornaments. The doctor then addressed the girls, "Now give him your songs that he may have doctor power among his people." And the girls taught Sapagay their songs so that he could use their secret power.

When Sapagay learned all that he could, he asked the doctor how he could get back to his people. The doctor told him that the guardians would be asleep when he returned through the tunnel. And then Sapagay returned to his people and became a famous doctor who was called to all parts of California to cure the sick. (3)

Other songs of this sort are the Weli Weli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choynimni and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] 178 533 songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

[171] Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

[178] Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

[171] All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Yachi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɛ= lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid-rounded front vowel
ə higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "out". Typewritten "ʔ" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific
769 coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the
551 custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of
184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally
769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River
551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same
[553] time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [82] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

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PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a 127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for [126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of [177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho- 184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

[ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 122 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

[p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 538 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock covering of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and [128] incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

[p. 2-A]

539 looked for their footprints. He found nothing. And from there he returned. And he arrived at the leader's house. And the leader said to him, "Why are you alone?" "I can't find her," he says. And the leader said, "I think she has been stolen from you. Now we'll assemble the people," the leader says to him. And he sent Dove. "Assemble the people," he says. And Dove got all the people. "Falcon's wife has been stolen," he says. "Now Eagle will ask the people," he says. "Who's going to find her?" he says.

And all the people assembled. And he asked all of them, "Who can find out where she went?" And Buzzard said, "I'll try. But he must take me where she was stolen," Buzzard said. And there Falcon took him where she was stolen. And there they arrived. "For one day I will search for her," he says. And Buzzard searched all the ravines. He looks down all the impassable places. He comes down. Where is she hidden? And in vain he goes up again. He finds nothing.

He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he returned. And, as before, all the people assembled. And they asked him, "What happened on your journey?" "I didn't find anything," he says. "I walked over the whole world, but it was useless," he says. "I didn't find anything."

And the leader said, "Now you," he says to Wind. "Yes," says Wind. "I think I can do something. I try to get in everywhere over the whole world," says Wind. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Is this it?" says Wind to him. "Yes," says Falcon. "Well, I'll walk now," he says. "I will arrive there after sundown," he says. And Falcon says to him, "Well, I am going now," he says. And Wind walked over the whole world. He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he arrived late at the leader's house. And the leader asked him, "What happened on your journey?" he says to him. "I didn't find anything," he says.

"Now you," Bottlefly is told. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Did she go from here?" he says to him. And he stood right there where the woman had been sitting. And he said to Falcon, "You must not go anywhere. You must wait for me right here," he says to him. And Bottlefly says, "From here I'll find out where she went. I'll turn around here," he says. "East," and also, "North," he says, and also, "West," and also, "South." And Falcon said, "Where is she?" he says. "Not there," Bottlefly says. "She went far up," he says. "You must wait for me right here," he says.

And there he went far up. And there he remained. He sniffs in all directions. And he turned around. And he saw a house. It was the house of the thief. And there Bottlefly went. And on entering his house, he slipped. He falls on his back. His house was slippery. And it was quiet there. And he saw the woman. And from there he returned. He seemed to be very

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539 quick. He came there where Falcon remained. And he reached Falcon. And Falcon said to him, "Where?" And he said to him, "She is up there." "I have known it for a long time. I have been thinking," says Falcon. "It is best that we return, and I will go in the morning."

And they returned. And they arrived at the leader's house. And the people assembled. Now they will listen to the one who found her. And all the people assembled. And the leader questioned Bottlefly. "The two of us arrived there where she was stolen," he says. "We arrived there," he says. "And I couldn't find her east or north or west or south," he says. "Well! She went above," he says. "And there I arrived far up," he says. "There she was," he says, "that woman." And Coyote said, "I have known it for a long time," he says. And he named him. "That is his name," he says. "Condor," he says. "All of his body is stone, but his heart can be seen through his back," he says. And Eagle said to him, "Is he certain to fight us if he comes?" he says. And then he said, "Sparrow Hawk is Falcon's younger brother. Yayil is his name." And Falcon said, "In the morning I will get her," he says.

And in the morning Falcon went. He took his musical bow. And far off there he arrived. And there he placed it where his wife had been. And there he sat on his musical bow. And he went up. That musical bow of his took him up.

And far above he came out through a hole in the world. And after coming out he stood there. And there he saw the house. And there he went. And there he arrived at the door. And he said to her, "Come out." And she said to him, "Who are you?" And Falcon said to her, "It is I." "So it is you," she says to him. "Now I will come out," she says to him. And she came out with a string of human bones around her neck. And Falcon said to her, "Take off your necklace. Now we will go," he says to her. And from there they went to the place where he had come out. And they arrived there. And there he placed his musical bow. They sat in the middle of it. And from there they descended far below. And from there they went to their house where their leader was. There they arrived. At their arrival, the people are happy.

And then Condor, the fighter, arrived at his house. And there he saw their wife's necklace; she had thrown it on the door. And at that he immediately got ready to go. Now he is going to follow his wife. And he descended far below. And from there he went. Now he will go toward them. And far off there he arrived. And he asked them, "Where does Tsopnix live?" he says. And Falcon was told, "Condor is looking for you." "Has he come already?" he says. "Yes," says the speaker. And there went Falcon.

All the people are getting very frightened. "Hello," Tsopnix says to him. "It is really you." "Hello," says Condor. "So you took our wife," he says. "Therefore," Condor says to him,

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539 "therefore, we will settle it between ourselves. If you kill me, then you will take our wife. But if I kill you, then I will take her," he says. "Which one will shoot first?" he says. "I will be first," says Falcon.

And they went far off to an open plain. "Ready?" Falcon says to him. And it seems that he conjured up a fog. And "Ready?" says his opponent. And many stones fell where Falcon was standing. And Condor asked him, "Where are you?" his opponent says to him. "I'll take my turn with you. Now I come," Falcon says to him. And he conjured up a fog again. Soon his younger brother will go in a circle around him. He has many wire-grass [cane] arrows now. He is shooting at the heart through Condor's back. There this heart of his could be seen. "Well, get ready now," Falcon says to him. "Now I will shoot at you. Three times I will shoot at you," he says to him. "Ready," he says to him. "Get ready now. Now I will shoot at you." And he shot at him. Many stones dropped from his body when he shot. And he shot at him again. And, as before, stones dropped there. And "Where are you?" Falcon says to him. "Here I am," he says.

"Now I will take my turn with you. I come next," Condor says to him. "Good," says Falcon. "Ready?" he says to him. "Ready," then says Falcon. His younger brother still keeps shooting at him through his back. And he conjured up a fog again. And many stones dropped where he was standing. And again he went far off to a different place. And he says to him, "Where are you?" "I am standing here," says Falcon.

"And now I will take my turn with you. I will come next again," Falcon says to him. Already Condor is losing strength. Now he is going to shoot at him again. And a lot of stones fell; they seemed to be very large ones. "Again," Falcon says to him. And he shot at him again. "There is one more," he says to him. "Now I'll shoot at you again," he says to him. But he [Condor] is already losing strength. And, "Again," he says to him. And finally he fell down. Yet he does not stop talking. And then they rested. Now he does not get up. Now he has fallen.

And "What are we going to do with him?" says Coyote. "We will burn him," say all these people. And all of the people gathered wood. They piled it there where he had fallen. And it was set on fire. And the fire died out. Nothing was burning. "Hello," says Falcon to him. "Hello," then says Condor. "So! You are still alive," Falcon says to him. "There is nothing you can kill me with," he says to him. And en-

539 other kind of wood was gathered. And, as before, it was again piled there where he is lying. And, as before, it was set on fire. It was not burning any longer. "Hello," Falcon says to him. "It is really you. Hello," he says to him. "I am well," he says. "So! You will not die," Falcon says to him.

And Coyote was asked, "What will we burn him with? He does not burn up," they say. And, "With grass," Coyote says. "With that he will burn," he says. And a lot of grass was brought. Now he will be burned with it. And it was set on fire. And all of his body was burning. But his head still talks. "We have probably killed him now. Leave him right there," he says.

And they stayed over night. And during the night the head, by itself, went away. His body was not there. And Falcon got the head and took it away. And the head got angry at being taken. Now the head will try many times to harm him. And again Falcon takes it in his hands. Now he is going to keep smashing it down on these stones. And again it kept trying to harm him.

And finally Falcon said, "We had better go to my father's sister." And Falcon and his wife went off. Now they are going to run away. And the two of them went. And now the head came again. It was trailing them now. And again it overtook them. Again it failed to do any harm to Falcon. And, as before, Falcon took it and kept smashing it down. He broke it in many pieces. And again the two of them went off. And again he overtook them as they were nearing his father's sister's house. And, as before, he again kept smashing it down. And with that the two of them went off again. And his father's sister shouted, "Run," she says to him. "You are coming close now," she says to him. They were getting very near. And now the head was approaching them again. And already it was overtaking them. Just as it approached, the rock closed shut. Just as it closed, the head arrived there. There the head broke. There it became Echo Rock.

And then Eagle was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says then. And Cougar also was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says. "I'll kill many deer," he says. Falcon also says, "I too will walk here in the mountain," he says. And Coyote was also asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here I will walk on the plains. Maybe I will steal something there," he says. And Crow also was asked. "I'll walk west," he says. "Maybe something will die. And I will eat its eyes," says Crow. That is the end.

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LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

000 But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; ˙(as i˙, e˙, etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; p̣, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and [182] [193] simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is 193 practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

193 "lead, take the lead," change their vowels in the stems 'ipa·-'an, "he is swimming" and diya·-'an, "he is leading." But the suffix must also change its vowel when it is appended to a stem of the "o" class: parallel to the forms quoted above, the root yo·wo, "go home," undergoes vowel changes and also affects the vowel of the suffix in yowo·-'on, "he is going home."

But all of this shifting and balancing of vowels is completely devoid of any referential function. The vowel changes have a purely formal relevance and carry with them no increments of meaning. They are not like our vowel changes in "sing, sang, sung" or in "man, men," which have a clearly assignable function. They resemble the nonfunctional vowel changes in the stressed syllables of "grateful, gratitude" or "volcano, volcanic." Whereas changes of this type affect only a minute portion of the English vocabulary, in Yokuts they are deeply embedded in the language system and accompany every process applied to the word.

In its organization of morphological elements, Yokuts shows the same disregard for external function. The tightly organized and interrelated classifications of word types and subtypes, of stems, and of suffixes are not based upon any rationale of their conceptual content. These elements are classified according to their phonetic form and the way they behave as morphological units, not according to their meaning.

193 Every language possesses a certain amount of
195 formal machinery that does not generate meaning. Of this type are the occasional vowel changes of English, mentioned above, and some scattered consonant changes ("invade, invasion; equate, equation"). But there is a scrupulous and unremitting attention given to form for its own sake in Yokuts. Throughout its grammatical system Yokuts reveals a degree of neatness and consistency in organization, a formal balance and symmetry, that is rare among languages. Although this formal emphasis contributes feebly to the creation of meanings, it is by no means insignificant as a stylistic factor. Formal movements that take place below the level of tangible meanings carry their own esthetic satisfactions. But they are the most subtle and indigenous aspects of a language; they can never be captured in a translation.

193 The suffixing system, which bears the heaviest burden of functional work in Yokuts, does not provide the means for an elaborate development of concepts within the word. There are no more than a hundred suffixes in Yokuts. Although English possesses about the same number, it does not rely primarily upon suffixation; such techniques as word order, compounding, prefixation carry as much, if not more, of the functional load. Yet, in spite of the fact that Yokuts depends almost exclusively upon suffixes, it is remarkably restrained in exploiting the

193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 An instructive exercise that I indulged in dur-
193 ing my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are ab-
196 stract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

193 tain notions that are generalized. Although
196 English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application, and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs
196 which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ḱubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wiḃwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

[P.6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hiłwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

[p. 7-A]

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

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193 any degree of notional intricacy and richness.
195 A passage of Macaulay's prose, with its long and involved periods, could be translated into grammatically correct Yokuts. But the result would be a grammarian's idle fancy, a distortion of the syntactic idiom of Yokuts. The language is as diffident in applying its means of elaboration in syntax as in suffixation.

Adjectival notions, for example, can be expressed by means of a simple syntactic device. A noun functions as an adjectival term augmenting or delimiting the meaning of any other noun by being linked in parallel series with it, and theoretically any number of such adjectival nouns can be juxtaposed to the noun they modify. The English predication, "he entered the small gray house," could be paraphrased in Yokuts: go·binhin ṭew gudew ṗahlikniw, "he entered the house, the small one, the gray one." But one will search far in a body of Yokuts myths to find any such double use of adjectival terms modifying a noun. With the exception of demonstratives ("this one, that one") and quantifiers ("one, two, all, many"), even a single modifying term is rarely juxtaposed to a noun. Yokuts prefers to make separate sentences of its qualifications. More in line with the stylistic habits of Yokuts would be go·binhin ṭew / 'ama' ṭa gudi' / 'ama' ṭa yow ṗahlikin, "he entered the house. / And that one was a small one. / And that one was also a gray one."

In the same spirit Yokuts avoids expressing subordinate and superordinate relations between its predications. It possesses particles indicating temporal and modal subordination, such as "when" and "if," and suffixes forming subordinate verbs, but these are syntactic tools that Yokuts employs only on rare occasions. Its favorite device for relating predications to one another is the particle 'ama', that can best be translated as "and" or "and then," an element that achieves only the loosest and most ambiguous type of co-ordination. The great majority of sentences in a Yokuts text begin with this feeble co-ordinator. Occasionally a tighter cohesion is attained by the use of another particle meaning "also, again." But the language seldom goes beyond this in its efforts to connect and relate its predications.

195 These items of syntactic behavior reflect the general tendency in Yokuts to demand a severe simplicity of content from its units of expression. In contrast to English, Yokuts does not pack its individual words with a wealth of meaning, nor does it compensate for the conceptual thinness of its words by an elaborate display of syntactic processes. Notions are sparsely distributed over a sequence of predications, and the predications themselves are broken up into independent, loosely joined sentences.

To the English imagination, rooted in its own habits of expression, the total effect of Yokuts style is anything but stimulating. The mode of expression undoubtedly appears drab, colorless,

[p.8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of [182 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc- 195 esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms, 153] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths [114] in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

[p. 8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6] Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistantly tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the young as historic fact--this was the way land
[869] was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[883] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE[13] IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

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Map 1. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

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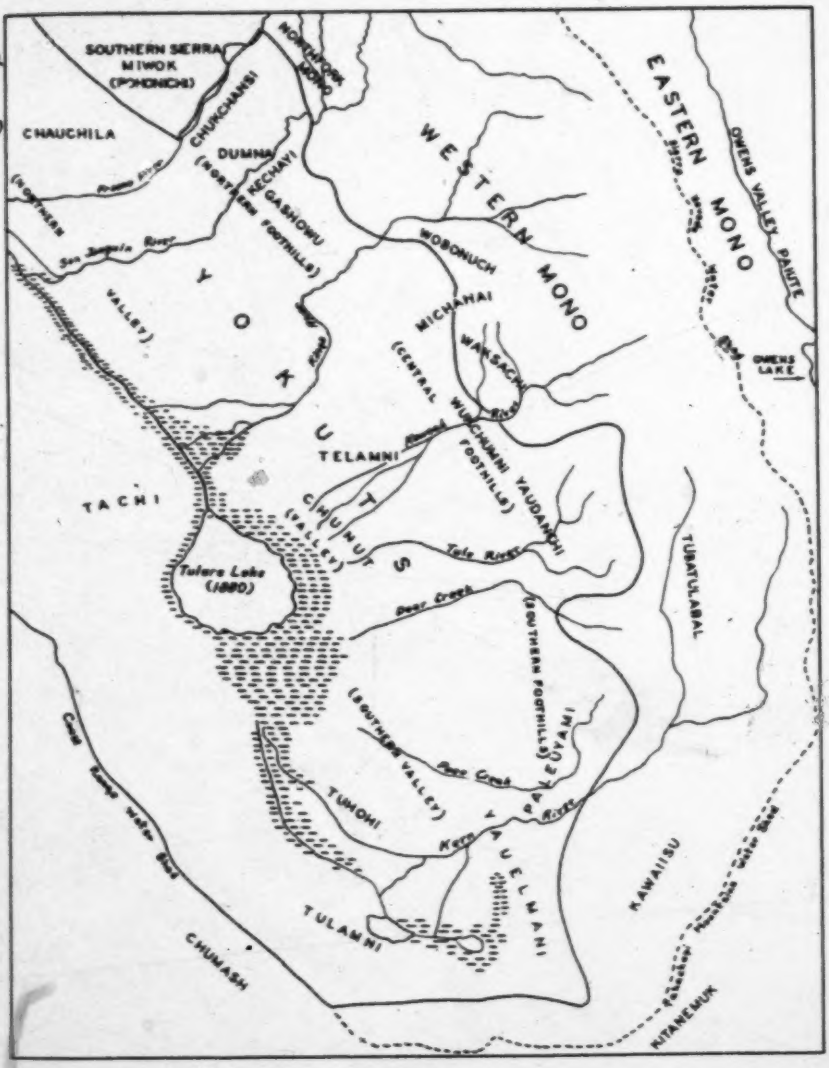

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]

[p.14-A]

171 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestion-
538 ably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono, yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo, Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein his rôle is often at least daring if not undefeatedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
[184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill or mountain country. How far he was popular with Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi, Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the mythology recorded from these groups is hopelessly incomplete. With these people it is possible that Coyote or some other held a more elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

[p.14-B]

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The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tübatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[128] [18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts. 1

1 [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES — ANALYST]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE

[P. iii b]

114 Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

114 A more thorough knowledge of the Western Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the foothills was exigent to a broader understanding of Yokuts culture and therefore, after working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews and consequently fairly full accounts were got of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

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[2]Since published; see Bibliography.

[3]The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4]JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5]Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE
[P. iva]

121 pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the

[Text continues top of P. ivb---Analyst]

Postscript

114 Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

000 The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono

[Text continues Bottom of P. ivb, ----Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokut NS29

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[P. iv b]

121 cultures of adjacent tribes must be consulted, namely, Dr. Erminie W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Ethnography, and Miwok Material Culture, by S.A. Barrett and E.W. Gifford.

My gratitude is cast in two directions -- to the many informants whose amiability and sincere interest sustained them through tedious inquiries and labored explanations, and to those members of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California who sponsored my work and leniently permitted me to prolong its completion: more particularly to Mrs. Josie Alonzo, Mrs. Mollie Lawrence, Mr. Sam Osborn, and to Dr. A.L. Kroeber, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Santa Cruz, California — A.H. Gayton
September 13, 1943

Postscript

tribes are available in the publications of Kroeber, Gifford, and Driver.

An editorial decision to divide the present ethnography into two sections will facilitate both publication and subsequent use. Therefore it will appear in two parts with the subtitles: Part I, Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts, and Part II, Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. The Index will be found in Part II.

Here I should like to add my thanks to Mrs. Mary Anne Whipple for her meticulous care in preparing the manuscript for press.

November 8, 1945 — A.H.G.

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ǽ, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikɨt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of
[12] extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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CULTURE-ENVIRONMENT INTEGRATION: EXTERNAL REFERENCES IN YOKUTS LIFE

A. H. GAYTON

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ONE OF THE ASPECTS of culture dynamics which has received particular attention in recent years is that of integration. Pattern, complex, configuration, integrating factor, and theme have been used as labels for those culture elements which seem to cling together about some core of thought or action. When such constellations interpenetrate various aspects of a total culture they are regarded as integrators—cohesive forces binding parts, if not wholes, of a culture together. The function of the "theme" as a dynamic factor has recently been set forth by Dr M. E. Opler with some pertinent examples of active patterns in Chiricahua Apache life.[1] I interpret his construct of "theme" to be essentially the more familiar "culture pattern," in the ideational realm, with the factor of emotional surcharge taken into account as the active ingredient. Unlike some anthropological concepts, his has the virtue of being grounded in specific ethnographic realities.

An earlier paper by Dr Du Bois demonstrated both cohesive and disruptive action in Tututni culture deriving from the wealth concept, and still earlier, the three-way forces of mythology, chieftanship, and shamanism maintaining social balance in Yokuts life were described by the present writer.[2] The most intellectualized account of cultural integration is that for the Hopi by Dr Thompson in which no mechanism of integration is shown save an all-pervading logic of the mind.[3]

In the abstract we have to assume that some of these basic cultural currents work for or against each other; others, and perhaps the bulk of culture elements, may be neutral. When Opler completes his thematic analysis of Apache culture, presumably the counter-balance of the driving parts within the structure will be

1 Morris Edward Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 51, pp. 198-206, 1945).

2 Cora Du Bois, *The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture* (in *Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, pp. 149-165, Berkeley, 1936); A. H. Gayton, *Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 24, pp. 361-420, 1930).

3 Laura Thompson, *Logico-Aesthetic Integration in Hopi Culture* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 540-553, 1945).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4] 114 121

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident. 182

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus: 182 114

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

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3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353-373, 1926.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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YOKUTS-MONO CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

BY
A. H. GAYTON

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is not exactly what the title perhaps implies: it does not purport to be a discussion of social organization, nor of religion as such. While descriptions of political organization and the chief's place in it, of religious ideas, concepts of the supernatural, and the shaman's relation to them, of ceremonial activities, and of other cultural miscellanea, must appear here, they are not offered as topics of primary interest, but rather as stage settings and properties against which the chiefs and shamans play their interacting rôles. It would no doubt be simpler to define the chiefs as legal officials in a static social setting, and to relegate the shamans to their place as professional doctors; but in so doing we would have only a partial picture, and that a conventional one, of these functionaries. Native informants on first inquiry invariably describe their chiefs as the official leaders of the political unit, adding as other officials messengers, dance managers, and in some instances, subchiefs. Shamans are never recognized as officials. Yet all informants supply anecdotal evidence which shows that the shamans, unofficially,

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the [101] plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have 121 been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper 171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts [642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a [616] ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a ranchería near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the 115
customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860– 121
1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely [114]
gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono 128 culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The origipal data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same [192] sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds. 104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	c: as in English shout
i: as in English pique	ñ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	tc: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	
ai: as in English thy	': glottal stop

Other letters have sounds as in English.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokots. Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular. 101 193

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory. 101

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yowechani, who inhabited the foothill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication. 101 121 121

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[PP. 173-307 not processed]

121 The investigations on which this paper is based were begun in 1900 for the California Academy of Sciences, but were mainly made in 1902, 1903, and 1904 in connection with the Ethnological and Archæological Survey of California carried on through the [122] liberal support of Mrs. Phœbe A. Hearst by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
May, 1905.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

III. OTHER DIALECTS AND COMPARISONS.

121 This third part of the present paper deals briefly and comparatively with all the Yokuts dialects on which material is available. As originally written, this part contained discussions of six or eight dialects besides Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. Subsequently an opportunity arose to make a special study of the territory, tribal divisions, and dialectic groups of the Yokuts family as a whole. This study was carried out in the early part of 1906, and included among its results about twenty vocabularies, of different dialects, available for systematic comparison. This increased body of material has made possible a determination of the principal divisions of the Yokuts family. While many dialects have become entirely extinct, it appears, from the information obtained, that none of those thus lost was sufficiently distinctive to exclude it from the several dialectic groups that have been established. In other words, these groups appear to represent all the principal divisions of the Yokuts language at the time of its first contact with white civilization, and the dialects that have been lost to differ from those known only in minor features.

128 The linguistic material obtained in the last study made was recorded at so many places, and from so many different individuals, that it was impracticable to extend it beyond vocabularies, and to enter into grammatical investigations, in the time that was available. Previous knowledge of the structure of Yaudanchi and Yauelmani however made it possible to determine certain structural features, such as the pronouns and the verbal suffixes, in many cases, and the morphological information secured in this way is sufficient, when combined with the more readily obtained lexical and phonetic results, to allow of a satisfactory general classification of all the dialects.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the |2| social organization of the Indians of South Central California. 616 The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties |1| exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County 616 in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited |0| are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts |2| stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the
121 San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 The principal facts concerning social organization among the
171 tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception
551 of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi,
171 Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[128] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered still more complex by the fact that the contact with the
*161 white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom
115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts
789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.
796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who
789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him
578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans
791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of
789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cumain of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

16:Gayton & Newman L-5 (1930-1931)1940
N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a 127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for [126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of [177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho- 184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

[ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of 122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

[p.4-A]

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; ɔ, as in French note; u, as in English boot; ' (as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; ṗ, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and [182] [193] simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is 193 practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[p. 8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of Yokuts language. One wonders if thought processes, habituated to precise grammatical forms, conform to an analogous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[182 195 153] [114]

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE

[P. iii]

114 The ethnographic data presented herein were collected for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, on a number of field trips during the years 1925 to 1928; [122] in 1929 and 1930 the work was additionally aided by a fellowship of the National Research Council.

Some of the material then gathered has been published in separate studies, namely, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making (1929), The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California (1930), Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans (1930), and with Stanley S. Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths (1940). Unpublished but accessible data on the use of jimsonweed by the Yokuts and Western Mono are embodied in "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" (Thesis, University of California Library, 1928).

The only original material now remaining in the author's hands are twenty-five or more genealogies and a file of several hundred personal names; these will be combined in a future publication since this already lengthy ethnography could not support addenda.

A valuable addition to my own records is the material on the Chukchansi collected by Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) in 1938. On her marriage she generously gave me her field notes to incorporate with my own on Yokuts culture. Mrs. Rogers' material is the result of but two weeks' stay at Coarse Gold, and its richness, for so brief a contact, is a tribute both to her abilities as a budding ethnographer and to the Yokuts as facile informants. A regrettable accident prevented Mrs. Rogers from continuing her work for the length of time she had planned. The myths she recorded will appear in a separate paper by Rogers and Gayton, "Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths (in press).[1]

The basic picture of Yokuts culture as drawn by Dr. A.L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California has remained unchanged by later ethnographic data from the San Joaquin Valley. Rather, the picture has been filled out, the composition has gained balance, and the colors have been heightened by more intimate knowledge of the life depicted. Perspective has been added and depth increased. By means of Dr. Kroeber's initial publications, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Indian Myths of South Central California, and the ethnographic sketch in his Handbook, a cultural orientation was already provided when I began my field investigations.

I have drawn upon Kroeber's early work and upon Mr. F.F. Latta's little book, Uncle Jeff's

[1]Since published; see Bibliography.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the [101] plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxta-
121 position of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts [642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the [616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *Ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *Ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*Ibid.*, 19:222, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *Ibid.*, 28:57–62, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *Ibid.*, 13:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–486, 584–589, pl. 47.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[PP. 173-307 not processed]

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May, 1905.

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128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a

127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for

[126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of

[177 184] Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Shoshonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

[ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of
122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish,* or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup,* the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start. 438 484 123

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials. [141]

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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123 438 484 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy [317] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This, 135 I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint [302] for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies [317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices [824] to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

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Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made [261]
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chis*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt‹´n›n).

Wukchumni Villages

● 124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi;[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´chat were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

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PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 115 124

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114 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have
115 been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first
124 white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

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Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people." 101 124

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat." [103]

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its*, the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 101 131

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789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts.
● 124 Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs*. He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk*. He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 533]

Toke'-un lih'-nuh	*Wa-tin-hin*	*nah*	*Yo'*
(west side)	(straight path)	(me)	(to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne	*Ah-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village)	(this is I)	(charm stone)	(over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

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never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne.

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago."

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery.

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield, and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

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My people no drink whisky, I think be lots Indian yet. I drink just once. I work for white man. He put me in wagon. He take me home. He tell me, "Pahmit, whisky no good. Whisky kill white man. Whisky kill Indian. You no drink 'em." White man good my friend. I live long time. Pretty soon I go. Then white man no haf pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. 159

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LAST CHUNUT

Of the several thousand pioneers I have interviewed, no one was more fascinating than *Yoimut* (Yoi'-mut), last survivor of the *Chunut* Yokuts tribe which once occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. It is of interest to know how I found Yoimut. 115 124

One evening I was at the Loy Cattle Ranch east of Visalia, talking with Indian Joe Wilcox, making inquiry about the individuals who had been the last survivors of several extinct San Joaquin Valley Indian tribes. Joe had known several last survivors, those from the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Telumne, Pahdwishi, Wowol,* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. I asked him about the Chunut. For a moment or two he was at a loss to recollect. Suddenly remembering, he spoke, "There is one Chunut left. Her daughter was here last night. She is at the W. H. Wilbur ranch, near Tulare."

It was then 10:30 P.M., December 1, 1930. I immediately drove to the Wilbur ranch. Billy Wilbur had not gone to bed, so he climbed in the car with me and at 11:30 we were in the cotton camp in the Wilbur field. Soon we had awakened everyone at the camp. Yoimut's daughter and son-in-law talked with us in the kitchen. Yoimut stood silent in a doorway. I explained who I was and that I wanted Yoimut to go with me to our home for a visit, so I could record her story. I expected it to take at least two or three days to persuade her to go.

No one spoke. The daughter looked inquiringly at Yoimut. Yoimut then addressed me in as good English as I could ask and said, "Yes, we know all about you. Our people tell us all about the questions you ask them. Lots of times I tell them what to tell you. I like to tell my story myself. I will go with you tomorrow."

And so Yoimut came. From the first she was as interested and interesting as it is possible for a person to be. She had a

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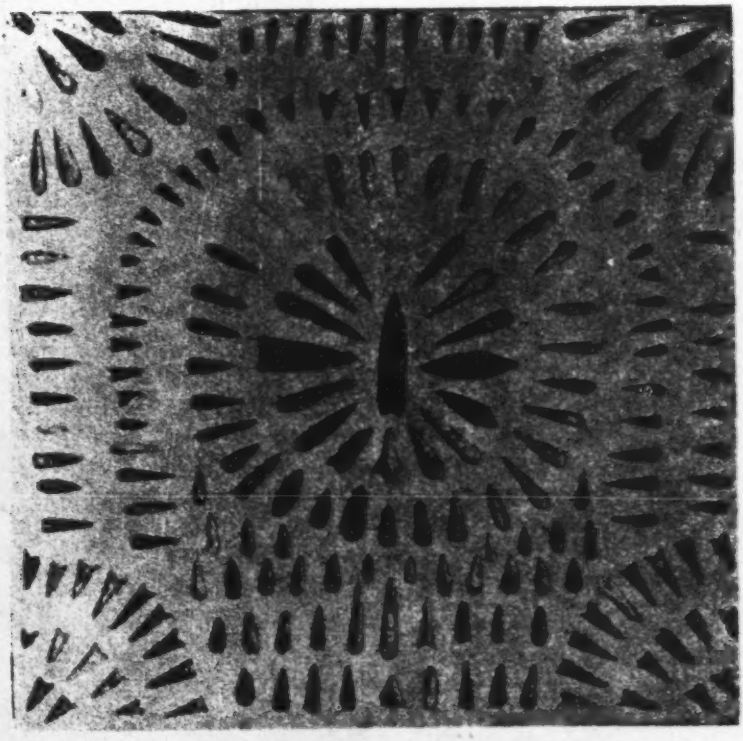
[172]



Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tuhohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

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361

I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

[p.5-B]

193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 193 An instructive exercise that I indulged in during my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 196 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are abstract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

[P.6-B]

192 xapapθiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the narrator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
[173] lieved to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
[182] come, and so on. The explanatory element is frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LASI. 197*

Pronouns found are na, mp, mak, nim, min, amin. 193
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, his. 192
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyòku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
xat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-èite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

539
197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

[126 115]
[115]
[115]

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Yachi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɛ̱ lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid rounded front vowel
ə̱ higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "cut". Typewritten "?" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a

127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for

[126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of

[177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho-
184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of
122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

[p. 1-B]

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[128] incident.* The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] *Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
101 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
103 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which
648 decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, "*Oh-rays-teem'-bah,*" meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, 175
near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must 127
mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.]

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo - - - - .

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of Cali- 114
fornia, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the 127
San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name.

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West 127
Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend.

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare 101
Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 239]
Western Mono NS25

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY-MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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FOREWORD

The information on pottery-making contained in this paper was obtained on field trips made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1927.[1]

Description of the style of the ware is based upon thirty-four specimens: twelve Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Hudson collection, Field Museum of Natural History, of which photographs and dimensions have been kindly supplied by that institution; thirteen Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Barrett collection,[2] Museum of Anthropology, University of California; seven Western Mono vessels in the same museum collected by the writer; and two Western Mono vessels in Sequoia National Park Museum (fig. 2).

Photographs supplementary to the author's have been kindly loaned by Professor T. T. Waterman. These appear in plates 96 and 97.

[1] The dialectic groups, names, and approximate ages, respectively, of contributing informants are:

Yokuts: Bankalachi, Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimni, Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut, Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna, Bill Wilson, 90; Keehayi, Ellen Murphy, 70; Michahai, Dinky, 55; Paleuyami, Martha Alto, 70; Tachi, Mollie Garcia, 80; Wükehumni, Mollie Lawrence, 70; Yaudanchi, Mary Sanwaihat, 95.

Western Mono: Patwisha (Balwisha), Mary Pohot, 55; Waksachi, Sam Osborn, 65; Bob Osborn, 75; Wobonueh, Jane Waley, 65.

[2] For illustrations of six of these specimens see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, B.A.E. Bull. 78, pl. 51, 1925.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

175 affected in a uniform manner throughout and a sufficiently
*161 clear line can be drawn between aboriginal and postcontact conditions. In the central valley the white influence was very gradual, beginning at or near the year 1770 with the entrance of the Spanish missionaries along the coast and the infiltration of a very few foreigners into the valley. The volume of invasion increased slowly over the next three decades, but the effect was intensified by the escape of numerous mission neophytes into the valley. The years after 1800 saw repeated incursions by the coastal whites who overran the floor of the valley from the Sacramento River to Buena Vista Lake. Meanwhile the foothill and mountain tribes were permitted to remain fairly intact. With discovery of gold, however, these groups lost their immunity and were rapidly destroyed. Therefore, even though we oversimplify, we may say that the aboriginal population persisted in the valley proper up to 1770, in the lower foothills up to roughly 1810, and in the higher foothills and more remote canyons of the Sierra Nevada up to 1850.

127 Our sources of information cover only the period
114 during which the demographic status of the natives was undergoing change. No written record exists that describes conditions as they might have been found prior to 1770. The only possible substitute would be an examination of the habitation sites left from prehistoric times, but archaeological research in the area has not yet progressed to the point where an adequate quantitative estimate of population is available. There are three primary bodies of data to which we have access, all falling within the historical period between 1770 and 1860.

The first of these derives from the serious effort on the part of the Americans, who between 1848 and 1852 were entering the region in large numbers, to determine the quantity of natives surviving in the central valley. This task was performed by such men as Sutter, Bidwell, and Savage, together with several Indian commissioners, and army officers sent out by the government. To their reports may be added the statements contained in the local county histories published in the era of 1880 to 1890, as well as in many pioneer reminiscences.

A second major source of information consists of the ethnographic studies made within the past fifty years, among which should be mentioned the works of Kroeber, Merriam, Schenck, Gayton, and Gifford. These investigators depended principally upon informants who were elderly people in the decades from 1900 to 1940. Their memories, together with their recollection of what had been told them by their parents, carry back, on the average, to the period of the American invasion or just before it. Hence their knowledge of truly aboriginal population would be valid for the hill tribes only; yet data

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.32A]

127
114

derived from them for that region is probably more accurate than can be obtained from the general estimates made by contemporary white men. These two types of information, contemporary American accounts and modern ethnographic material, can thus be used to supplement and check each other for the era of 1850.

For conditions in the valley before 1840 we have to depend almost exclusively upon the historical records left by the Spanish and Mexicans. These consist of a series of diaries, reports, and letters, by both laymen and ecclesiastics, together with baptism lists and censuses from the coastal missions. This array of documents is to be found in the manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

It will be clear from these considerations that the

127
114 population of the San Joaquin Valley can be determined with some degree of accuracy at two stages in the history of the region. The later period is at the point of intense occupancy by the Americans, at or near the year 1850, for here may be brought to a focus the data from both contemporary counts and the research of modern ethnographers. The earlier is for the epoch just preceding the entrance of the Spanish into California, or just before 1770. To assess the population at this period it is necessary to bring to bear information from all sources, American and Spanish, and to utilize all indirect methods of computation which may be appropriate. As a matter of historical interest, as well as to provide a background for the estimate of aboriginal population, the state of the natives in the period of the Gold Rush will be first examined.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 33B]

*161 General estimates for the population of the San Joaquin Valley during the period 1848 to 1855 were made by several individuals. James D. Savage, one of the earliest settlers in the Fresno region, stated in 1851 that the population from the Tuolumne River to the Kern River was from 50,000 to 55,000. Elsewhere he modified these figures considerably (Dixon, MS, 1875) and reported the total from the Cosumnes to the Kern as 18,100, of which 14,000 were from south of the Stanislaus River. James H. Carson, another pioneer, said in 1852 that "the Indians of the Tulare Valley number nearly 6,000. About half this number inhabit the mountains. . . . The other portion inhabit the plains along the rivers and lakes."

In 1852 the Indian commissioner, O. M. Wozencraft, estimated for the area lying between the Yuba and the Mokelumne rivers a total of 40,000 inhabitants. He quotes old residents as saying that four years previously (i.e., in 1848) the population for the same area had been 80,000. At about the same time another agent, Adam Johnston (1853), estimated all the Sierra and valley tribes as being 80,000 strong (including both Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys). In general magnitude these figures correspond to those given by Sutter for the region bounded by the Yuba, the Stanislaus, the Sacramento, the San Joaquin, and the line of the foothills: 21,873 (Sutter, 1850). Sutter's value definitely represents conditions prior to 1847. Meanwhile H. W. Wessels reported in 1853 that from the Stanislaus south there were 7,500 to 8,000 persons. In the same year G. W. Barbour, another commissioner, referred to the reservation Indians as "seven or eight thousand hungry souls." In 1856, agent T. J. Henly put the aggregate population of the Fresno and Kings River reservations plus Tulare, Mariposa, Tuolumne, Calaveras, and San Joaquin counties as 5,150 (Henley, 1857).

It is evident that the foregoing data represent two distinctly different types of estimate: broad generalization based largely upon subjective impression and applying to the years preceding 1847, and more narrow semi-estimate derived during the years subsequent to 1849 from some attempt to make an actual count. The figures obtained from the first method are certainly too high, particularly for the period centering around 1850. On the other hand, it may be possible that the other method yielded figures which were too low.

*161 ●127 Some check on the reliability of the estimates supplied by the various commissioners and agents may be obtained from two sources, neither of which constituted a direct attempt to assess population. These comprise reports submitted concerning (1) vaccinations and (2) distribution of blankets.

During the summer of 1851 Dr. W. M. Ryer was employed to vaccinate those Indians in the San Joaquin Valley who could be persuaded to undergo the operation. Each month Dr. Ryer submitted a voucher specifying the number of Indians vaccinated during the preceding thirty days and also mentioning the tribes and areas covered.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.33C]

*161 These vouchers are included with other documents in Senate Executive Document No. 61, 32nd Congress, first session, 1852 (pp. 20 to 23). Some question might be raised concerning the accuracy of the figures, but there is no indication in the correspondence of the period of irregularity or dishonesty. Dr. Ryer claimed that he had vaccinated, from the Stanislaus to the south shore of Lake Tulare, 6,154 persons.

●127

648 A somewhat smaller area was covered by four of the eighteen treaties concluded by commissioners McKee, *161 Barbour, and Wozencraft[1] with the California tribes in 1851. These four treaties may be designated A, B, C, 127 and N, following the order in which they are presented in the Senate Report. Under the agreements, one of the commodities which were to be furnished to the Indians by the government was blankets. The tribes included under treaties A, B, and C were to receive a total of 3,000. In treaty N (as also in several other treaties not concerned with this area) it was stated that the Indians were to receive one blanket apiece for every person over fifteen years of age, and presumably this ratio was employed universally in the issue of blankets. Under the conditions existing at that time it may safely be assumed that the persons over fifteen years of age constituted at least 80 per cent of the total population. Therefore the three treaties first mentioned (A, B, and C) must have covered 3,750 individuals. Regarding the group embraced by treaty N it is explicitly stated that "they may number . . . some 2,000 to 3,000." If we take the mean, or 2,500, then the total for the area is 6,250.

The area included under the four treaties extended actually only from the Chowchilla River to the south shore of Lake Tulare and the Kern River, whereas the territory covered by Ryer during his vaccination tour began with the Stanislaus. Within the treaty limits he vaccinated 4,449 persons. The discrepancy between his total and that of the treaties poses no difficulty since it is apparent that, as would be expected with any primitive group, fewer individuals consented to be vaccinated than made known their desire to receive gifts of blankets. Hence the figure derived from potential blanket distribution is probably closer to the actuality than the vaccination figure. If, accordingly, we correct Ryer's report of 1,705 persons vaccinated north of the Chowchilla River to conform to the ratio found south of that stream, we get 2,398. If we add this to 6,250 the total is 8,648 for the entire strip from the Stanislaus to the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.

*161 In summarizing general estimates and counts we may discard the very high values submitted by Wozencraft, Johnston, and Sutter on the grounds that they were either mere guesses or applied to an earlier period than that

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[1] These treaties seem to have been concluded without proper authorization from the Federal government and were never ratified by the Senate. They were incorporated in Senate Confidential Documents, June, 1853, and remained unpublished for half a century. Finally they were ordered printed in 1905 as a Senate Reprint and are now available under the title of "18 California Treaties."

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.39 B] Western Mono NS35

W 161 125 for the North Fork Mono, the inhabitants must have numbered 280. One of the rancherias seen by Derby was Cho-e-mime which had 70 "warriors." Reckoning the "warriors" as half the males the population would have been 280. Derby says the village of Notonto (of the tribe Nutunutu on the south bank of the lower Kings) had 300 inhabitants. These places were of course relatively Y *[161] large and important and do not represent the general average. However, the village of Notonto must have [34] reached fully 150 persons.

Apart from the Mono, the tribes located on the Kings River were all Yokuts, as follows: Aiticha, Apiachi, Wimilchi, Nutunutu, Wechihit, Toihichi, Chukomina, Y *161 and Choinimni. For these the modern ethnographers Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart have been able to 125 locate and identify 25 villages inhabited during the youth of informants. Since this covers a somewhat larger territory than was seen by Derby, the correspondence in number of rancherias is reasonably close. At 150 persons per village the population would be 3,750. If we add 1,700 for the Kings River Mono, the total is 5,450. However, there may have been some overlap, so this figure may be reduced to 5,000. It should be noted that the area embraced within this estimate includes the Kings River basin as a whole, together with that of all its affluents.

The Kaweah River from Lemon Cove to the town of Tulare diverges to form a delta, which originally contained a very large native population. At the time of the American occupation there had occurred a material reduction, which was accelerated by the fact that the region provided excellent farming land for the entering Americans. Hence the value for the population in 1850-1853 must be relatively low in comparison with preceding decades. In May, 1851, according to G. W. Barbour (1853, pp. 253-255) there were 7 tribes on the Kaweah, and 1,200 people came to treat with the commissioners. These tribes included the following: Chumut, Choinok, Wolasi, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. Of these, the first, the Chumut, inhabited the shore of Lake Tulare and should not be included as a Kaweah River tribe. The estimated population of the remainder would, therefore, be approximately 1,000, if the figure of the commissioners is to be taken without qualification.

With respect to the individual tribes there are a few scattered bits of information. Derby (1852) mentions three rancherias or bands in the area: Cowees (Gawia) with 200 people, Thulime (Telamni) with 65 men, or roughly 200 people, and Heame-a-tahs (Telamni) with 200 people. Merriam in his "Yokuts List" cites an informant who said that the Wukchumne "used to number" 5,000 and occupied the valley now called Lemon Cove and up and down the Kaweah River. Clearly this is an extreme overestimate, unless the informant was referring to the period prior to 1800. Finally Merriam cites a letter by Lt. N. H. McLean, which states that the "Four Creeks Country" included the "Cahwiahs, Okuls, Choinux, Wicktrumnees, Talumnies" and in 1853 had not over 1,200 souls.[4]

It thus appears quite evident that the six Yokuts tribes, except perhaps the Wukchumni, had no more than 200 persons apiece during the era under consideration. From modern informants Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta have obtained for the Choinok, Gawia, Telamni, Yokod, and Wolasi collectively the names of only 8 villages. Assuming the Kings River value of 150 persons per village,

[4] Merriam's manuscript entitled "Yokuts List" mentions a report from Lt. N. H. McLean, dated July 12, 1853, to H. J. Wessels, on file in "Old Files Division," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, no. H388. As far as I am aware, this letter has never been quoted elsewhere.

*161 which seems to be confirmed by Derby for the Kaweah River also, this means 1,200 persons for the five
127 tribes. Gayton and Latta, however, find 15 names for the Wukchumni, which would indicate a population of 2,250. Such a figure is highly unlikely. It is probable that earlier times are referred to by the informants or that there is confusion among tribal affinities. Alternatively, the Wukchumni villages may have followed the style of the hill-dwelling Mono and have been very much smaller than has been indicated by Derby for the valley-inhabiting Yokuts. Since we cannot resolve the difficulty with the data at hand, it is better to accept the practically unanimous opinion of contemporary white observers that the population below Lemon Cove did not exceed 1,200 in 1851. To these must be added the 600 Mono previously discussed, making a total for the Kaweah River as a whole of 1,800 persons.

*161 If the two river basins are considered jointly, the method of area comparisons as applied to the Mono, estimates by government officials, accounts by early pioneers, and the village lists secured from modern informants all apparently agree that the population of the region reached several thousand as late as 1850 and 1851. We may therefore accept the total of 6,800, or 5,000 on the Kings and 1,800 on the Kaweah.

KINGS-KAWEAH 6,800

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

The shores of Tulare Lake (see maps 1 and 2, area
[101] 2) were aboriginally inhabited by three tribes, the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut. In close proximity on the northeast were the Nutunutu, but since the latter have been included with the Kaweah River tribal group, they must be omitted from consideration here. Savage allocated 1,000 Indians to Tulare Lake (Dixon, MS, 1875). McLean said there were 1,000 Indians "on the lakes" in 1853, 500 of which were "Notontos," leaving 500 for the "Taches" and "Tontaches" (Merriam collection). The most reliable account is that of Derby (1852). However, Derby in his terminology confused the Tachi with the Chunut, in which mistake he has been followed by Merriam (under title "Indians of the Tache Lake Region in 1850," MS). Derby makes it clear in his account that he found the village of Sintache (population 100) at the northern side of the then nearly dry Lake Tontache, that is to say on the southern shore of the big Lake Tache (Tulare). These were probably Chunut. There was also a small rancheria which he called Tinte-Tache at the south side of the same lake, i.e., Tontache (population 50). These are likely to have been Wowol. The tribe known to ethnographers as the Tachi were north of the big lake (i.e., Lake Tache or Tulare). Their chief told Derby that they had 800 people and that their principal rancheria was northwest of the lake (population 300). Since Derby also applies the name of Tinte-Tache to the northwest village, it is clear that there were two rancherias of this name included in his account.

Kroeber and Gayton mention a total of 8 villages for the Tachi. If one of these had 300 people, as Derby states, then the average population of the other seven was approximately 70. This agrees with Derby's two southern rancherias of 50 and 100 persons respectively. For the Chunut Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta all mention the village of Chumau. Kroeber mentions one other,

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 In order to estimate the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley it is necessary to rely very heavily on the accounts furnished by the colonial Spanish and Mexicans. These were primarily ecclesiastics and military men who entered the territory for purposes of exploration, to seek new converts to the missions, or to chastise stock raiders. The more responsible of these left circumstantial and, as a rule, fairly accurate narratives and diaries. Unless there is in a particular case some reason for doubt, their statements may be accorded considerable confidence.

At the same time two circumstances often render the interpretation of the data derived from these documents difficult. The first is the lack of consistent designations for places. During the process of opening up the area it was inevitable that rivers and villages should be assigned different names by one explorer after another and that the same name should be applied to more than one locality. The second is that during the early phases of exploration some localities were visited repeatedly, whereas others were overlooked perhaps entirely. Hence the information available to us is very uneven; it permits us to achieve a reasonably clear idea of the population of one region but leaves another almost completely blank. As a result extrapolation by area is almost unavoidable.

It must also be constantly borne in mind that the Spanish records themselves do not give us an absolutely undistorted picture of aboriginal conditions. It is very evident from the reports of the earliest official pioneers, like Garcés in 1776 and Martin in 1804, that from 1770 onward and perhaps even before white men had straggled into the valley and had consorted with the natives. There is reason to believe that these unknown interlopers may have introduced diseases which adversely affected the population and may have initiated a process of general social disruption. The best we can do is get as close to the prehistoric condition as the records allow.

127 114 *161 Two other demographic consequences arise from this very early white contact. In the first place, the documentary record, if we ignore Garcés for the moment, runs nearly continuously from 1804 to approximately 1840. During this long period an uninterrupted change was going on among the native population: the population was continually decreasing. Hence later reports tend to deviate from earlier ones, and indeed may show an entirely new state of affairs arising within a very few years. In the second place, the deterioration in certain areas took place so rapidly in the first part of the nineteenth century that any information secured from informants alive since 1900 is completely useless. Unless very good documentary evidence is available for such areas, there is no recourse but to fall back on the method of extrapolation and area comparisons.

127 114 The principal Spanish accounts upon which we must rely include a few which have been published. Most of them, however, are to be found in manuscript form in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Some of them were translated for an unpublished manuscript by the Late Professor Herbert I. Priestley and

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THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

*161 179 [101] We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

*161 162 172 There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 contact period. The Yaudanchi on the upper Tule River also, according to Kroeber and to Latta, had 8 villages and covered considerably more territory than the Koyeti. Hence the same population may be ascribed to them. The Boknimuwad were evidently a smaller group, since Kroeber reports for them only two villages and Latta none. It would not be safe to allow them more than 200 persons. If we do so, then the tentative estimate for the three tribes must be put at a total of 1,800.

For the remainder of the territory held by the Yokuts there are only two documentary references, the diaries of Garcés in 1776 and Zalvidea in 1806. Both these writers give population data which have been subject to considerable controversy.

For the Buenavista region the four pertinent villages are mentioned by Zalvidea and are as follows:

Village and Tribe	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
Malapoa (Tulamni)	...	29	22	8	59
[361] Buenavista (Tulamni)	...	36	144	38	218
Sisipistu (Hometwoli)	28	50-60	...	...	...
Yaguelame (Yauelmani)	...	92	...	...	300

From even casual inspection it is apparent that Zalvidea did not see the complete population of any one of these villages and that many of the inhabitants had been removed by previous expeditions or were in hiding. The village of Malapoa is small but presents no serious demographic discrepancies. The number of children was low, but as has been pointed out in a previous discussion Zalvidea was counting as men or women everyone over the age of seven years. The children, calculated according to his method, amounted to 13.5 per cent of the total.

At Buenavista he found only 36 men to 144 women, an incredible situation unless most of the men had fled or had been killed. Under normal conditions the number of men should at least approximately equal that of the women. Therefore in order to reconstruct the probable population we are forced to assume the presence of at least 144 men. This gives a total of 326 persons of which 8.6 per cent would have been children. For the other two villages only the number of men is given, no doubt the men actually seen. Indeed at Yaguelmane Zalvidea "counted" the 92 men he specifies. Significantly, however, he counted men "from 7 to 40 years" and infers that the village had a population of 300. If for Yaguelmane we allow 10 per cent of children seven years old or younger the adults would number 270. If the sex ratio were near unity, then, with 92 men 40 years or younger, there must have been 47 men over that age and 135 women of all ages. If the same ratios are applied to Sisipistu with 55 men from 7 to 40 years of age, the population would be 180. This figure is quite consistent with the number of houses, 28, for the number of persons per house would then be 6.43. The four villages (Malapoa, Buenavista, Yaguelame, and Sisipistu) consequently must have had populations of 59, 326, 300, and 180 respectively. The average of the four is 191 persons.

Since there are no other historical data pertaining to [129] the lake region, it is necessary to utilize the village lists of Kroeber (1925) and Latta (1949). These investigators, through their informants, have located 3 villages

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*161 for the southern end of the valley as a whole 6,920, or in round numbers 6,900.

SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 6,900

THE NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

*161 114 The remaining portion of the Yokuts-Miwok territory lay in the valley and foothills north of the Merced River. This area (see maps 1 and 5, areas 8-13 inclusive), particularly the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, was entered relatively early by the Spaniards and by the year 1820 had been almost completely swept of its native population. The names of many whole tribes have been lost and the exact locations of many others are now almost impossible to ascertain. Of village names only those few are known to us which were preserved, often by chance, in the mission records and accounts of expeditions. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the aboriginal human geography but none has been entirely successful. Kroeber's account, which accompanies his discussion of the Plains Miwok and northern Yokuts in the Handbook of California Indians, is manifestly incomplete. Merriam's paper on the Mewan Stock of California (1907) is helpful, but probably the best work of the modern investigators is that of Schenck (1926). The early nineteenth-century accounts for this region are also less satisfactory than for the central and southern parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Moraga's record is useful only for the Tuolumne River, and the delta is covered only by Abella and Duran. It is true that both Sutter and Gatten give figures for villages south of Sacramento but their information pertains only to the badly depleted natives of the 'forties. Hence their censuses are of little value for assessing the aboriginal condition.

*161 127 797 One source not available for other areas is the mission records. The converts from the delta and lower San Joaquin Valley were brought almost exclusively into the San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara missions. The baptism books of these missions have been preserved, and two copies have been made. The first, of the San Francisco Mission, was made by A. Pinart in 1878 and is at present in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The other records, copied by S. R. Clemence in 1919, include the records of all three missions and are now to be found, in typed form, among the manuscripts in the file of C. H. Merriam. The baptism books set forth the name and village of origin of every native in the mission, as well as the date of baptism. Newly converted gentiles are readily distinguished from infants born in the mission itself, since the origin of the latter is ascribed to the mission and not to a village. In addition to the names of villages, not all of which can be located with certainty, the dates of baptism constitute almost conclusive evidence. If the baptisms from San Francisco and Santa Clara are tabulated by village and date, it is very clear that the villages of local tribes were cleaned out before the year 1805. At this point an entirely new set of names appears, most of which are undoubtedly in the Tulares. Hence, if the name of a village does not correspond to any now known to ethnographers and no baptisms are reported from it prior to 1805, the conclusion is warranted that the village was actually situated in the central valley. The same assumption may be made with somewhat less certainty concerning the San Jose records. This mission was founded in 1797 and its earliest converts were drawn from the Costanoan tribes on the east shore of San Fran-

*161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming in by that year. Hence there is a chance of overlap. This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

*161 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abella in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since [342] a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

*161 Luis Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition under the command of one Soto, whose party was attacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 139) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

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APPENDIX

*161 129 After this manuscript was completed, the writer had an opportunity to examine those documentary files of the Office of Indian Affairs and of the War Department which are at present in the National Archives at Washington. Several letters in the files containing information on the native population of the San Joaquin Valley have never, so far as could be determined, been published. Since the data thus procured are fragmentary and since they do not apparently invalidate the conclusions set forth in previous pages, they have not been incorporated in the body of this paper. These items, however, have some intrinsic interest and therefore merit specific mention. They are briefly abstracted as follows.

War Department

Record Group 98. 10th Military Dept. Letters received Calif., Document no. K 21. E. D. Keyes, Camp Magruder, June 17, 1851.

The 8 tribes on the Kaweah, with whom a treaty was concluded on May 30 contain 1,240 individuals.

The 4 tribes on Paint Creek with whom a treaty was concluded on June 3 contain 1,660 persons.

Record Group 98. Letters received Calif., 1854. Enclosure to document no. W 2. John Nugent, Camp Wessells, Dec. 31, 1853.

The Four Creeks region (Kaweah) from the Sierra Nevada to Tulare Lake will not contain more than 1,000, all told.

Record Group 98. Letters received Calif., 1854. Enclosure to document no. W 12. H. W. Wessells, Fort Miller, March 7, 1854.

The Indians under control of Fort Miller include those on the Fresno, San Joaquin, Kings, and Kaweah Rivers. They are much reduced in numbers, owing to the recent sickness.

Fresno River: 400 persons, including 100 able men.
San Joaquin River: 350, including 80-90 able men.
Kings River: 1,100, including 250 able men.
Kaweah River: 800, including 200 able men.

Office of Indian Affairs

Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1854. Enclosure to document no. H 758. D. A. Enyart, Fresno Reservation, Nov. 3, 1854.

The Indians on the Fresno Farm include: 30 Chowchilla, 220 Choot-chances, 90 Pohonicha, and 100 Potohanchi.

The Indians in Mariposa, Stanislaus, and Tuolumne counties do not exceed a total of 2,000.

By river system he breaks them down thus: 300 on the Merced, 350 on the Tuolumne, 250 at Plant's Ferry on the Stanislaus, 100 elsewhere on the Stanislaus, and 100 scattering through the country.

Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1855. Enclosure to document no. H 1050. Report of D. A. Enyart, Fresno Reservation, Aug. 22, 1855.

"I find that there are at least about 1,000 to 1,500 Indians on the River (i.e., San Joaquin) . . . . This does not

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APPENDIX

*161 include the 'Mono' tribe which is the most numerous of any tribe . . . ."

●127 Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1859. Enclosure to document no. M 66. M. B. Lewis, Fresno Agency, Aug. 30, 1859.

A report on the 22 tribes which recognize the Fresno
*161 Agency as their headquarters. Abstracted as follows:

127
131 Wel-leelch-um-nies:
the most northerly tribe; is "temporarily" on the Tuolumne River because of displacement by the whites. 85

Poto-en-cies:
have abandoned their native land, the Merced Valley and are now on the Chowchilla. 110

Noot-choos:
"a union of the remnant of other tribes," including some Yosemites. Now on the north fork of the Chowchilla. 85

Po-ho-nee-chees:
on the headwaters of the Fresno. 105

Chow-chillas:
have moved from the Chowchilla to the Fresno River. 85

Cooc-chances:
the largest "unbroken" tribe in the agency, originally on Coarse Gold Creek; some still there, some at agency. 240

How-ches:
once large; always have been on the Fresno. 18

Pit-cat-ches and Tal-linches:
(two distinct tribes); native habitat was the San Joaquin River; still near Fort Miller. 150

Coss-was:
"to some extent identified with the Pit-cat-ches"; native land is Deer Creek. 88

Monos:
on Fine Gold Creek and the upper San Joaquin River. 535

War-to-kes, Ites-ches, and Cho-pes:
all on Kings River; "constitute one nation" but have separate heads (on Wartoke Creek). 290

Wat-ches:
since 1854 have been on Kings River Farm. 75

No-to-no-tos and We-melches 190

Tat-ches and Wo-wells:
these four tribes are native to the lower Kings River and Tulare Lake. They were recently driven to their homes on the Fresno Farm. 165

Cow-willas:
their home is the mouth of the Kaweah at the foothills. 110

Tel-em-nies:
on the Kaweah, near Visalia. 105

Total 2,436

PREFACE

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184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

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1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

114 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have
115 been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first
124 white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NSZ9 Yokuts NSZ9

121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono 128 culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The original data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same [192] sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds. 104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	c: as in English shout
i: as in English pique	ñ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	tc: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	': glottal stop
ai: as in English thy	

Other letters have sounds as in English.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

III. OTHER DIALECTS AND COMPARISONS.

121 This third part of the present paper deals briefly and comparatively with all the Yokuts dialects on which material is available. As originally written, this part contained discussions of six or eight dialects besides Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. Subsequently an opportunity arose to make a special study of the territory, tribal divisions, and dialectic groups of the Yokuts family as a whole. This study was carried out in the early part of 1906, and included among its results about twenty vocabularies, of different dialects, available for systematic comparison. This increased body of material has made possible a determination of the principal divisions of the Yokuts family. While many dialects have become entirely extinct, it appears, from the information obtained, that none of those thus lost was sufficiently distinctive to exclude it from the several dialectic groups that have been established. In other words, these groups appear to represent all the principal divisions of the Yokuts language at the time of its first contact with white civilization, and the dialects that have been lost to differ from those known only in minor features.

128 The linguistic material obtained in the last study made was recorded at so many places, and from so many different individuals, that it was impracticable to extend it beyond vocabularies, and to enter into grammatical investigations, in the time that was available. Previous knowledge of the structure of Yaudanchi and Yauelmani however made it possible to determine certain structural features, such as the pronouns and the verbal suffixes, in many cases, and the morphological information secured in this way is sufficient, when combined with the more readily obtained lexical and phonetic results, to allow of a satisfactory general classification of all the dialects.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into
131 two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from
Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover
demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the
northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physio-
graphically clearly segregated from the southern by
the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the
delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only
those peoples south of the Sacramento and American
River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western
Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the
standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
●[124] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered,
primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
still more complex by the fact that the contact with the
*161 white race took place in a series of steps rather than
by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

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[p. 1-A]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

[p. 1-B]

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[128] incident.* The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TIPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] *Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

[p.14-B]

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773

The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[128]

T 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Y [FACING P. 1] Western Mono NS25
M Tübatulabal NS22
101
131
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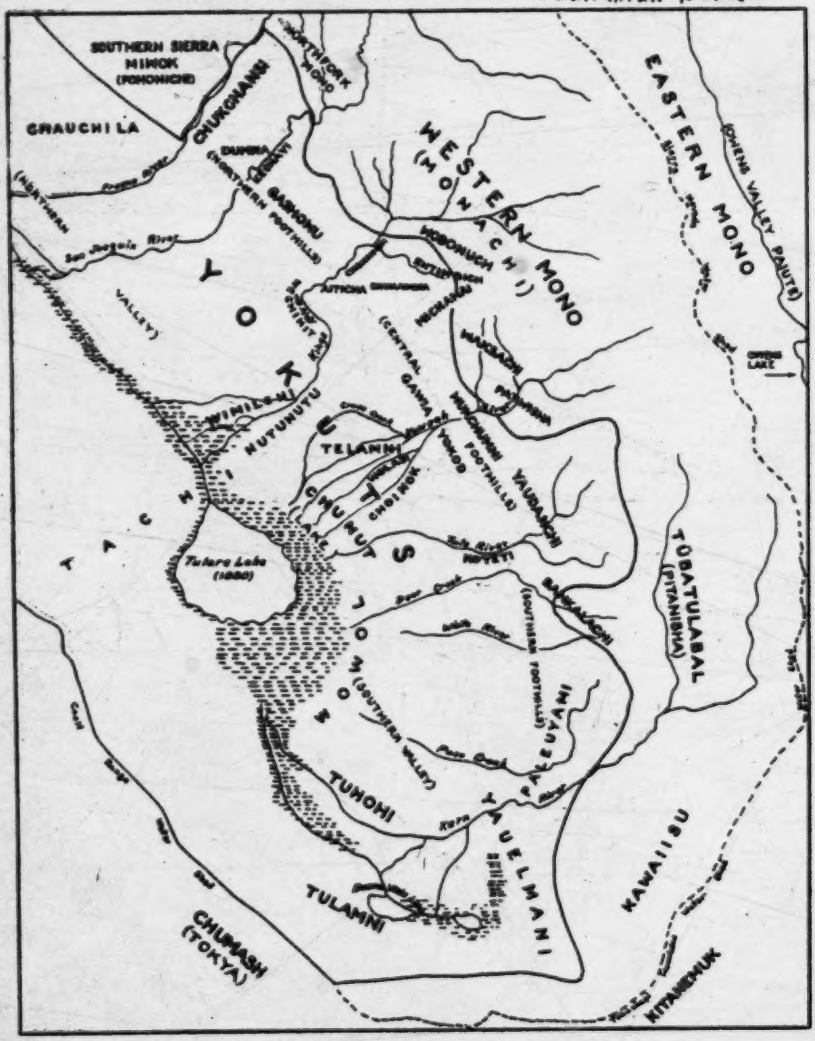

Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants
● 131 and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old
177 people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
peoples experienced the dismay previously
131 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders
177 increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
131 intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
177 terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them. Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
648 manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to
be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1]Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nel was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyɛt was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

[P. 8]

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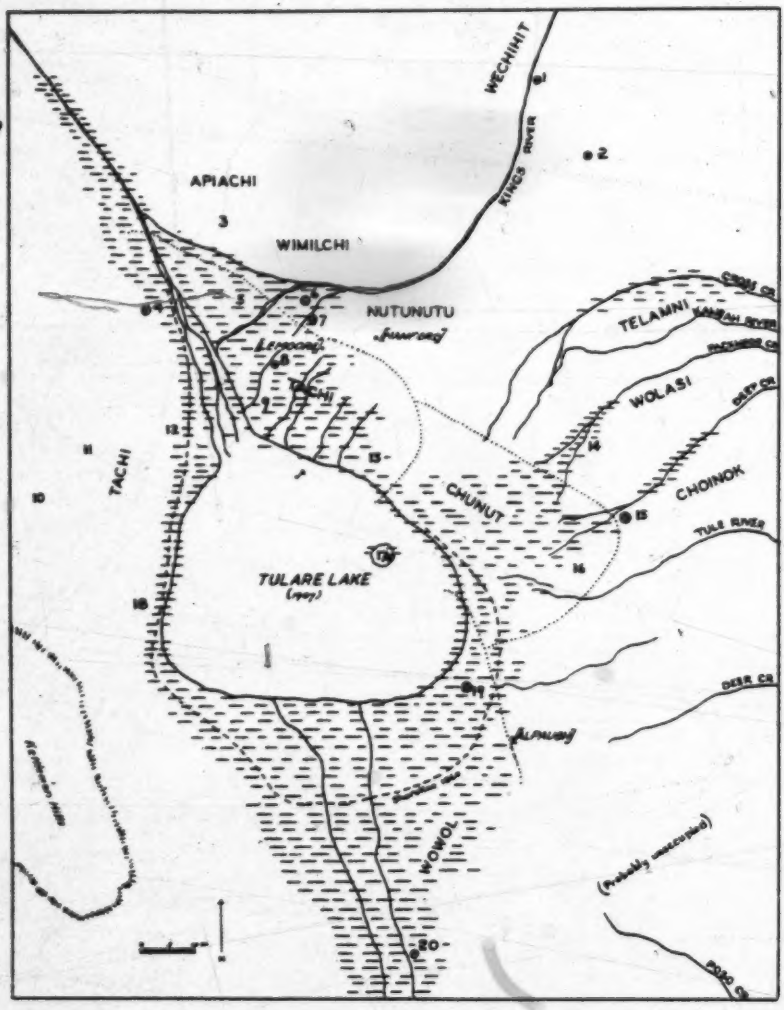
131
133



Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and [484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important Y village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was [361] called witi'tsolo´wɑn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of Y balsas. They had a relative there. On the [164] island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.* The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɑl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on [439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɑt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, [141] toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey 101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another 131 time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɑn, where there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

*Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

103 4. telwe´yıt: a Tachi village
5. ugonǫ
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´ḍjiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´meḷ
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witıtsolo´wın: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lm
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yıt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [20] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26]Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27]Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena ''ᵐ in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ' 'nᵐwao, was east of Čenaᵐ. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi 'yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu 'muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana 's·ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya 'w·l ti ''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi ''i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 55b] Wukchumni

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

131 133 The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

133 The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.

This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.

These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.

Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it- and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.-- Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpen-

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[137] Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138] Probably the hill called dai'a'pnus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefi-
131 nite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat-
[223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare
439] wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the
Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden
437 baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y Very little that is definite can be
M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood
M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
[105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona´ci by the
648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pːno (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´osos (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itːmwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'iːn[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 58] Wukchumni

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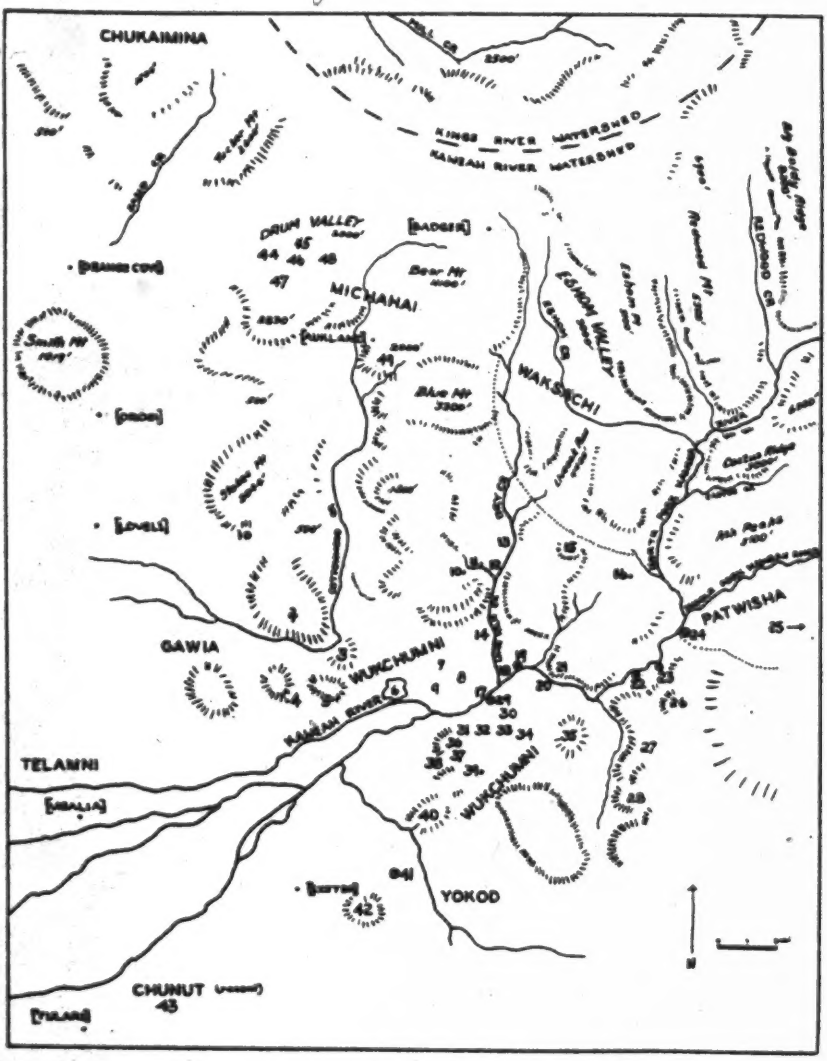

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

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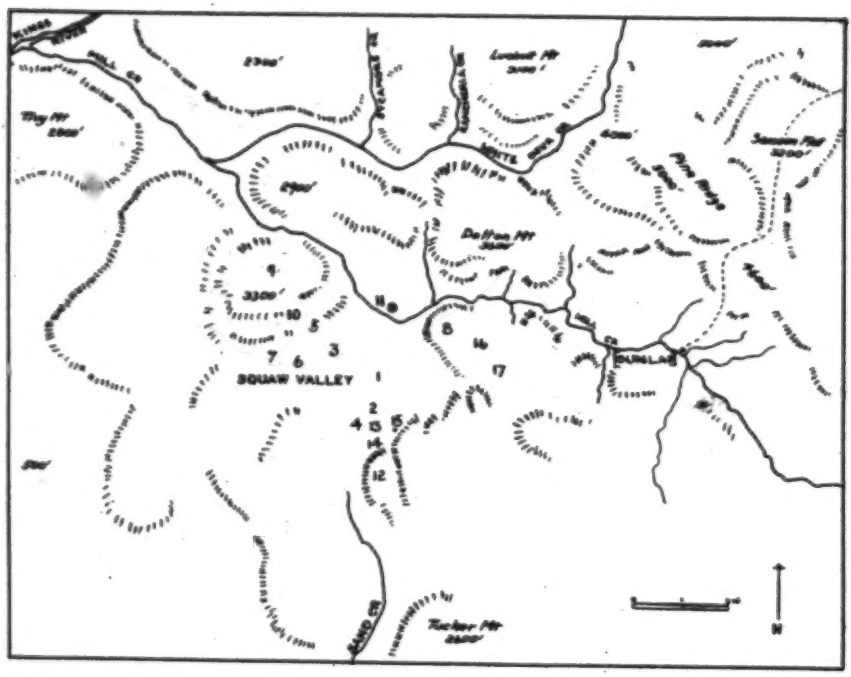

Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

[P. 133a] Wukchumni
ChuKAIMINA

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
668 and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
796 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red."
In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers
would go north to learn the new songs from
Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came
south, which he did once or twice later on. The
group of singers came back and held the first
dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in
Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went
"to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the
old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon.
They held no dances on the return trip. In
several subsequent years they retraveled this
route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore:
"singers from there came to dances in the foot-
hills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this
group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui,
and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and
A´pawič, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname)
(all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did
the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs
were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them
[then].

The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
668 J.B. did not know why. There was never any
796 revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did
not believe the dance was a preventative of
sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the
southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living
at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a
little fellow and went with his father and
mother and boy cousin." He had three older
brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that
by no means did everyone go to the dance
"though most did because they were afraid not
to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably
brief and not always clear. The available in-
formants at Squaw Valley were inadequately
equipped in personality and language to discuss
or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory.
They were not able to distinguish clearly be-
tween events at Maštinao and those occurring at
neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages.
Neither could they get down to cases. For ex-
ample, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's
totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her
husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M.,
A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given
for the sake of complete record: only the
moiety data can be used safely as it was re-
checked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

● 131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

[P. 133b] Wukchumni Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analysis]

● 131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

931 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley.
361 9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, [789] the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 143 b]
Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

649 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's 439 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 144] Western Mono NS25

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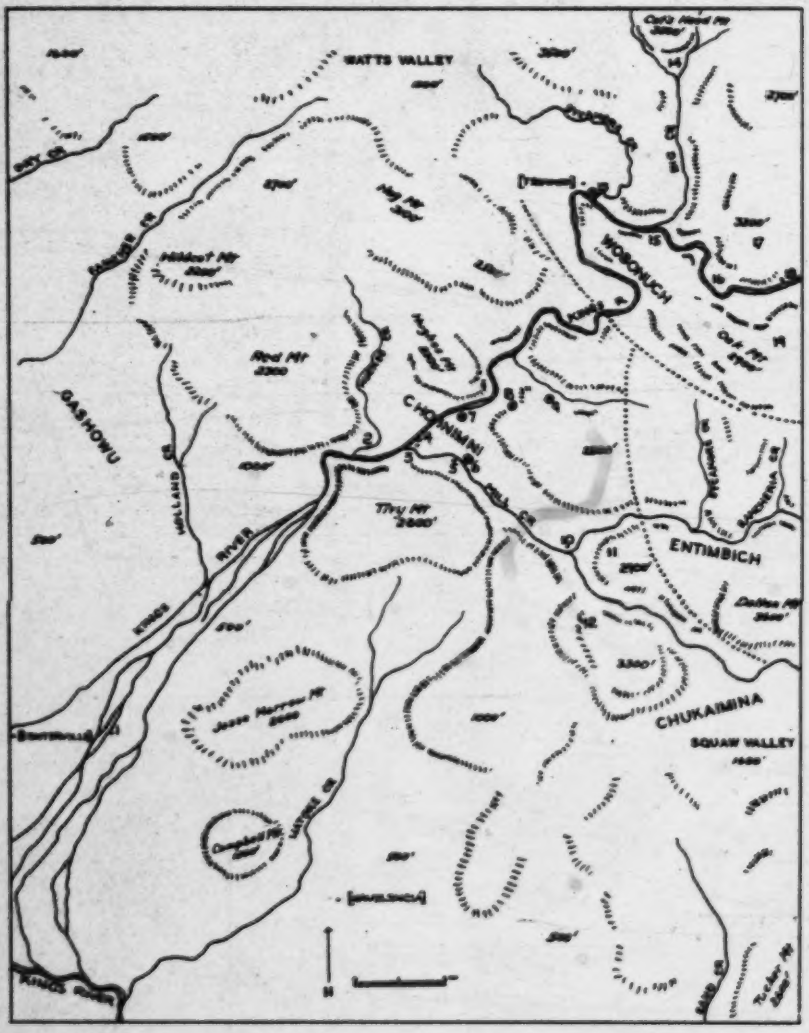

Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´n:n, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or mutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtin:n (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´p:n (up); at:´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.
103

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. h:'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´w:č: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 153 a] DUMNA

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal
●131 locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The
[622] chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkıt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokı´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ča (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmın and Salo´kınč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 A long list of place names was given but
361 only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɨsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 175 a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die." and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper.
[778] In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101
131 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
103 gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'anᵊu: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[647] [77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
● 131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186 their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

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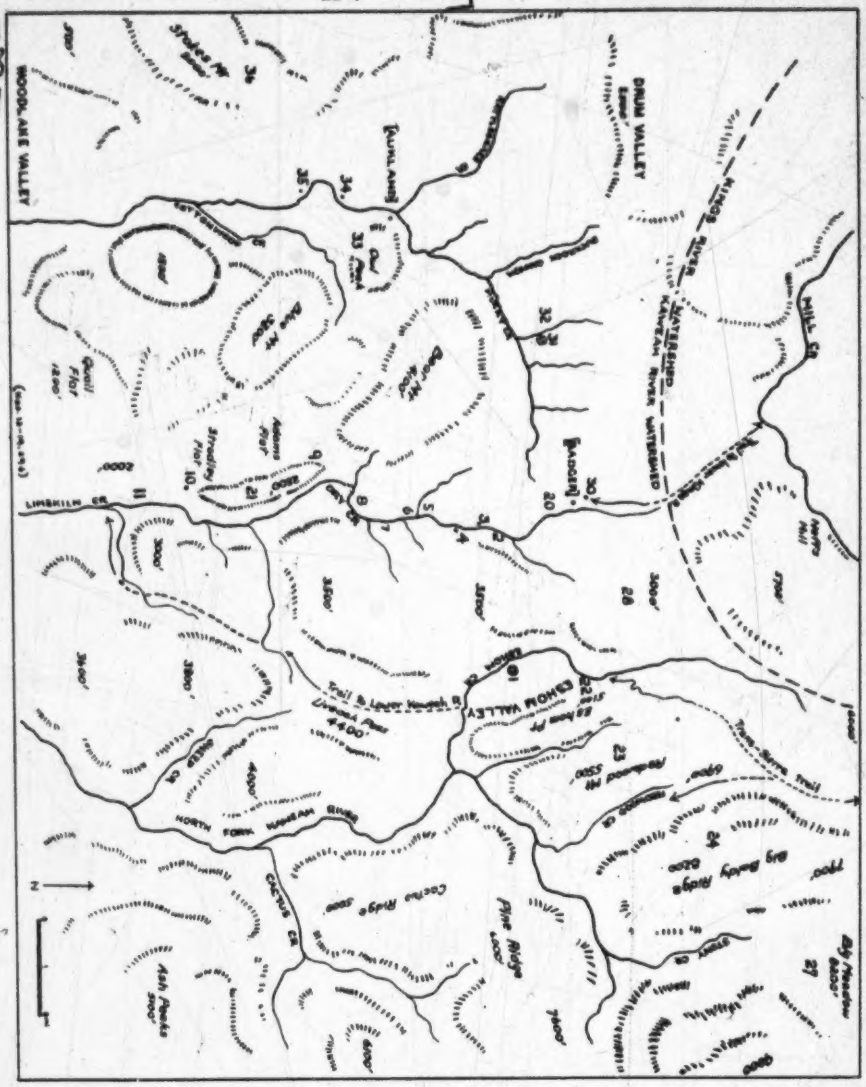
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 212] Western Mono NS25


WOODLAKE VALLEY
Stokes Mt.
Quail Flat
Strawberry Flat
Dome Mt.
Dome Mt.
Lindsay Flat
LINDSAY CR.
Trail & Lower Hospital
Lindsay Flat
4400'
NORTH FORK KAWEAH RIVER
CACTUS CR.
Cactus Ridge
Ash Peaks
Pine Ridge
Big Meadow
Big Meadow Ridge
Trail Sierra
Redwood Mt.
Redwood Cr.
Stony Cr.
Dry Cr.
Hill Cr.
Hurto Hill
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
DRUM VALLEY
Drum Valley
Mineral Springs
Ranger
Rocky Ridge
Lookout
Rocky Ridge
Lookout
Rocky Ridge
Lookout

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 213 b] Western Mono N525

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

Y M 101 131

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we ´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče ´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka ´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü ´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a ´nt:mp:č]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu ´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a ´pusowi·´:tunü´´üm: Toll House
huro ´g:čnü´´üm: southeast of last
yui ´ninü´´üm: south of last

Y M 773 103 131

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o´ču
Michahai: pa´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu´mi; dai´apnu´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češ:´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa´o; čita´tu
Entimbich: kečai´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada´winao; sit:´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y M 101

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W [854]

S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

Y W 423

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tăveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia ~~territory~~ and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

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22. na''an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain [Big Baldy Ridge]
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata´wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger
31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa"wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa"wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´'owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132]

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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation [101] Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size w[illegible]r reaches the central river system from this left hand. The [illegible]elming bulk of the American population is on the east side. [illegible] dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 221] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ½; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
● 131 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place."
[103] From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tubohi, Tobohai, or Tubohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tubohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	bosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 101
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream 131
about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103]
in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 197]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221]
ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

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131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[576] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties from the north.

The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
101 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to
131 their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi. Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniiu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some
[103] 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the
[103] Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Aitcha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'einashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Apiau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
131 was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek
they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Wolio ("planting place," "sowing
[177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
[582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnan.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'luta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowiasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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 131 101 103 [423]

missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshului, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechabet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowul*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it. [501]

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

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101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close association between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.

103 The Tachi, Tadji, or Dachi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi,
131 Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Waina, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Waiu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehamniu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *tawdj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* almost like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers." 101 103 131

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes. [197]

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

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101 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholo-
103 vomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who
retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on compari-
131 son with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern
valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same
group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near
Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least

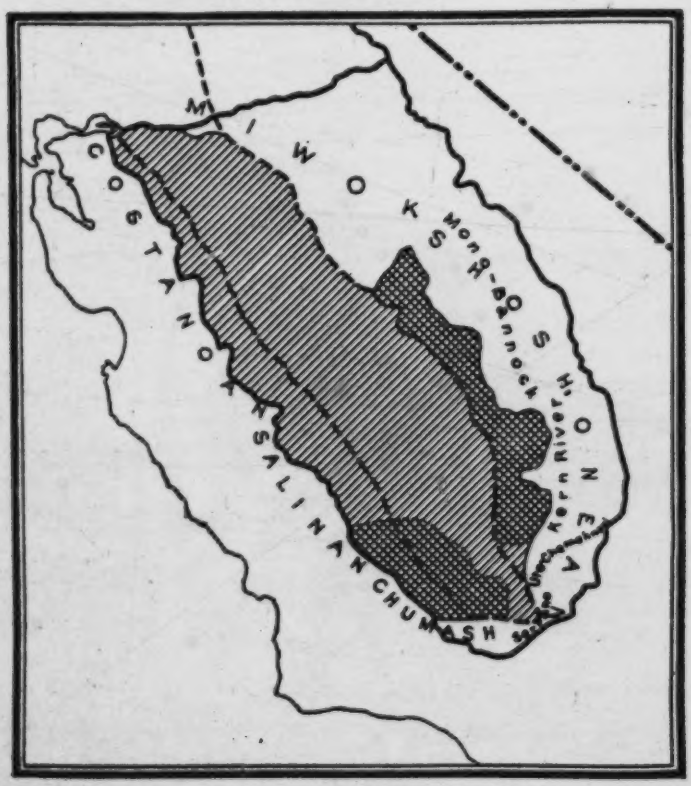

FIG. 43.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their
131 speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

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of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

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Chapter 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 493; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

10 13 The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

584 Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

2:Kroeber

101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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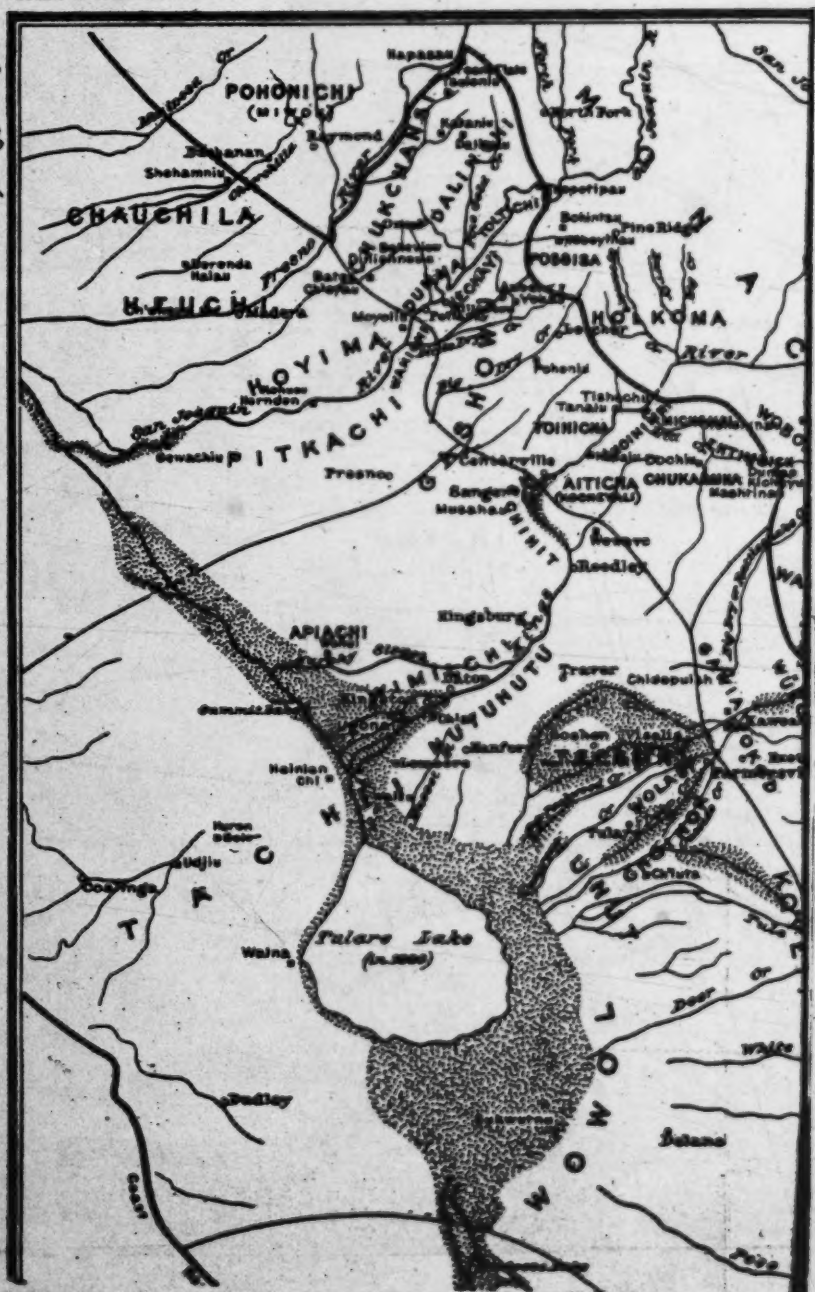
POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
Raymond
Shehamnim
CHAUCHILA
Sierra Nevada
Fresno
Bakersfield
Tehachapi
Mojave
Hanford
Visalia
Tulare
Porterville
Lemoore
Corcoran
Kingsburg
Reedley
Dinuba
Selma
Fresno
Madera
Merced
Chowchilla
Coalinga
Hanford
Tulare Lake
Waiwa
Dudley
Delano
Bakersfield
Tehachapi
Pine Ridge
POSOISA
KOLKOMA
River
Tehachi
Tonaiu
TOINICHA
Coalinga
AITICHA
(MONACHI)
CHUKAMNA
Kaweah
Reserve
Reedley
Kingsburg
Traver
Chiscopulah
Exeter
Lemoore
Corcoran
Tulare
Porterville
Delano
Bakersfield
Sewachiu
PITKACHI
Hanford
Hermdon
Fresno
Madera
Merced
Chowchilla
Coalinga
Hanford
Tulare
Porterville
Delano
Bakersfield
Tehachapi
Pine Ridge
POSOISA
KOLKOMA
River
Tehachi
Tonaiu
TOINICHA
Coalinga
AITICHA
(MONACHI)
CHUKAMNA
Kaweah
Reserve
Reedley
Kingsburg
Traver
Chiscopulah
Exeter
Lemoore
Corcoran

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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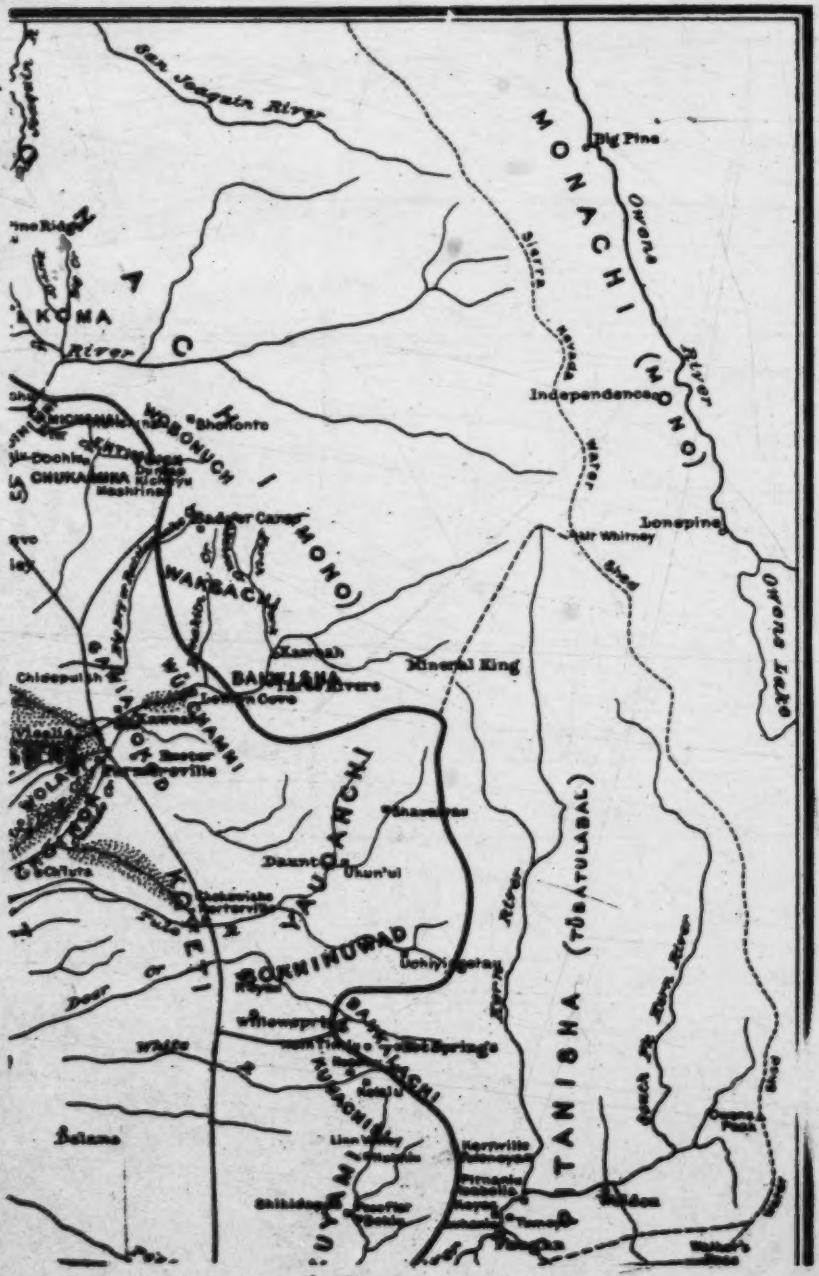

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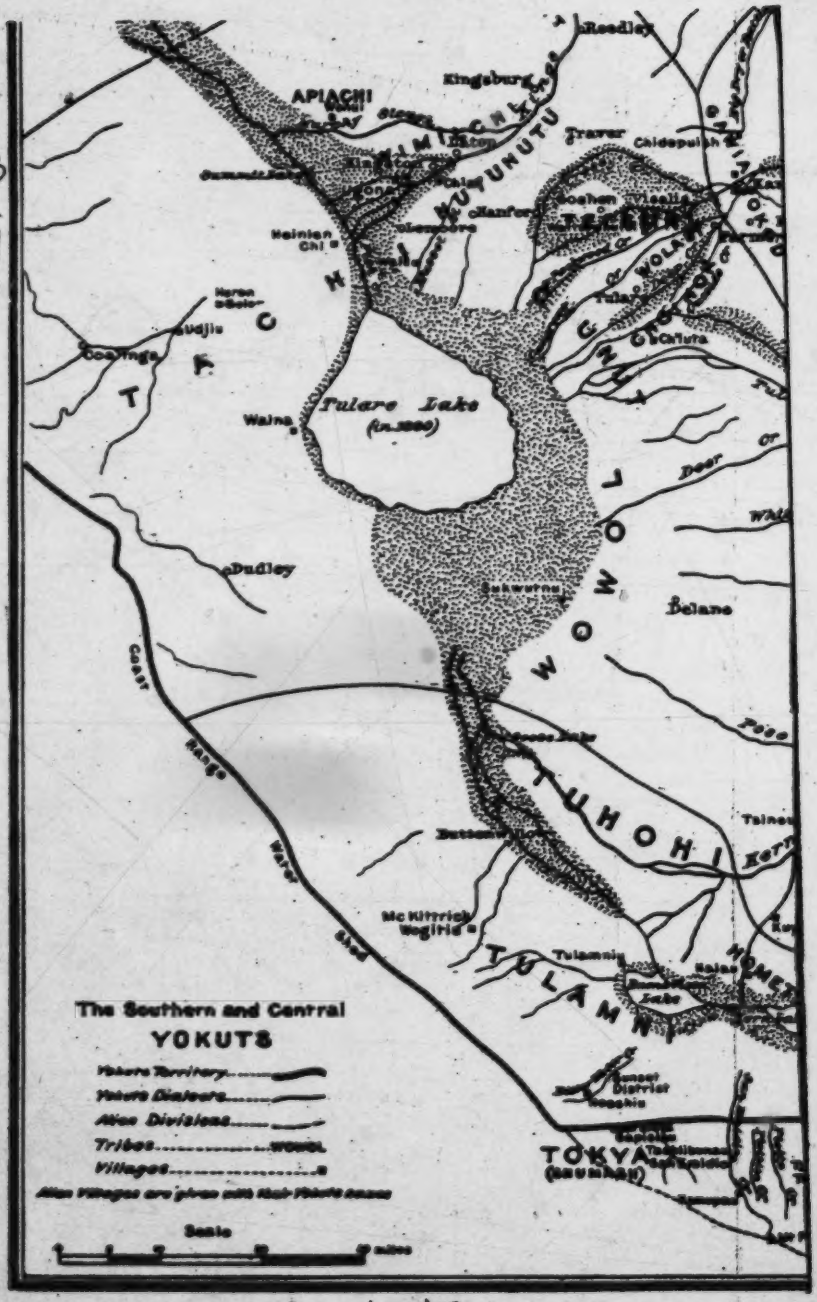

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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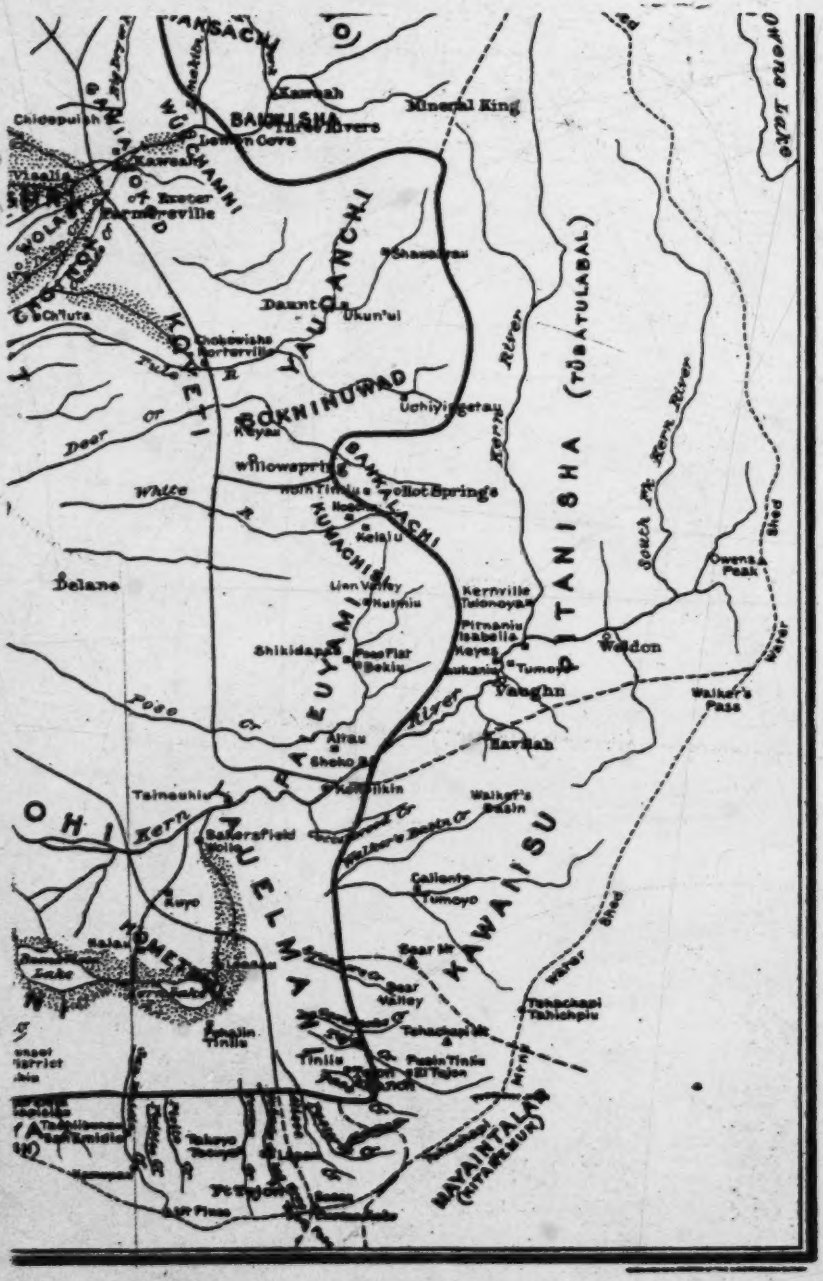

[p. 526-I(D)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 115 124

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*.
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu*.

361 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
226 *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*. Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land, was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings on the north slope were known by the same name and were thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

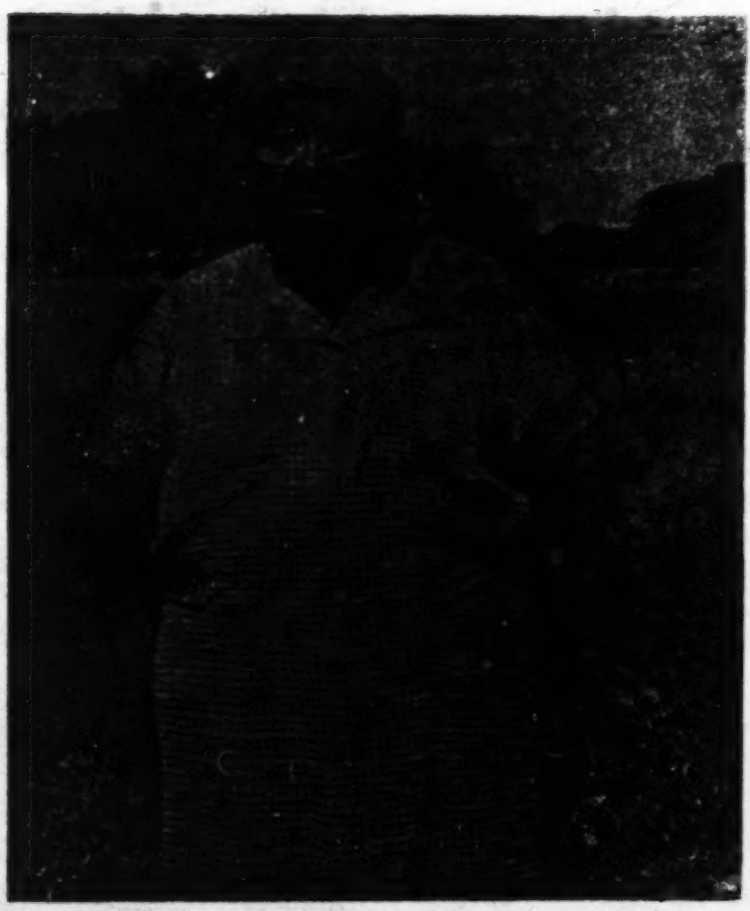
Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkötrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Wutunuts tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long
131 ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-
619 oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu*
103 (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just
36 southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north
center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-kimeen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw
[622] Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud*. Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido*, meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow*. Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha*. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw*, Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu*, meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow*. *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

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101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
Hososhud. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
619 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne
361 village of *Shonoyu*.

[576 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823] MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
[415 by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of
252] acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Tedustow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*. 361

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
484 and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concern-
ing this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kah-watch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in 131
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home 361
villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses 159
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 648
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 797
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old.

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of Tipton.

101 From there to the present town of Porterville the channel of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village 103 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on ● 131 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the 361 present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

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were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named *Ahsaw*. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

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The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There was once a village there having the same name. Between the forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

[776 532]

Soksouh (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of Kewlpewpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

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and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wukmaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

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101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sik-etepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

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Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101 103 131 361

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

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175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to
131 four other large groups which once occupied almost half of
619 what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok*
131 (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life
[171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

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from the deltas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers north to Trinity River were the Wintun. Extending along the western Sierra foothills from the Miwok to the Pit River drainage basin were the *Maidu* (My'-doo). 101 13

To the southwest, south, and southeast of the Yokuts were foreign blood and language groups of primitive peoples. The *Salinan* group occupied the territory directly to the southwest of the Yokuts, including the valley of the Salinas River. Practically nothing is known of them. It is doubtful if a single full-blood individual has been living since about 1890. The name, *Cholame*, is a Salinan word and is now applied to a locality which was once in their territory, which extended south to a point near the north end of the Carrizo Plains.

South of the Salinan were the *Canaliño*, who undoubtedly occupied the Carrizo Plains as far north as the Painted Rock and Soda Lake. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of Canaliño descendants at the Indian settlement in Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

Cuyama Valley was held by the Canaliño. The word *Cuyama*, taken from their language, is said to mean Clam Shell. [103]

The only known name of a Canaliño tribe bordering on the Yokuts is that of the *Tokya*, who extended from a point west of Paleta to the eastern limits of the Canaliño. Upper San Emigdio, Tecuya, Grapevine, and Pastoria Creeks are reported as having been in Tokya territory. In the Canaliño language Rancho Viejo Creek, just east of Grapevine Canyon, was called *Kwat'-lah-tah Quab'-la-quad*. Sapateria Creek was *Kahshe Nashahmo*, meaning The People There Save Things.

The name of San Emigdio Creek, and the Indian Village there was *Lashlepun* (Lash'-le-poon). The name means Cut Through, because the creek there cuts deeply through the mountains.

The *Shoshonean* Indians of Tejon Canyon called Grapevine Canyon *Shehveng Gahchah Upeh*, which means exactly the same as the white man's name for the place. The Canaliño Indians called Grapevine Canyon *Mut-tahp'-cho Whel-leh'-we*, which means Cottonwood Trees.

The eastern limits of the Canaliño across the southern boundary of Yokuts territory are not definitely established. The rugged terrain between the Cuyama and Antelope valleys shows little evidence of primitive occupation. Somewhere in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans*.

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk*. When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, "*Ah kik-ke tah nim*", meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu*. The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe*, which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe*. Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse*. At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe*. Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch*.

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu*. This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo*. Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu*, after which modern Tehachapi was named.

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North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi*. As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yeh*, of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is 101
necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It 124
appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people."

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Tehachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from [103]
that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat."

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its*, the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as 101
did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 131

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.
131

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private
624 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was
576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that
796 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used
574 and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

101 The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

224 The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

[pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied 131 the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from 101 Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 592 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single 361 row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not Processed]

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family. 101 131 197*

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed, [619]

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

●131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records [161]
the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131 ●
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[128] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
#161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

12: Coox S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 40B]

*161 Miketsiu. This would indicate a population of nearly 150. For the Wowol the ethnographers give three villages, or an implied population of, say, 220. The total for the lakes would then reach 1,170, or very close to the general contemporary estimate of 1,000. The figure 1,100 may be accepted as a compromise.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 1,100

TULE RIVER, KERN RIVER, AND THE BUENAVISTA BASIN

*161 101 131 The remaining Yokuts territory is large in area but relatively small in population. It includes the watersheds of the Tule and Kern rivers together with those of the small creeks between (Deer, White, and Poso creeks) and Buenavista Basin south of Bakersfield (see maps 1 and 2, areas 1F and 1G). The tribes placed by Kroeber in the region are the Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Bankalachi (Shoshonean), Paleuyami, Yauelmani, Hometwoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni.

*161 G. W. Barbour (1852), in a letter dated July 28, 1851, said that the area bounded by Buenavista Lake, Tule River, and Paint Creek contained a population of about 2,000. Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) said there were 1,700 on the Kern River and Barbour (1853) stated that, for treaty-making purposes in 1851, 1,700 congregated at Paint Creek below Tule River. The villages listed by Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta for the various tribes are as follows: Bokninuwad 2, Hometwoli 3, Koyeti 8, Kumachisi 6, Paleuyami 7, Tuhohi 1, Tulamni 3, Yaudanchi 8, and Yauelmani 7. The total is 45. The village size indicated by Derby for the Tulare Lake Basin and adjacent valley territory is 60 or 70; that for the hill regions is undoubtedly smaller. If we take 40 persons as the average village population, the aggregate for the region would be 1,800 and if we take 50 persons, it is 2,250. We cannot be far in error in setting the population at Barbour's value, 2,000.

TULE-KERN-BUENAVISTA 2,000

On the basis of gross estimates and semicomprehensive counts for the entire region the population for the San Joaquin Valley and neighboring foothills in 1851 was tentatively set at 8,600 (p. 34). The detailed consideration of the seven subdivisions of the entire region, as above, leads to an estimate of 19,000, as set forth in the following recapitulation.

Stanislaus-Tuolumne	2,000
Merced-Mariposa-Chowchilla	2,500
Cosumnes-Mokelumne-Calaveras	1,000
Fresno-San Joaquin	3,600
Kings-Kaweah	6,800
Tulare Lake Basin	1,100
Tule-Kern-Buenavista	2,000
Total	19,000

It is believed that this total is more reliable than that previously given for several reasons. In the first place, it is derived from a careful consideration of all available sources in detail. In the second place, the preliminary estimate was weighted heavily by the reports of government officials, who saw principally those Indians with whom they were able to make treaties or whom

*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once sup- [133] ported uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 6.500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

●131 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower
*161 Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained [101] three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod, the largest group being the Wukchamni.

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 600 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendra segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eagues with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eagues and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 3,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 49B]

THE KINGS RIVER

*161 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be 101 divided into three sectors. The first comprises the ●131 delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

*161 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of [62] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six [36] villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at [36] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In order to catch the horses for food other horses were
260 essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 180 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and preserved, according to general practice, it was suffi-
[25] cient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
[10] listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
[31] River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River. The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
*161 important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

*161 axis of the valley the villages were numerous, some of them containing 50 to 100 houses or at least 250 to 500 people.

What happened to these villages is graphically told in Warner's own words.

*161
731

On our return, late in the summer of 1833, we found the valleys depopulated. From the head of the Sacramento to the great bend and slough of the San Joaquin, we did not see more than six or eight Indians; while large numbers of their skulls and dead bodies were to be seen under almost every shade-tree near water, where the uninhabited and deserted villages had been converted into graveyards; and on the San Joaquin River, in the immediate neighborhood of the larger class of villages, which, in the preceding year, were the abodes of a large number of those Indians, we found not only graves, but the vestiges of a funeral pyre. At the mouth of King's river we encountered the first and only village of the stricken race that we had seen after entering the great valley.

*161 This was the pandemic of 1833, concerning which, in comparison with some accounts, Warner's description is a model of conservatism.

It is evident that a combination of circumstances prevents us from making an adequate assessment of the aboriginal population of the lower Merced River and adjacent segments of the San Joaquin. Our density figure is about half the expected value. If we had the full facts, we could perhaps double the estimated population. Under existing conditions we can feel reasonably sure of the value given for the area between the Mariposa and the San Joaquin rivers.

MARIPOSA-SAN JOAQUIN 19,000

THE SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

The southern end of the valley, beyond Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River, can best be considered in three parts. The first is the foothill strip from the Kaweah to the Tejon Pass, which was inhabited by the Yokuts tribes Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Boknimuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and Yauelmani (maps 1 and 2, area 1G). The second comprises the lower Kern River together with the former Buenavista Lake basin. This area was held by the Yokuts tribes Hometowoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni. The third includes the peripheral fringe of relatively high foothill and mountain country of the southern Sierra Nevada and Tehachapi and was inhabited by non-Yokuts people: Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, Kitanemuk, and the Tokya branch of the Chumash (maps 1 and 2, areas 1A to 1E).

Only the Koyeti are described by the Spanish authorities hitherto consulted. Moraga mentions the rancheria Coyahete with a population of 400 in 1806. Estudillo in 1819 found a rancheria, which he called Arroyo de Copaipich, with 200 and one called Canyon Agapa with 400 people. The latter may perhaps be Moraga's Coyahete. If so, the tribe had a population of at least 600 in 1819, but it must have suffered some decline prior to that year. Latta's informants were able to remember 8 villages. Moreover, the tribe was oriented ecologically toward the Kaweah delta and oak forest, although it was actually situated on the lower Tule River. Thus an estimate of 800 persons would not be too much for the pre-

[131]

*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coyboa.

114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distinct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. ..... 900)

*161 Ochejamnes.—This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and [131] considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 446) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsias," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Oocheganes, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian fighting in the delta (Berryesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yuisumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relatively complete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750. [68]

(Ochejamnes ..... 750)

*161 Guaypem.—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) re-
● [131] gards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that
[199] Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

(Guaypem ..... 300)

Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck (p. 138). They covered, according to him, "the south-
[131] ern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Hermdo Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensiat, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2os estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensiat) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

(Quenemsias ..... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 26, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A64; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumes was found 8 leagues (leguas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is
[114] probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

*161 of distances. Here Duran counted 35 houses whereas Argüello says 38, a sufficiently close correspondence. As indicated previously, a population of 315 persons is probable. Continuing their journey, they went on for 4 miles (Argüello); Duran says approximately 3 leagues. There they stopped at a rancheria, "arruinada" according to Argüello, although Duran makes no mention of this.

On May 18 the party went on upstream, making during the day 4 leagues (Duran) or 16 miles (Argüello). Duran states that after going 1 league they got back into the main stream of the Sacramento. This was clearly at the head of Grand Island, close to Courtland. At 1 league beyond this point, on May 19, they found the rancheria Chuppumne, which was deserted. The location therefore was very close to that shown by Schenck on his map (p. 133) and, if we can put any credence in the Duran-Argüello account, a good many miles north of Chucumes. Near Chuppumne Duran saw three other rancherias in the distance (inland ?) but could not get at them. On May 20 the expedition pressed on upstream for 5 miles (Argüello) or 4 leagues (Duran), at which point they turned around and began the return trip. On May 21 Argüello says that they passed "algunas rancherias," all deserted, which may well have been those mentioned by Duran on May 19.

On the river frontage covered from May 17 to May 21 the expedition saw a minimum of 6 villages, 2 of which are mentioned by name (Chucumes and Chuppumne) and for 1 of which the houses were counted. If all these villages were of comparable size—as they may have been aboriginally—then the total population represented would have been 1,800. This estimate would of course not include other villages which the expedition did not see.

[795] [799] The mission records show for San Jose a total of 377 persons baptized from Chucumne and Chuppumne, of whom 322 were converted during 1823 and 1824. We may predicate, therefore, a residual population of 700 to 800 just prior to those years. That the area had suffered severely before that is attested by the deserted and "ruined" rancherias seen by Duran in 1817. It is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached a value of 1,500.

(Chucumes, Chuppumne ..... 1,500)

Chupunes (Chupcanes), Tarquines (Tarquimenes, Tauquines), Julpunes (Tulpunes) and Ompines.—This constellation of tribes is best considered collectively, first, because there are no direct estimates of their population, and second, because they occupied a relatively unified area.

Schenck places them along the south shore of Suisun Bay from the east entrance of Carquines Strait and through the slough region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers as far upstream as Isleton on the Sacramento. However, he points out that there is great uncertainty with respect to their exact location, an uncertainty which is emphasized by the wide divergence between his views and those of Merriam. Even the Spanish accounts present numerous discrepancies. In view of this state of our knowledge Schenck makes the very reasonable suggestion that the lower delta tribes may have been so greatly disturbed and shifted around during the period from 1775 to 1810 that the aboriginal locations were forgotten. It is worth while to examine in some detail some of the evidence on this problem. We may begin with examination of the area at and just east of Carquines Strait on the south shore of Suisun Bay. This

[131]

*161 Argüello and Duran both refer to the "tierra" of the Ompines. The hypothesis is possible, although admittedly there is no real proof, that the Ompines may have originally occupied the sloughs and islands at and above Antioch, that they may have been pushed north at an early date by Spanish intrusion from the south and west, and that they may have been further dispersed, or exterminated without extensive conversion, prior to 1830. If such a theory in any way represents the course of their decline and disappearance, then it also follows that the aboriginal population was considerably greater than the baptism number would lead one to suppose.

*161 To turn now to the Julpunes, there seems to be little
● 131 difference of opinion regarding their original location. This was as Schenck pictures it: the south shore of the San Joaquin estuary from Antioch to the line between R3E and R4E. The "informe" of Hermengildo Sal, written in 1796 and previously referred to, specifies the "Tulpunes" as a "nacion" living on the "orilla del estero." Fourteen years later in 1810 Viader went 7 leagues from Pittsburg to the "old river" west of Stockton. He was: ". . . esta tierra es de los Tulpunes." Duran, May 24, 1817, on his return journey downstream reached the region of the Julpunes at 8:00 A.M. and joined the other boat at 6:00 P.M. of the same day at Carquinez Strait.

Schenck (1926, p. 137) points out that Kotzebue, who was in the area in 1823, implies that the Julpunes were living on the north bank. Merriam (1907, p. 348), says that the Hulpoomne "occupied the east bank of the Sacramento River from a few miles south of the mouth of American river southward . . . ." Schenck's explanation of the discrepancy appears to the present writer entirely sound: the Julpunes retired across the estuary to the north bank and then upstream nearly to Sacramento. In so doing they may very well have carried the surviving Ompines with them. The San Jose record lists 148 baptisms of Julpunes but the name is absent from the records of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Rafael, and Solano missions. Along with the Ompines the Julpunes must have escaped the active proselyting effort of San Rafael, and particularly Solano, between 1824 and 1834, by a rapid retirement so far up the river as to elude the parties sent out from the missions. The converts at San Jose must have been captured by the Viader, Duran, Argüello, and similar expeditions before the migration upstream.

*161 The Tarquines are claimed by Schenck to have been
114 ". . . a single group. It seems to have stretched from
[131] east to west entirely across the marsh area between the main channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and then to have extended along the southern shore of Suisun Bay" (pp. 134-136). Schenck's belief in this remarkable distribution is based upon three documentary references (at least he cites no more than these three in his tabulation on p. 135).

The first of the three documents, chronologically, is the first expedition of Viader, in 1810. In his entry for August 17 Viader says that, having spent the preceding night near the present location of Pittsburg, he reconnoitred these lands which ". . . son de los Tarquines, que lo mas, 6 casi todos son Cristianos de San Francisco." After noting the mouths of the two rivers, he goes on to mention a spot on the estuary ". . . en donde dicen estaba la rancheria de los Tarquines" (emphasis mine). Let it be emphasized that in 1810 the Tarquines are almost all Christians in San Francisco, and Viader saw there the rancheria which was, or had been, that of the Tarquines. The San Francisco baptism book shows 18 "Talquines" converted in 1801 and 63 more in 1802, making a total of 83. This number could well be the

*161 114 majority, or almost all, the inhabitants of a moderate-sized rancheria. Schenck is therefore technically correct in placing the tribe on the south shore of the eastern end of Suisun Bay.

The second document is the diary of Abella in 1811. On October 25, in the course of the return trip downstream, some distance below the junction of the channels of the San Joaquin, he found a rancheria of the Tauquimenes, one part of each side of the river, which was 30 to 40 varas wide. This point was apparently at or near the head of Sherman Island. The rancheria had 60 houses. He saw 200 warriors. He then crossed through the sloughs to the Sacramento River and on or opposite Sherman Island saw one rancheria of 14 houses and several of 2 to 3 houses. He says that all they passed this day was ". . . parte de una isla" (i.e., Sherman Island). Furthermore

> . . . en todo este dia andubimos como unas 12 leguas [overestimate] y podra haver gente, como 200 almas, todavia puede que haiga mas, porque en la primera [rancheria] habraumas 1,000, segun lo grande que por aqui son las casas, tienen un circuito de 28 o 30 varas, con su orcon en medio . . .

This account deserves comment on several grounds: with relation to Viader's visit of the previous year and the baptisms at San Francisco it is evident that whereas the southern extension of the Tarquines' habitat, whatever its size, had been swept clear prior to 1810, nevertheless the tribe persisted on the estuarine islands in truly large numbers. Moreover, since there is evidence of no more than one rancheria on the south shore, it appears that the territory in that region allotted by [131] Schenck to the tribe is too large and should be restricted to a small area of the southeastern corner of Suisun Bay.

With respect to population, Abella's figures are quite credible. It has been suggested that one of the huge houses found in this region could accommodate 9 persons without difficulty. Then the large village should have had 540 inhabitants. Allowing 24 houses for the other villages seen, 216 persons should be added, making a total of 756, a figure not far from Abella's guess of 1,000.

The final reference to the tribe occurs in the diary of Duran. During the night of May 22-23, 1817, he went up the main channel of the San Joaquin, in T3N, R4E, and passed the Tauquimenes on the left, that is to say, on the east bank. Schenck thinks that the group covered the entire strip from Pittsburg to the east bank of the main river contemporaneously. Now it has been pointed out as probable that the southwestern outliers were missionized, or pushed back into the swamps, as early as 1801. It is equally possible that the island communities described by Abella in 1811 were pushed, in the next five or six years, off the islands altogether and clear back eastward to the far bank of the main river. Of considerable significance is the fact that whereas both Viader and Abella mention the Tarquines as being in the estuary region, Duran, who covered this area thoroughly, is completely silent with regard to their presence. It is highly unlikely that, had there been any of the tribe left in their former habitat, he would have failed to note them.

*161 The details are very obscure but the main outlines of events in the first three decades of the nineteenth century can be perceived. Aboriginally and perhaps till nearly 1800, there was a dense population of natives extending from Port Costa along the southern shore of Suisun Bay and up the rivers for fifteen miles beyond

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.64A]

*161 the human population is concentrated along the stream banks to the exclusion of the interfluvial hinterland. Where a territory is marked by a network of creeks and sloughs, and the intermediate land is marsh, the linear comparisons become impossible. Areas must be substituted.

In relation to the present problem three such areas may be delineated. The first comprises the territory of the Bolbones (including all the subordinate villages) and the Leuchas. Following Schenck's map, it embraces all the land between the channels of the San Joaquin plus a strip approximately two miles wide east of the main river in T1 and 2S, R5E which accounts for the Leuchas. The area, as projected from a large-scale map onto coördinate paper, is 775 square miles, the population 3,400, and the density 4.39 persons per square mile. The second comprises the home of the Ochejamnes, Guaypem, Quenemsias, and Chucumnes-Chuppumne. For the habitat of these groups we have followed Schenck as far as possible. Our line runs actually from the junction of the east and west channels of the Sacramento at the foot of Grand Island southeast to the main channel of the San Joaquin, thence northeast and north to just east of Walnut Grove and then, at a distance of about 2 miles east of the eastern channel of the Sacramento, to a point 4 miles north of Courtland. Here the line crosses the river and continues downstream, 2 miles west of the river, to the starting point. This strip of the western bank of the western branch of the Sacramento is included in order to take in the Chucumes, who may have lived on the west side of the river. The area of this territory is 330 square miles, the population 2,950, and the density 8.94 persons per square mile.

[131]

The third area is the one shown by Schenck as belonging to the Chupunes, Tarquines, Julpunes, and Ompines, with the exception of the region east of the San Joaquin attributed to the Tarquines. For reasons stated previously the author does not believe that the Tarquines occupied this spot aboriginally. A strip 2 miles wide is included on the north shore, however, between Rio Vista and Collinsville, in the probable land of the Ompines. The eastern boundary is formed by the borders of areas one and two. In area three there are 600 square miles. The mean of the densities of the other two areas is 6.67 persons per square mile. Hence the population would have been 4,002 persons. No significance should be attributed to the third and probably also the second digit in these numbers. They are used only for purposes of estimate.

[131]

The three methods employed have yielded respectively 3,000, 2,000, and 4,000 as the most likely population of the five groups here being discussed. In default of any other evidence we may take the average 3,000.

(Chupunes, Tarquines, Ompines, Julpunes ... 3,000)

Adding the totals for the tribes known to inhabit the delta region of the great rivers and the southern shore of Suisun Bay, we arrive at a total population of 9,350.

Delta area 9,350

It is now preferable to depart from a strictly tribal sequence and revert once more to a classification based upon river basins. Three areas of this type are sufficiently clearly marked out; those corresponding to (1) the Cosumnes River, (2) the Mokelumne River, and (3) the lower San Joaquin River from just below the Merced to the head of tide water near Manteca. The inhabitants may be designated village or tribal groups in accordance with the river system where they were located.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 71 B]

APPENDIX

*161 include the 'Mono' tribe which is the most numerous of any tribe . . . ."

127 Record Group 75. Letters received Calif., 1859. Enclosure to document no. M 66. M. B. Lewis, Fresno Agency, Aug. 30, 1859.

A report on the 22 tribes which recognize the Fresno Agency as their headquarters. Abstracted as follows:

*161
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131

Wel-leelch-um-nies:
the most northerly tribe; is "temporarily" on the Tuolumne River because of displacement by the whites. 85

Poto-en-cies:
have abandoned their native land, the Merced Valley and are now on the Chowchilla. 110

Noot-choos:
"a union of the remnant of other tribes," including some Yosemites. Now on the north fork of the Chowchilla. 85

Po-ho-nee-chees:
on the headwaters of the Fresno. 105

Chow-chillas:
have moved from the Chowchilla to the Fresno River. 85

Cooc-chances:
the largest "unbroken" tribe in the agency, originally on Coarse Gold Creek; some still there, some at agency. 240

How-ches:
once large; always have been on the Fresno. 18

Pit-cat-ches and Tal-linches:
(two distinct tribes); native habitat was the San Joaquin River; still near Fort Miller. 150

Coss-wax:
"to some extent identified with the Pit-cat-ches"; native land is Deer Creek. 88

Monos:
on Fine Gold Creek and the upper San Joaquin River. 535

War-to-kes, Itee-ches, and Cho-pes:
all on Kings River; "constitute one nation" but have separate heads (on Wartoke Creek). 290

Wat-ches:
since 1854 have been on Kings River Farm. 75

No-to-no-tos and We-melches 190

Tat-ches and Wo-wells:
these four tribes are native to the lower Kings River and Tulare Lake. They were recently driven to their homes on the Fresno Farm. 165

Cow-willas:
their home is the mouth of the Kaweah at the foothills. 110

Tel-em-nies:
on the Kaweah, near Visalia. 105

Total 2,436

12: Cook ●
101, 102, 131

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of Positions of Map Facing p. 74.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

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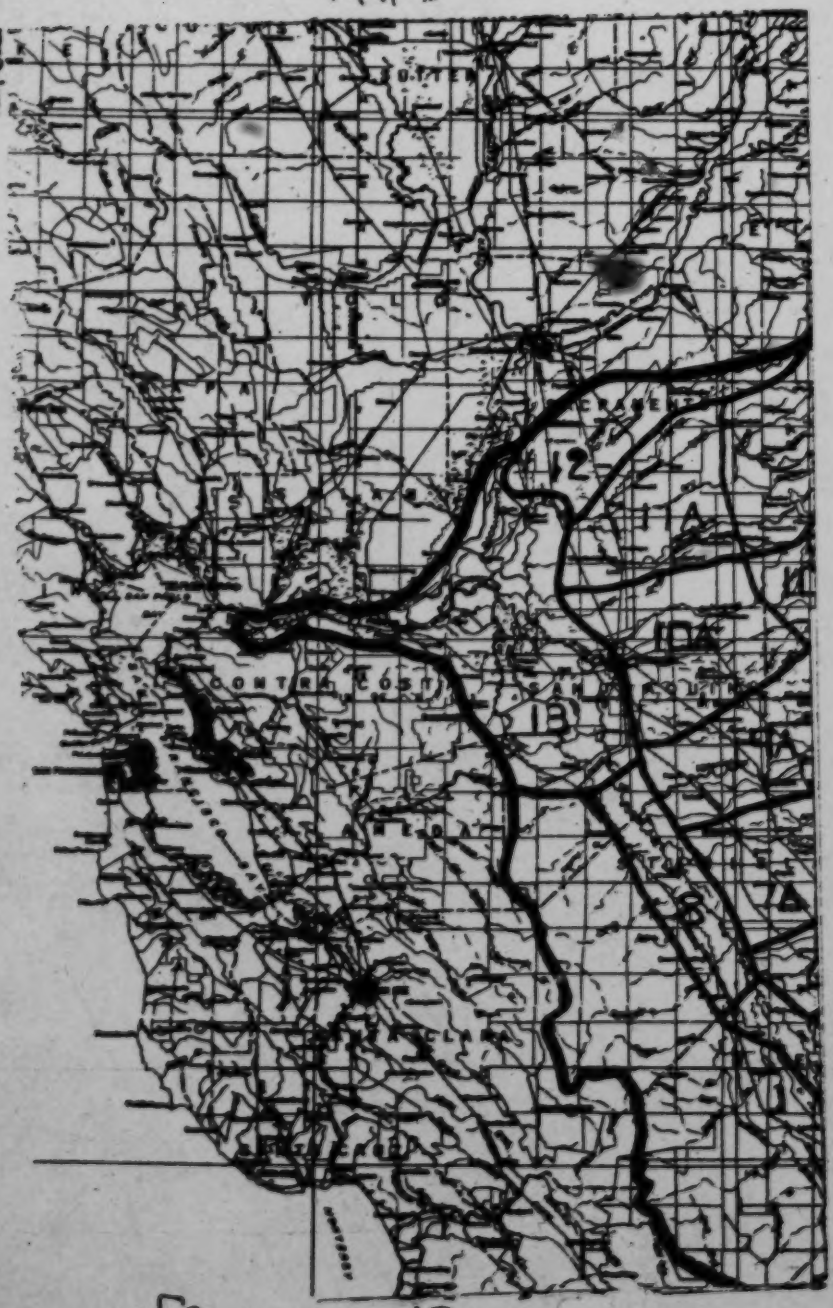

[Facing p. 74(A)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

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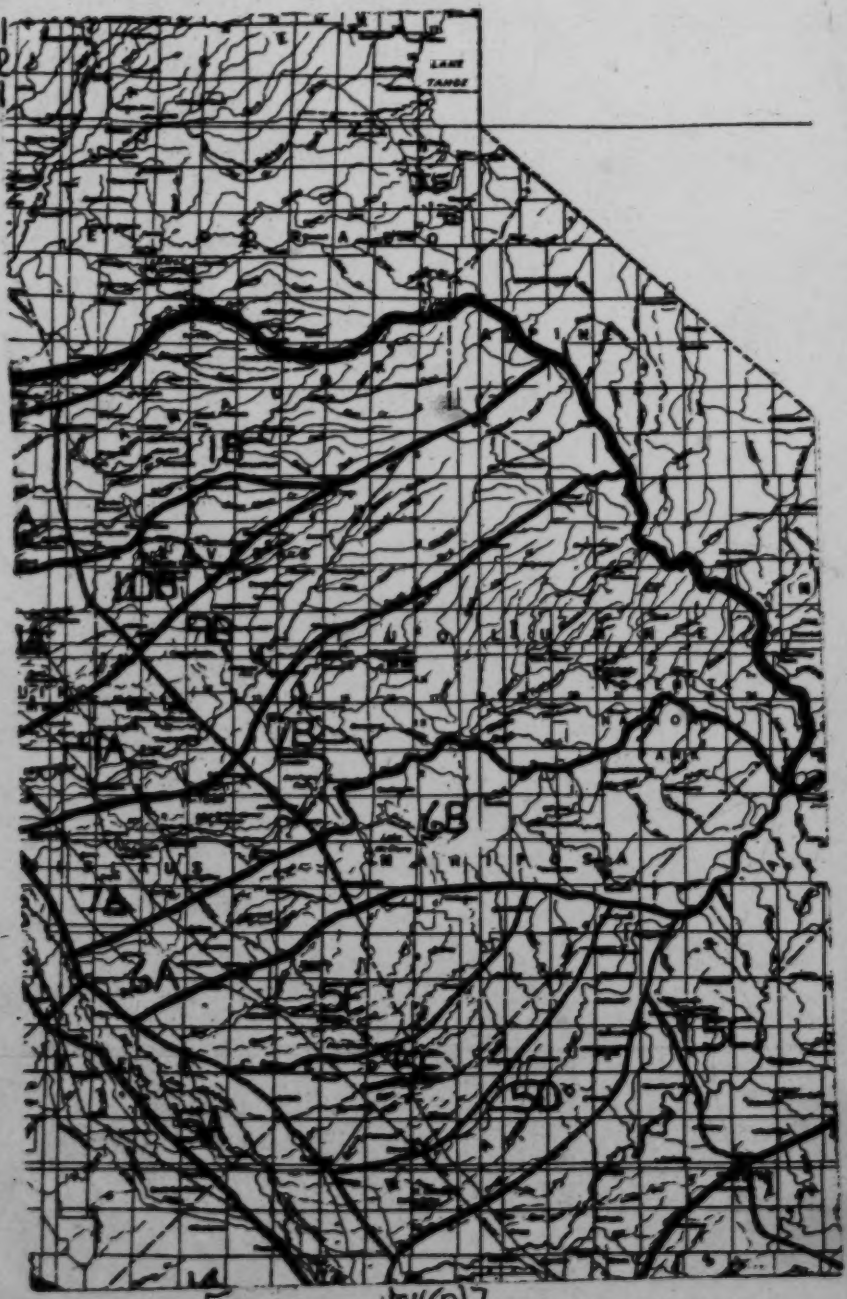
102
131



[Facing p. 74(B)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map I

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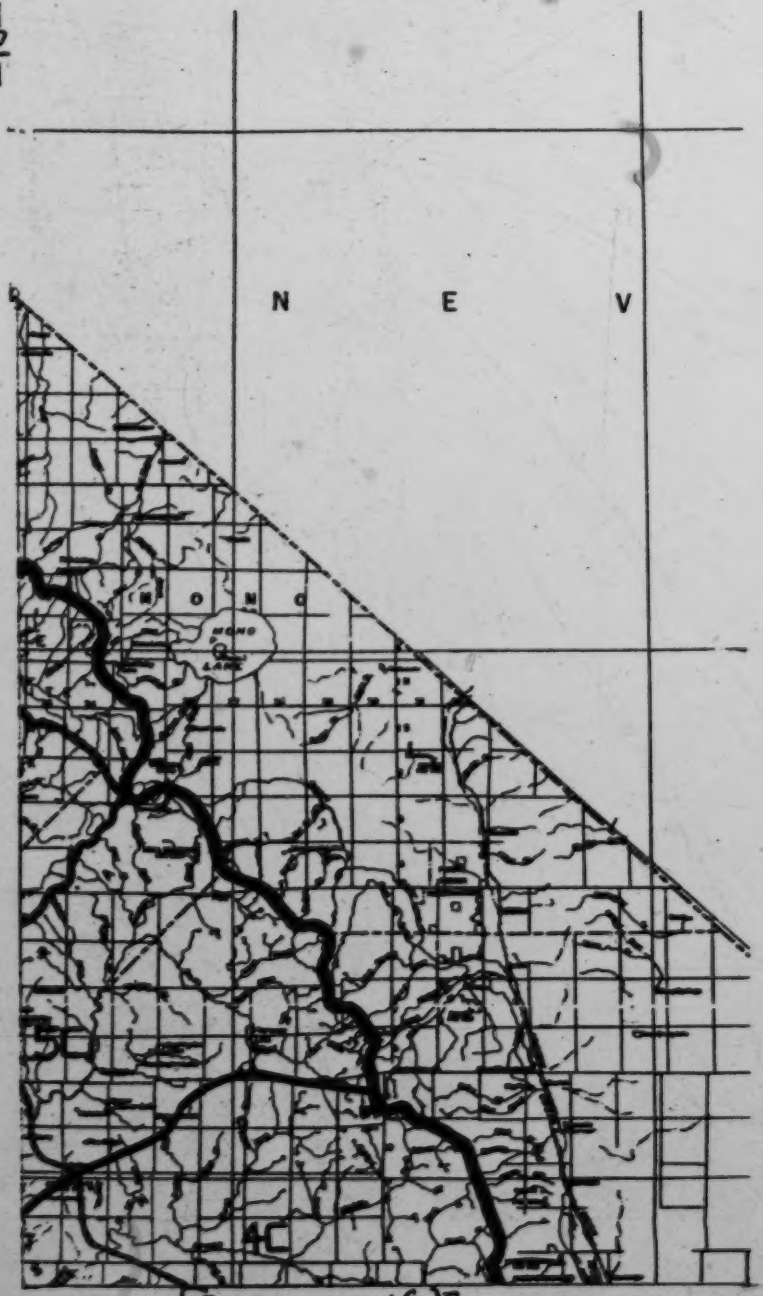

[facing p. 74(C)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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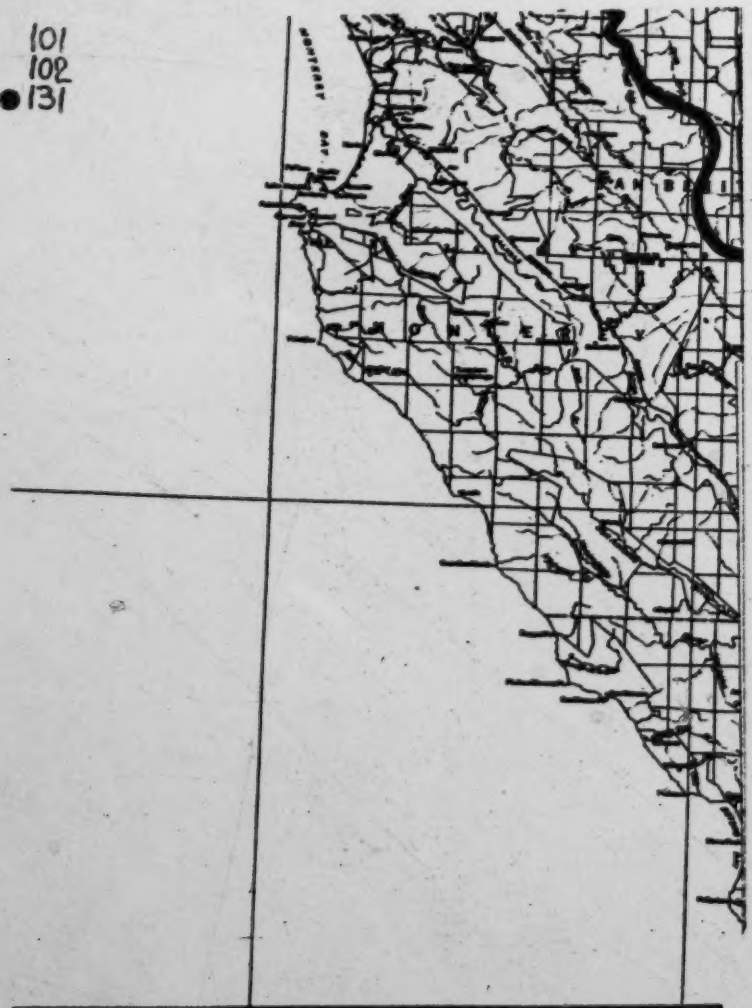
131



Map 1. This map covers the entire area under discussion, extending from the Cosumnes River to the Tehachapi. The smaller divisions, denoted by numbers and letters, represent the habitat areas considered in detail in the text. The succeeding maps, drawn to larger scale, show these same areas with the tribal divisions entered as far as possible.

0 5 10 20 30

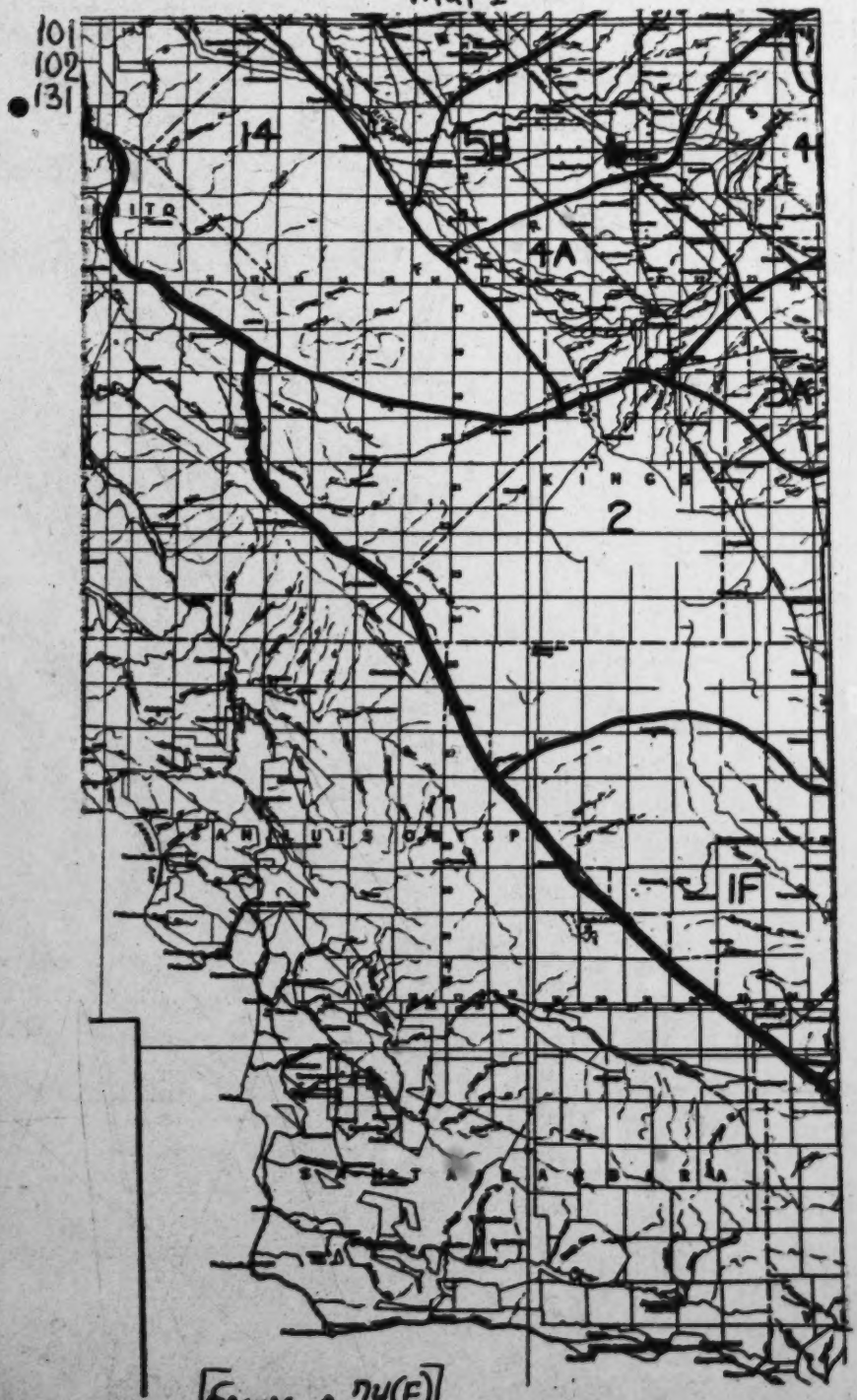
MILES

To accompany Cook, "Aboriginal Population of San Joaquin Valley," Univ. of Calif. Publ., Anthro. Rec. Vol. 16, No. 2.

[Facing p. 74(D)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

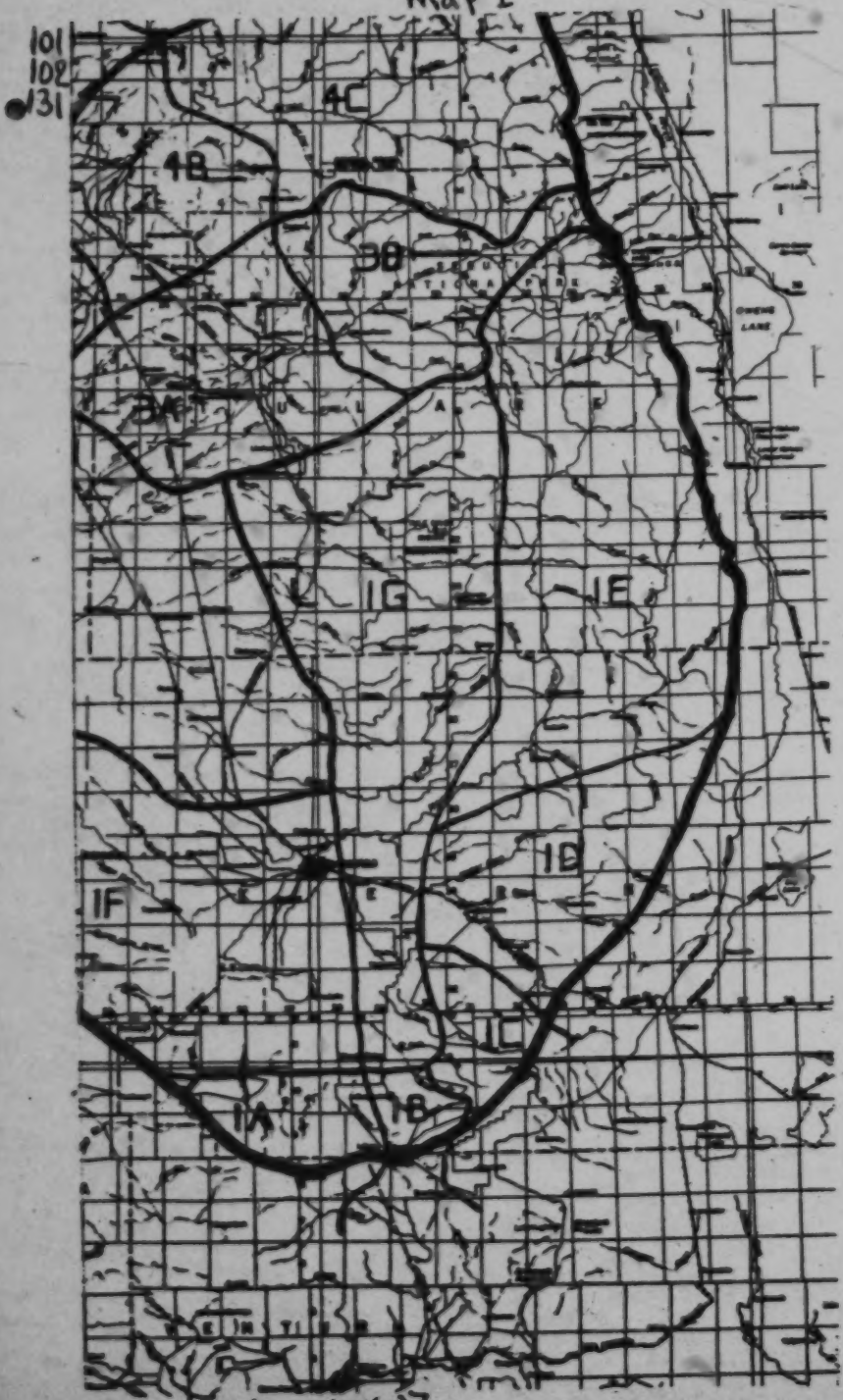
Map 1



[Facing p. 74(E)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map I



[facing p. 74(F)]

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

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Map 1. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

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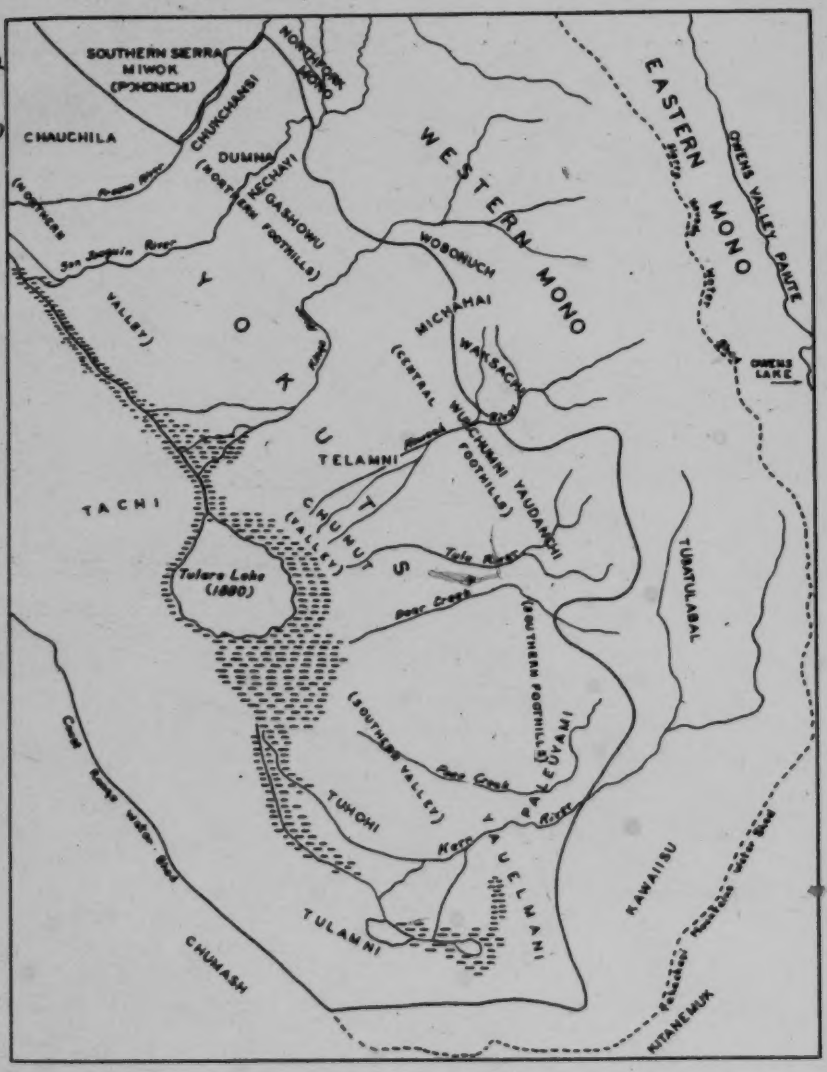

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable 101 131 133 [132]

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in 344
no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again.

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of 262
tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic.

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not 137
grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate 222
coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains in- 262
habited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions.

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting 222
and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources 262
of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the
year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is 132
not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot sum- 222
mer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 262

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer,
221 rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their
262 variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
222 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye
262 once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the 285
lake houses.

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of 342
the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright.

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles 501
of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward [354]
end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time.

To understand the reason for this difference between the 133
method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved.

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent [132]
winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes. 175

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence. [164] [132]

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream. [137]

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
114 and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
805 with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
132 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wuse'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert.[a] Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

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[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

T 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Y [FACING P. 1] Western Mono NS25
M Tübatulabal NS22
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Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
177 and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Wakasachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
178 Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

● 133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4]Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 395.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

133 connaissance.[7] He entered from the west via San Miguel Pass, already trodden by Spanish predecessors, turned south, then east, to go around the south end of Tulare Lake, then northeast, stopping to make a short digression to the south-southwest, thence back and continuing northward beyond Kings River. After crossing the San Joaquin River at the ferry north of Tulare Lake, he eventually turned south, skirting the west shore of the lake, and left the valley by the pass to San Miguel where he had entered.

On May 1, 1850, after leaving Dick's (San Lorenzo) Creek in the San Miguel Pass, Derby was about to enter territory south of the Tachi villages on the west side of Tulare Lake.

> I started accordingly about 10 A.M., and, crossing two ranges of low hills over a broad smooth trail, arrived at the shore of the great Taché (Tulare) lake about 1 P.M. We were unable to get close to the water, in consequence of the tulé which environed it, extending into the lake from two hundred yards to one mile, as far as the eye could reach. With a glass I could distinguish the timber at the north and the tulé at the south ends of the lake, the length of which I estimated at about twenty miles, but we could not distinctly make out the opposite or eastern shore. The peaks of the Sierra Nevada, at this place twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea and covered with perpetual snow, appeared in close proximity, and, rising far above the horizon, seem to us to come down precipitously to the very edge of the water. The distance from our encampment to the lake we estimated at eighteen miles, or nearly a day's march, and as the country passed over was a perfect desert, and I found here no forage for the animals but wire grass, the water standing in the tulé brackish, and no wood at all, I concluded to return immediately to camp . . . . An examination was made on the 2nd . . . which terminated favorable, a good path being found through the southern extremity of the valley, and a trail leading apparently around the south end of the lake.[8]

On May 3, Derby's party left the Dick (San Lorenzo) Creek camp and went 24.5 miles "from the termination of the pass," reaching the lake and camping upon the sand.

> We found here a ridge of sand about one hundred yards in width, and twelve feet above the level of the lake which divides the water of the northern or Taché from the bed (now nearly dry) of the southern or Ton Taché lake. This last is little more than a very extensive swamp, covering the plain for fifteen miles in a southerly direction, and is about ten in width. It is filled with sloughs and is of course impassable except with the assistance of

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[7] Farquhar, The Topographic Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby, 251 ff.

[8] Ibid., 252.

●133 boats or rafts. The gradual receding of the water is distinctly marked by the ridges of decayed tulé, and I was informed, and see no reason to disbelieve, that ten years ago it was nearly as extensive a sheet of water as the northern lake, having been gradually drained by the connecting sloughs, and its bed filled by the encroachment of the tulé.

We crossed the slough on the 4th, being assisted with rafts of tulé by the ranchería of Sin Tache Indians [Chunut or Wowol?] which we found established at this point. Proceeding on over the desert which we found very painful traveling for the animals, encamped at the southeast point of the lake, having made 12.64 miles?

The following day, May 5, Derby gained the east side of the valley by traveling 15.38 miles, "over a continuation of the barren sandy desert which had been our route for the last three days," where he reached a few cottonwood trees on Moore's Creek (now called Deer Creek).

On the 6th he went up Moore's [Deer] Creek 12.20 miles, being then "about five miles west of the high peaks of the Sierra Nevada." As there was good camping with cottonwoods, willows, some large oaks, and luxuriant grass, he arranged to leave his military escort there for the time being.

On the 7th he ascended the creek for about twenty miles, "a small rapid stream, about fifty feet wide and about two feet in depth. We discovered two small branches upon each of which we observed the remains of a large rancheria. The banks of the stream, as well as the hills surrounding, were heavily timbered with oaks, and three large species of pine."[10] This would, presumably, be in Bokninuwad territory, for on the 7th he went but eight to ten miles north from Deer Creek to Tule River, the southeast extremity of which empties into Tulare Lake. Koyeti occupied its banks at the edge of the foothills; within the foothills lived the Yaudanchi.

This stream has two branches, the upper portion of which are well timbered, but the banks are swampy near the lake, and for a long distance in the plain, the tulé running up to within five miles of the hills. All this time the stream was about one hundred yards wide, from twelve to twenty feet deep, and very rapid, which last is a general characteristic of all the streams to the east of the lake. Upon its upper banks and their vicinity in the hills, plenty of large pines are found; lower down it is well timbered with the different species of oak, sycamore, cottonwood and willow.[11]

On May 8, Derby changed his direction of investigation to the south-southwest. Having

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[9]Ibid., 252-253.

[10]Ibid., 253-254.

[11]Ibid., 254.

133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small [136] animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

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[12] Ibid., 255.

133 that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well watered spots.[13]

When returning to his encampment on Moore's (Deer) Creek he followed a course fifteen miles west of his route down.

We found it, however, of precisely the same character throughout -- barren, decomposed [137] soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemesias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry, at the point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above.

On May 13, Derby reached Tule River at a point which was 7.16 miles from Moore's (Deer) Creek -- probably close to the present site of Porterville. Here, Derby reported, the Tule River was 150 feet wide and he had to use wagon floats to get his party across. This was in Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory.

133 The country much improved in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's [Deer] creek, and 137 upon Tule river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber.[14]

133 Continuing north nineteen miles, Derby's party the next day reached the Kaweah River, at that time called the San Gabriel but renamed the Francis by Derby himself -- a name which did not persist. He was in country inhabited by the Choinuk, Wolasi, and Telamni, on the Kaweah River branches, and above them at the edge of the hills were the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni.

This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into Tache [Tulare] lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct branch from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful smooth level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oak of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 256.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

[312 311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in gener[illegible] perfect contrast to the rich soil upon [illegible] Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 mi[illegible] the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[16] 36] [648 18] [181]

[15]Ibid., 257.

[16]Ibid., 258-260.

133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late.[17]
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On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84
133 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large
[501] body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tule owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...

The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.

The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

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[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the [16] débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en 36] route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

[20] Ibid., 261.
[21] Ibid., 262.

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the 311] east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had 22 a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Tokohl Valley (Tokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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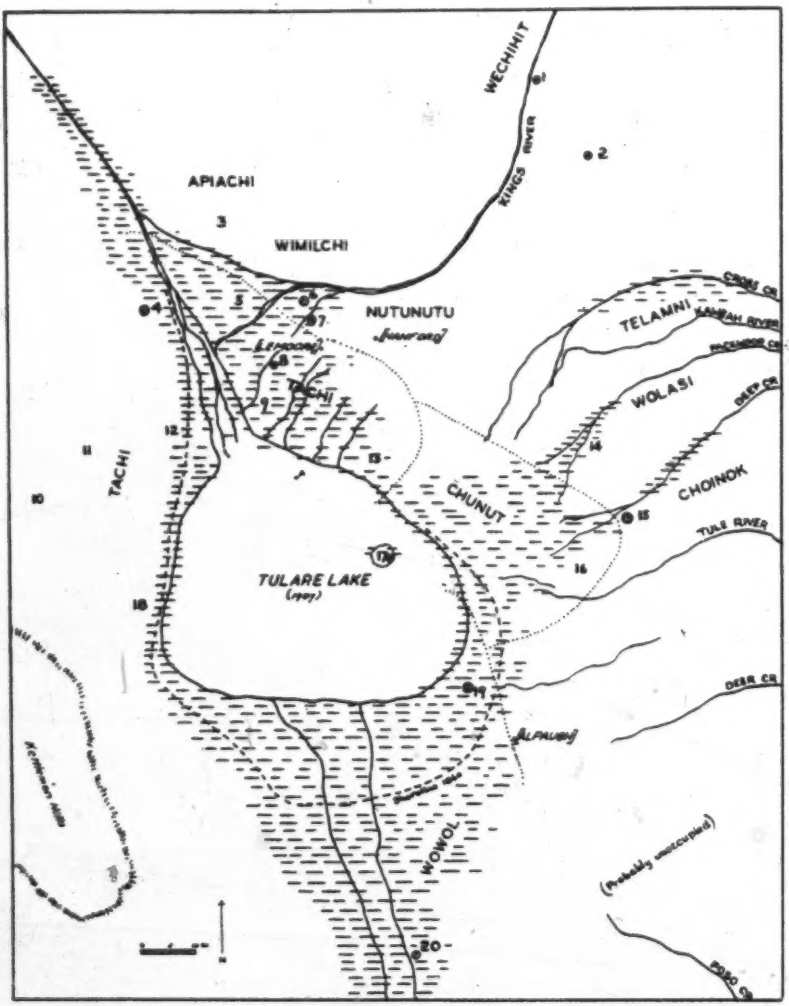

Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

LOCALITY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

131 133 The territory in which the Wukchumni lived comprised beautiful, oak-studded, foothill country on both sides of the Kaweah River. Situated on the edge of the valley plain yet within the shelter of the hills, the benefits of both were theirs. No section of the valley was more lush than that watered by the Kaweah River and its fingerlike delta of creeks between the foothills and the lake. An almost ecstatic description has been left us by an early visitor, James H. Carson, who saw the country in 1852, two years after Lt. Derby's tour and the same year in which Jeff Mayfield arrived in the San Joaquin Valley.[137]

133 The Four Creeks are the next waters met with. These deep and rapid streams are formed by one river [the Kaweah River]. Lieut. G.H. Derby of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who made the first surveys of this portion of California, in May, 1850, named this the Francis River. It is larger than the San Joaquin or any of its tributaries where it leaves the mountain.

This stream can be heard when you have gone a few miles in among the Buttes at its entrance on the plain, thundering from the rocky heights of the snowcapped Nevada. Its waters, as if tired of their task, seem to stop to rest in a beautiful small lake, formed amongst the conical hills.

These hills divide the waters of Francis [Kaweah] River at the foot of the Lake into the four streams known to the traveller on the plains as the Four Creeks. These creeks meander thro' heavily timbered and beautiful country, some twenty-five miles, where they empty their water into Tule [Tulare] Lake.

Allow me here to digress for a few moments from the tenor of these sketches, and you who admire the beauties of nature, untouched by the hands of man, accompany me to the top of the conical hill[138] that rises its head near the mountain -- far above the rest that surround it-and there view the fancy pencillings of the finger of the unseen Hand that formed from chaos this the most lovely spot in California.--Now from its top we see around us a hundred conical hills rising from the plain, smooth and diagrammatically shaped, as if done by the chisel of the artist. Here, too, the Sierra Nevada rises abruptly from the plains -- its wall-like, rugged sides running almost perpen-

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[137] Carson, Life in California, 64-66.

[138] Probably the hill called dai'a'pmus (Local Map B, no. 32) by the Wukchumni and regarded by them as their "home spot" or traditional primordial locale. -- A.H.G.

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

101 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefi-
131 nite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 58] WuKchumni

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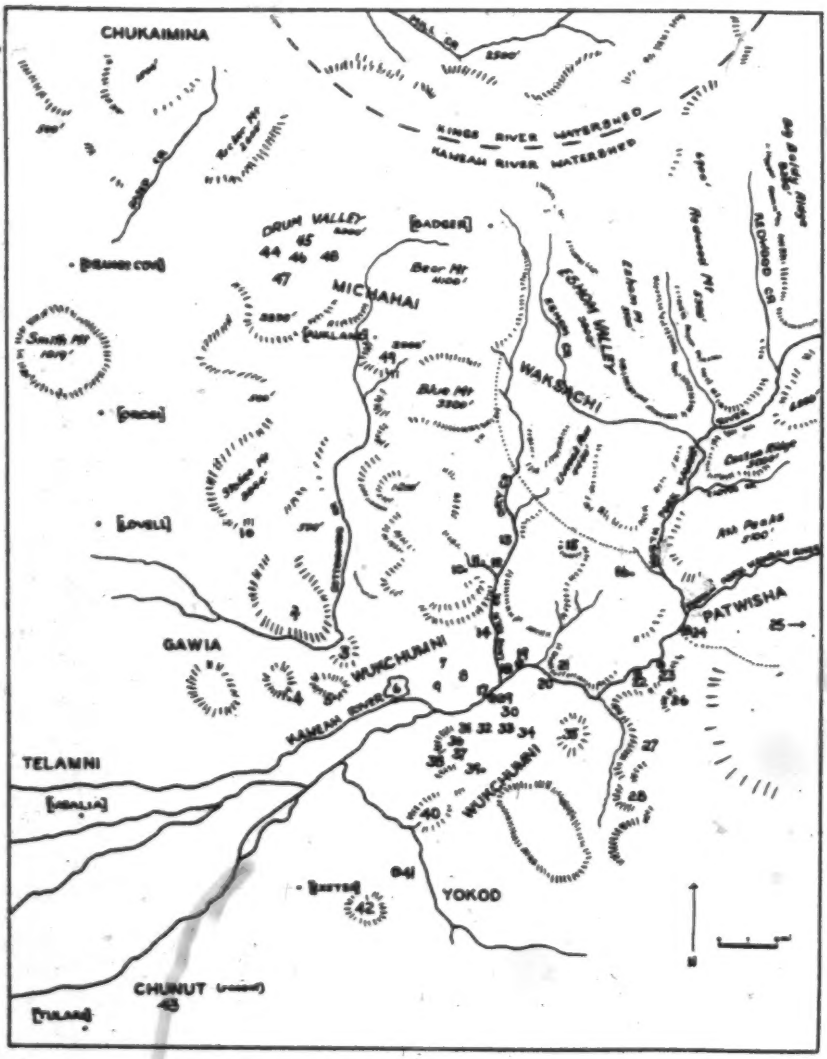

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

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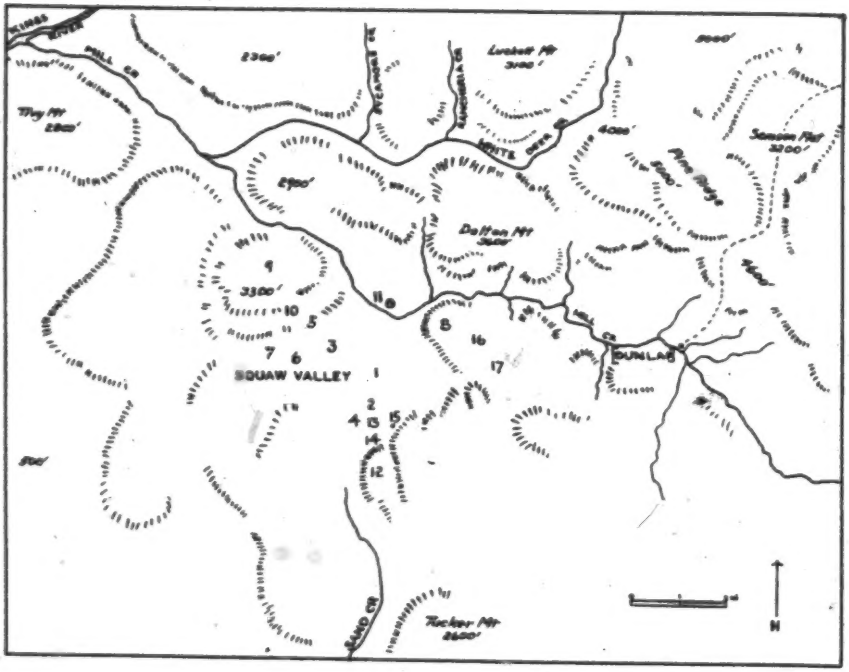

Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 144] Western Mono NS25

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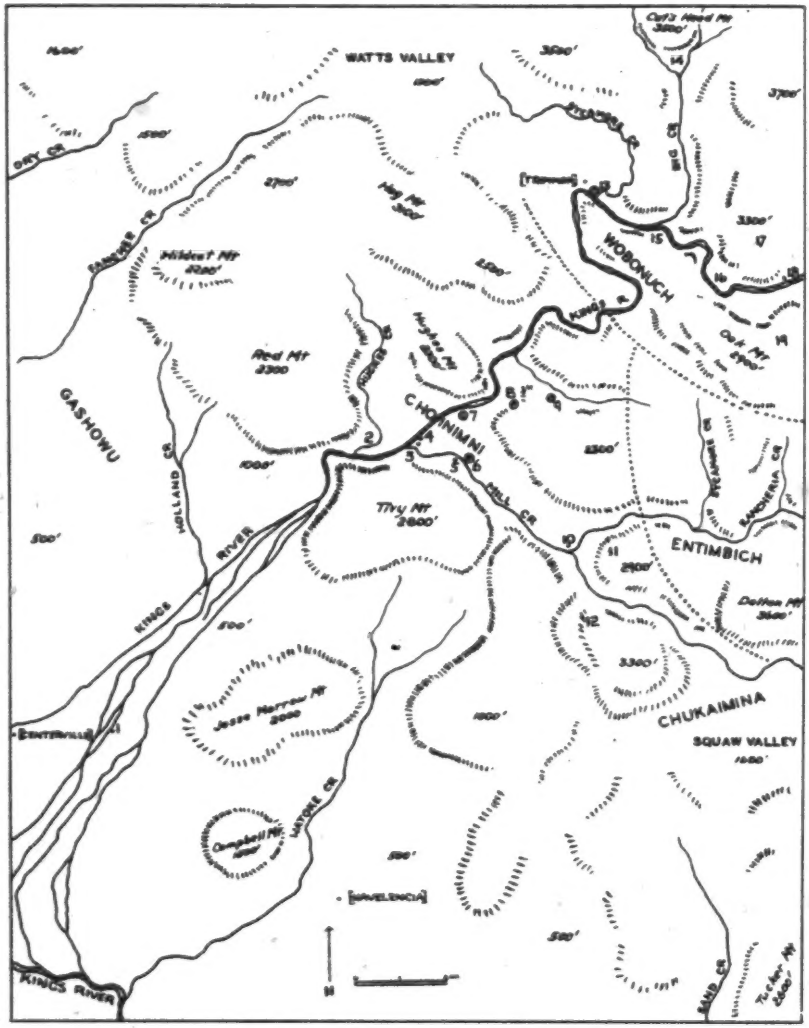

Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

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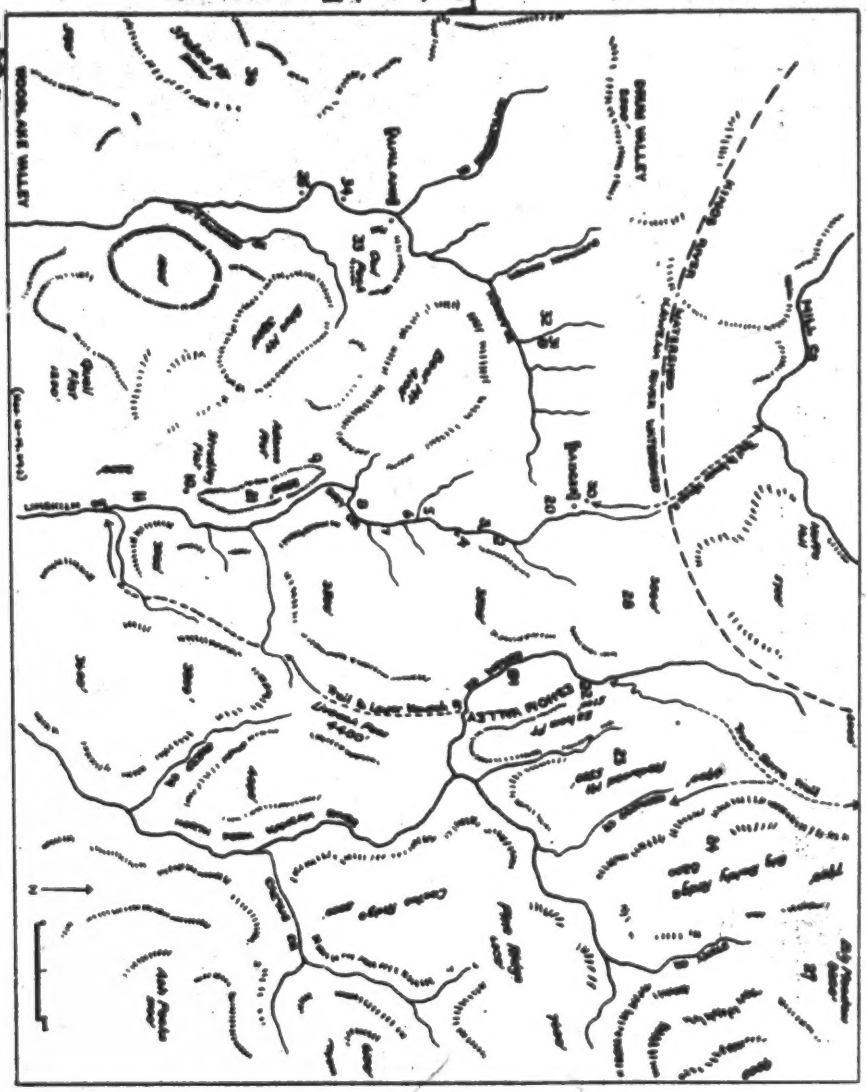
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 212] Western Mono NS25



Map 3. Local Map E: Wukusachi Territory

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22. na´´an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´´owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata·wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´´iu: Badger
31. kiču´´u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´´: Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´"wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa"wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´´owets), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable 101 131 133 [132]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation [101] Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 22] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ¾; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1¼; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the lightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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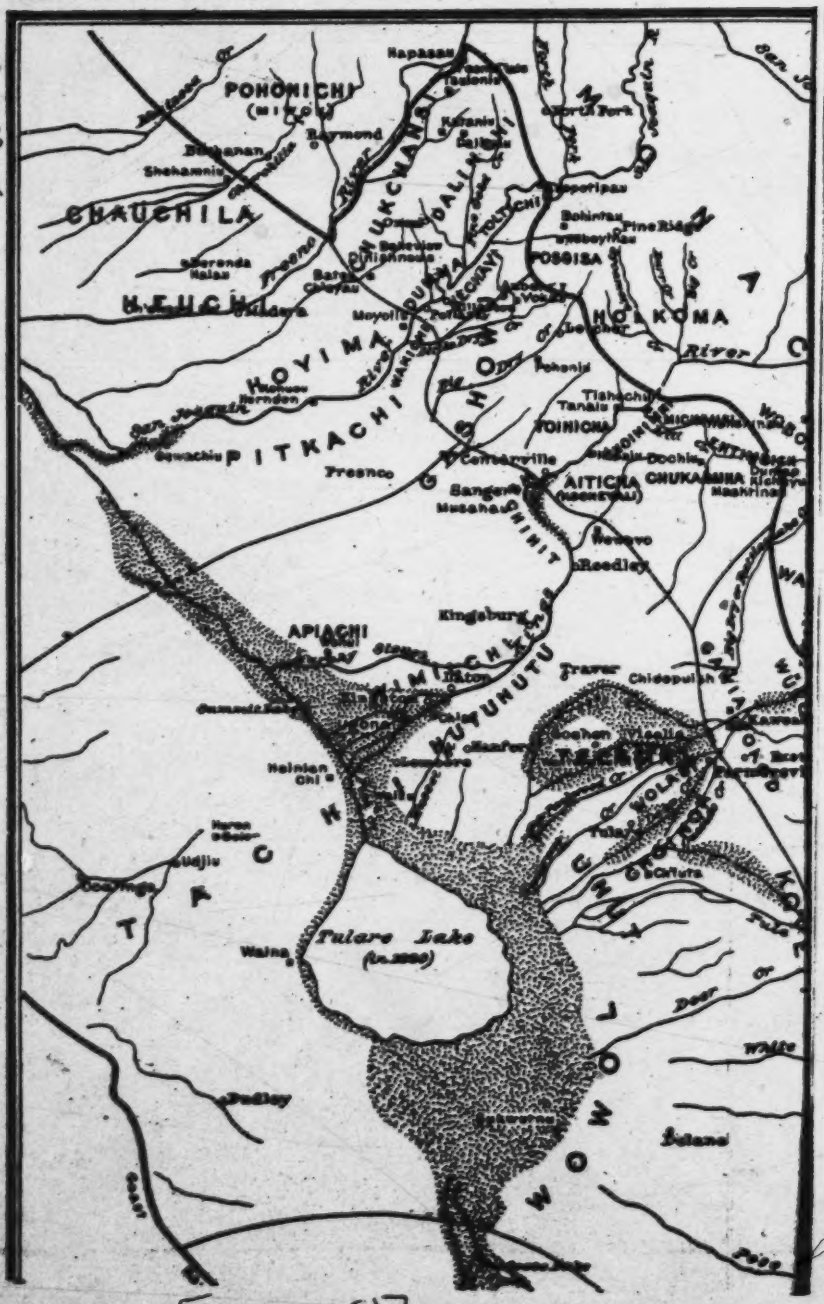
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POSOISA
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WUKUNUTU
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Fresno
Reedley
Kingsburg
Visalia
Tulare
Waiva
Dudley
Hanford
Lemoore
Corcoran
Kaweah
Exeter
Lindsay
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Woodlake
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Visalia
Cutler
Orosi
Delano
Wasco
Shafter
Bakersfield
Taft
Maricopa
Fresno
Madera
Chowchilla
Merced
Atwater
Livingston
Gustine
Los Banos
Dos Palos
Firebaugh
Mendota
Coalinga
Avenal
Lemoore
Hanford
Corcoran
Kaweah
Exeter
Lindsay
Porterville
Woodlake
Farmersville
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Dos Palos
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Dudley
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Porterville
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Kaweah
Corcoran
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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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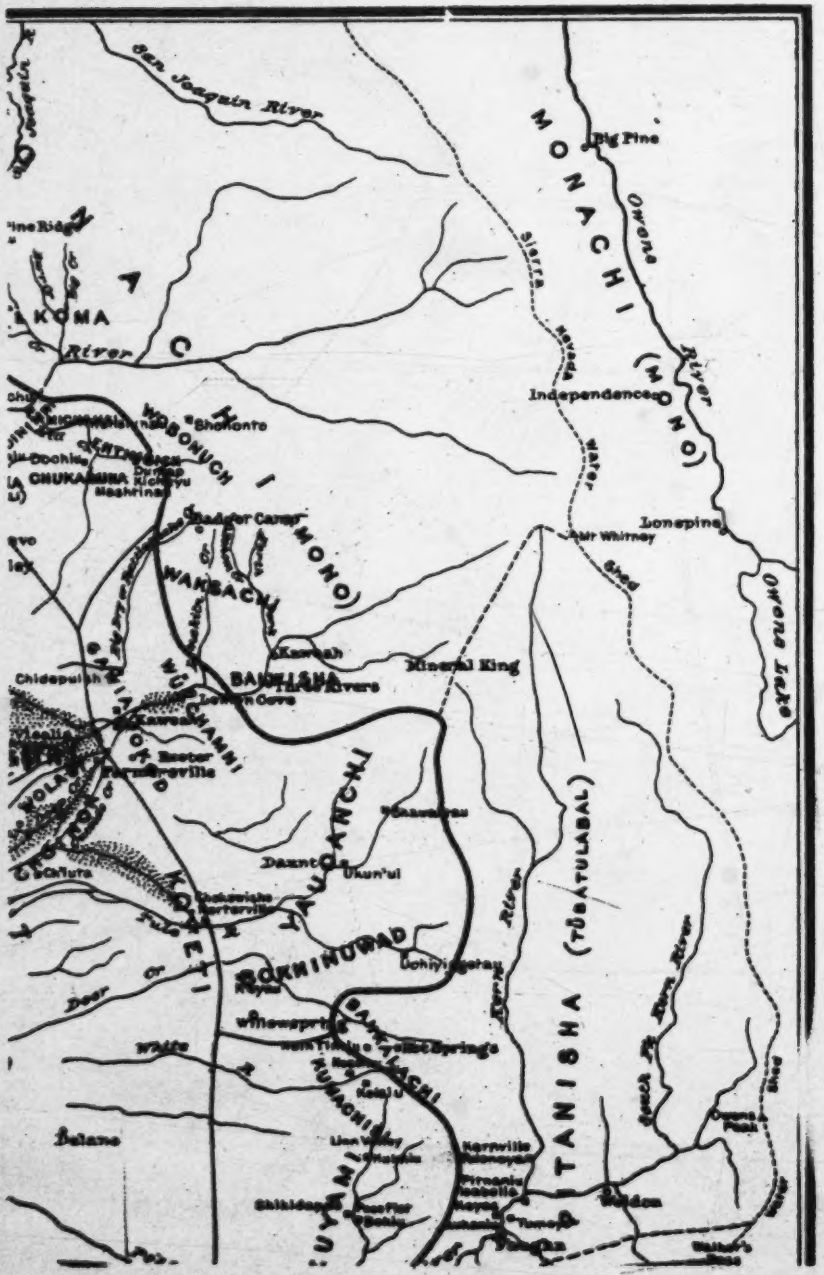

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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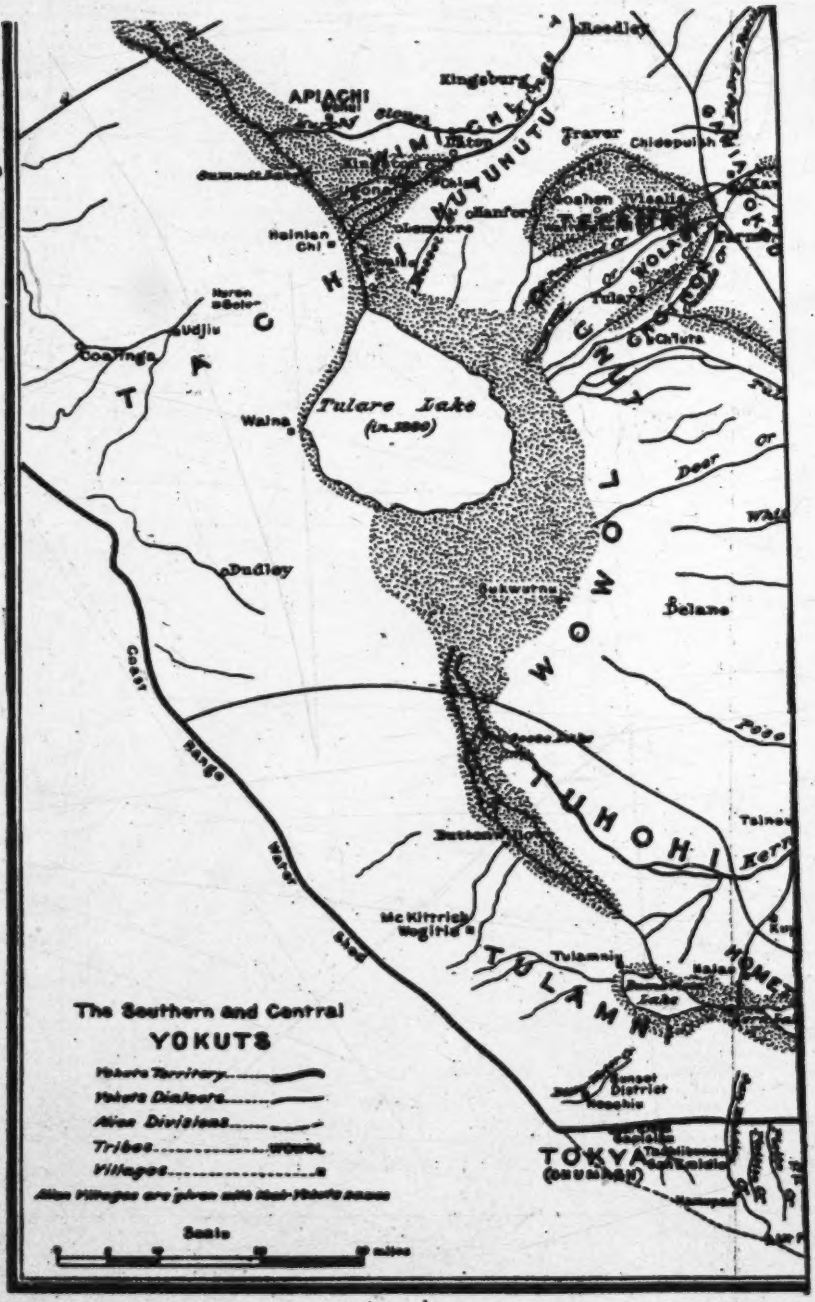

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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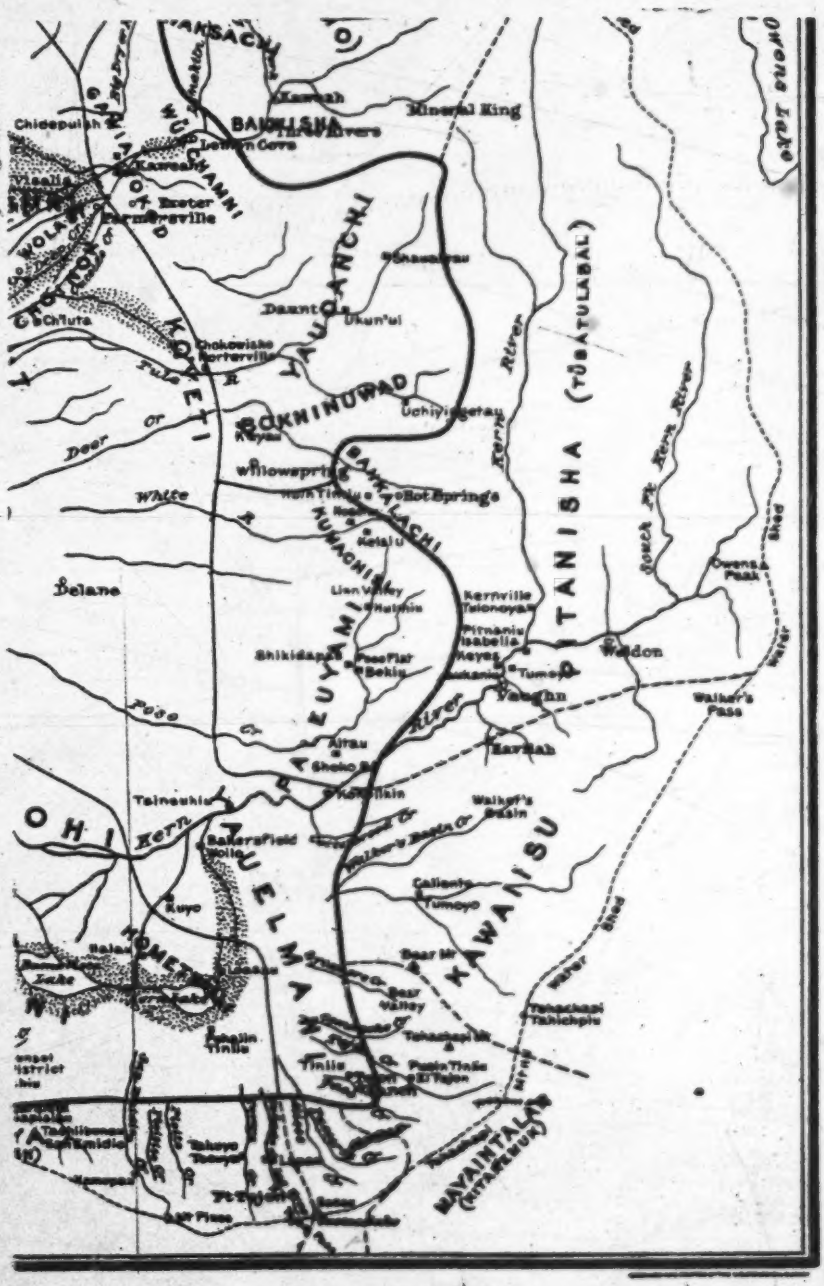
Chicopuish
Mineral King
Lemon Cove
Farmersville
Dunt
Ukun'ul
Chokowisha
Porterville
Tule R
Deer Cr
White R
Willowspring
Hot Springs
Kelalu
Belana
Lion Valley
Kernville
Weldon
Shikidapa
Pose Flat
Bakis
Vaughn
Walker's Pass
Alisal
Sheep R
Kaweah
Tainoshia
Bakersfield
Walker's Basin
Callenia
Tumoyo
Ruyo
Bear Mt
Bear Valley
Tehachapi
Tehachapi Mt
Tinlin
Tinlin Cr
Pastor Tinlin
El Tejon
Tehachapi Cr
Kern River
Kern R
Owens Peak
Owens R
Owens Lake
Shed
Water
Tule R
Kern R
Kern Cr
Pose Cr
Kern Lake
Buena Vista Lake
Tulare Lake
Kaweah R
Kaweah
Mineral King
Lemon Cove
Farmersville
Dunt
Ukun'ul
Chokowisha
Porterville

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 177 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

172 The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re- 361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [491]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the 285
lake houses.

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of 342
the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright.

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles 501
of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward [354]
end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time.

To understand the reason for this difference between the 133
method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved.

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent [132]
winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [28] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

361 "The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343 on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a 342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

291 "In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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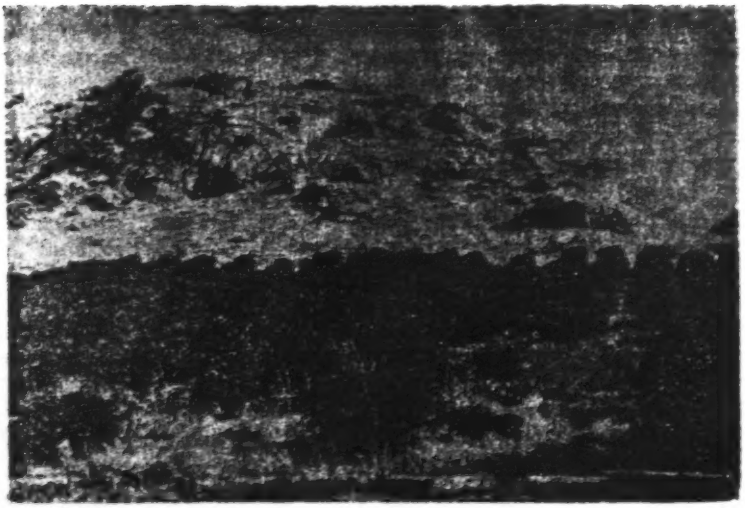
[133]



This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the **Wukchumne** called it **Ho-hu'-no.**

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs. [535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called
769 *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were
both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne.* The *Ahntru* Doctors
756 doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched
up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung
from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah [539]
(sung five times) [533]
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the
823 latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward,
[778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´´og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously
[778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a
[782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expres-
[515] sions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was
[782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayer-
[777] ful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

 [pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

*197 the foot-hills as well as on the plains.[1] Second, at the extreme south of the Yokuts territory, two similar and much specialized Foot-hill dialects were spoken about Buena Vista and Kern lakes. While these lakes are in the great Tulare plain, and the tribes inhabiting their shores were separated from the other tribes of the [133] Foot-hill division by the Valley tribes on Kern river and Tulare lake, yet the two lakes are comparatively close to the mountains that shut off the Tulare basin on the south; and, as these mountains, while forming part of the Coast Range, are also connected with the southern Sierra Nevada into one long continuous system swung about in a semi-circle, the habitat of this isolated lake group is not so diverse from that of the remainder of the Foot-hill division as at first appears.

*197 133 In connection with the sharp differentiation of dialects spoken in the valley and in the foot-hills, it is to be observed that almost throughout the Yokuts territory, at least from the San Joaquin southward, the distinction is equally sharp topographically. The foot-hills end abruptly, in some cases quite boldly, at the edge of the plain, and a few yards, sometimes a single step, bring one clearly from one zone into the other. North of the San Joaquin river the physiography is usually quite different, as the foot-hills slope almost imperceptibly into the valley in a long peneplain. This is the character of the country among the northern Yokuts tribes that live in the foot-hills but speak Valley dialects. It is also the character of the country among the Miwok, the stock adjoining the Yokuts on the north, and it appears that in this family, although its range is much higher into the mountains than that of the Yokuts, there is no such marked division into Foot-hill and Valley dialects as exists in the latter.

VALLEY DIVISION.

*197 101 The Valley division consists of two groups, a northern, and a principal one occupying most of the valley proper.

[1] The Northern group of dialects, while showing some unity and a number of stems peculiar to itself, appears to have consisted of two sub-groups, one comprising the tribes living in the plains, the other those in the hills. The dialects of the plains sub-group were the nearer to those of the southern Valley tribes. Thus even in this Northern group, which on the whole belongs distinctively to the Valley division, the distinction between Valley and Foot-hill dialects is to some degree maintained.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

● 133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

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[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Wednesday, 20.—Left the hole at daybreak and reached Mission San Miguel at 10 A.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from the poza 7 leagues]. At 1 P.M. Corporal Sebastian Rodriquez arrived, who brought from Mission San Antonio the 30 blankets, and 25 pairs of shoes which were divided among the sergeant, 3 corporals, and 26 soldiers who composed the troop. OOO

Reviewed the soldiers at arms, the munitions, and mounts, and in the afternoon rationed biscuits, dried meat, and pinole for 30 days.

Thursday, 21.—After having celebrated mass for a "Godspeed," which we all heard [by] the R. P. Fr. Juan Martin, titular minister of the Mission San Miguel the Archangel, I left with the troop and 30 Indians from this mission, and 11 from San Antonio, as aids. I took the route to the east, and arrived to sleep at a place called Agua Dulce, at a distance of 7½ leagues to the east.

Friday, 22.—At 5:30 A.M. started toward the east; at 8 went due east, and at 4 P.M. reached the place called Los Alisos Ultimos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Ultimos Alamos], distant from Agua Dulce 15 leagues. The land is in hillocks, without pasture for the herd of horses, and the water a bit salty.

Saturday, 23.—The assisting Indians sent me notice that the two sloughs that there are before reaching the Rancheria of Bubal [Wowol] would be found full of water and very miry. Because of this I sent the sergeant with two soldiers and Indians on foot to investigate them, and to look for a ford, and [if] they found none to construct balsas without being noticed by the natives. I ordered one of them to return and give us information, in order for the troop to go on. [133]

Reviewed arms and munitions, and finding the swords of the soldiers Juan Martines, Salvador Espinosa, and Santos Escamillo a bit hacked, and the reserve cartridges of Juan Amezquita in bad condition, I immediately admonished them to put them to good use, and to put them in condition.

At 4 P.M. I received information from the sergeant: that failing to find a crossing they were making balsas. After breaking camp and journeying 4 leagues to the east, I arrived at the summit of the last hill before entering the great plain of the tulares. The view from south to north is beautiful, for its end can not be seen, with its lakes, swamps, and groves of trees. And from east to west, I calculate its width, from this hill to the foot of the snowy range of mountains called Sierra Nevada, to be 28 to 30 leagues. We continued traveling eastward until 10 at night, when we reached the first slough. /33

This was crossed on balsas, the horses swimming, and with considerable trouble because of its stickiness and obstructions. Since it would be necessary to cross another like it in the vicinity of the Rancheria of Bubal, I dispatched four confidants ahead to sound out the situation, and to obtain some balsas which they told me the natives had. Continued traveling toward it. [Copy of Nov. 19: Followed it to the east and north until 1 A.M.] OOO

Sunday, 24.—At 1 A.M. one of those spies I had sent to reconnoiter returned with the news that no balsas had been found, and that the natives had broken camp and withdrawn. I reached the slough at 3 A.M. to find it full as I had been told. Balsas were constructed and the troop passed. I noted the location

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [62] at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162 it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed 797 and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this [162 ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, 62] Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij- [36 nocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small 162]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797 648 [361 162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 262 [497] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[435] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
648 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we
[133] got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [33]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

[797] tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of
648 Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great
[622] captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once
[201] put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the
[162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept
[133] [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people. 648 797

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain. [133]

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under?] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there. [143]

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[128] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
#161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once supported uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

[133]

TULARE LAKE BASIN 6.500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

131 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below
*161 the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod, the largest group being the Wukchamni.

[101]

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 500 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendra segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eagues with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eagues and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 2,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

*161 with respect to the Hoyima, these villages should have contained 2,500 persons. This figure is quite reasonable if we grant that the horses were to be consumed by the entire group of villages, rather than only one or two of them, and may be provisionally accepted.

On the basis of the records presented, a probable population value for the valley floor between the Merced and the Kings rivers in the decade 1810-1820 was 5,100. But this may well be an underestimate and be representative of the aboriginal population. Evidence pointing in this direction is the almost complete obliteration of these tribes before 1850. That very serious attrition was going on among these exposed people is evident from the records of all the explorers. The massacre and kidnaping described by Pico is itself significant. In addition, we have the discussion by Estudillo in 1819, who found almost the entire surviving population of Tape sick and dying. He also points out that at the moment there were no less than four expeditions, including his own, ranging up and down the open valley, bent upon destruction. To explore the problem further indirect methods must be employed. We may therefore turn to estimates based upon stream distances.

If minor local variation is disregarded, the habitat provided by the Merced and the Kings rivers from the lower foothills out to the center of the valley is in no essential respect different from that characterizing the Mariposa, the Chowchilla, the Fresno, and the San Joaquin throughout its length below the foothills. The native villages were spaced more or less uniformly [361] along the larger rivers. Hence an approximate proportionality should have existed between riverbank distance and the number of inhabitants. No high degree of precision can be expected from calculations based upon these premises but the method yielded rational results for the period centering around 1850 and from it the correct order of magnitude should be obtainable.

Airline distances are used for the rivers. The general course of all the streams is substantially straight and the [133] numerous small meanders are uniform in size and occurrence throughout the area. Three river sectors are used as a basis: the lower Merced River, the middle Kings River from and including Mill Creek to Kingsburg plus the principal tributaries, and the lower Kings from Kingsburg to Lemoore. The data are compiled briefly as follows in tabular form.

River Sector	Miles in Length	Population	Persons per River Mile
Lower Merced...	32	1,750	55
Middle Kings....	75	5,000	67
Lower Kings	20	1,500	75

Despite the uneven nature of the basic information these figures show considerable internal consistency. The mileage of the San Joaquin, Fresno, Chowchilla, and Mariposa amounts collectively to approximately 190 miles (the four streams west of Kroeber's line of the valley Yokuts and down the San Joaquin as far as the mouth of Bear Creek). At 65 persons per mile (the approximate mean of the three values cited above) the population would be 12,350, or, let us say an even 12,000. This is more than double the number indicated directly by the Spanish accounts. It has been pointed out, however, that these accounts are incomplete with respect to the villages seen and recorded. Furthermore the records demonstrate a condition of severe disorganization on the part of the native society. Hence the indirectly

[p. 75]

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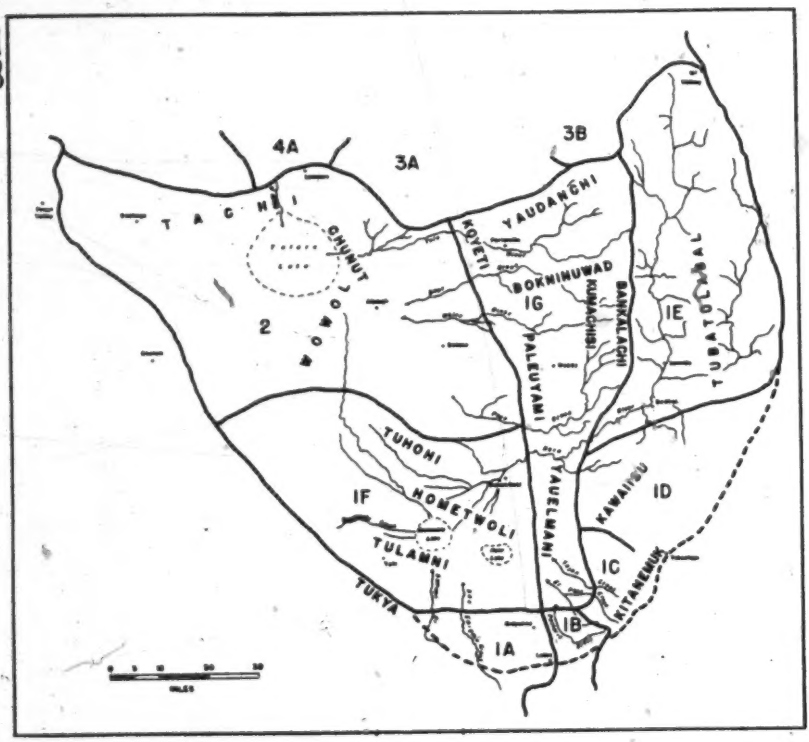

Map 2. Habitat areas 1A-2: the southern Yokuts and peripheral tribes.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25

[P.76]

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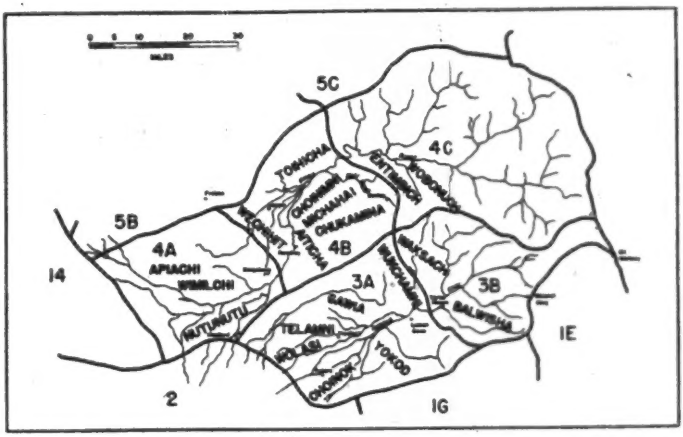
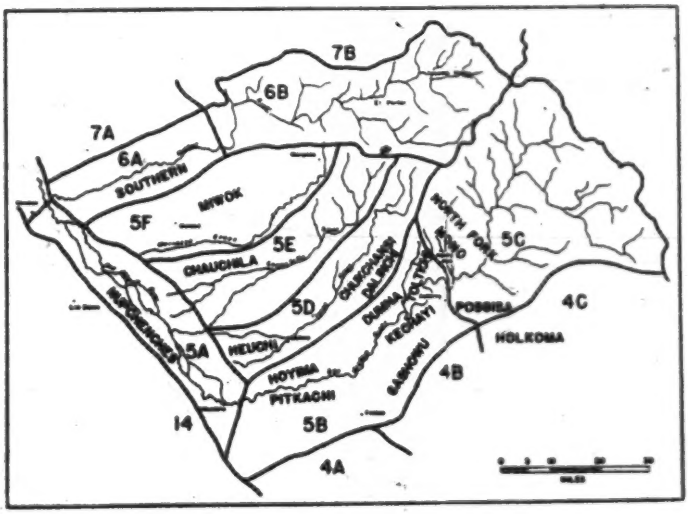


Map 3. Habitat areas 3A-4C: the basins of the Kaweah and Kings rivers, including the Yokuts and part of the Mono.



Map 4. Habitat areas 5A-6B: the Yokuts, part of the Mono, and the Southern Miwok.

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16
[P. 77]

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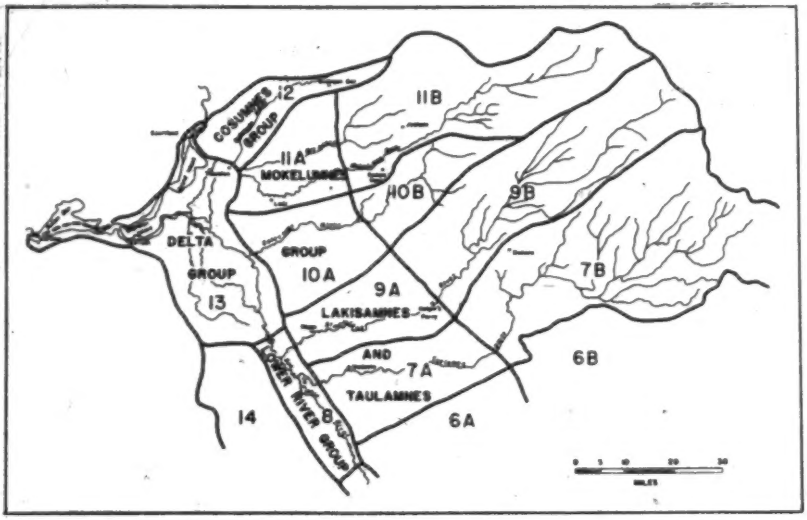

Map 5. Habitat areas 7A-14: the Northern Yokuts, Central and Northern Miwok.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

[p.78]
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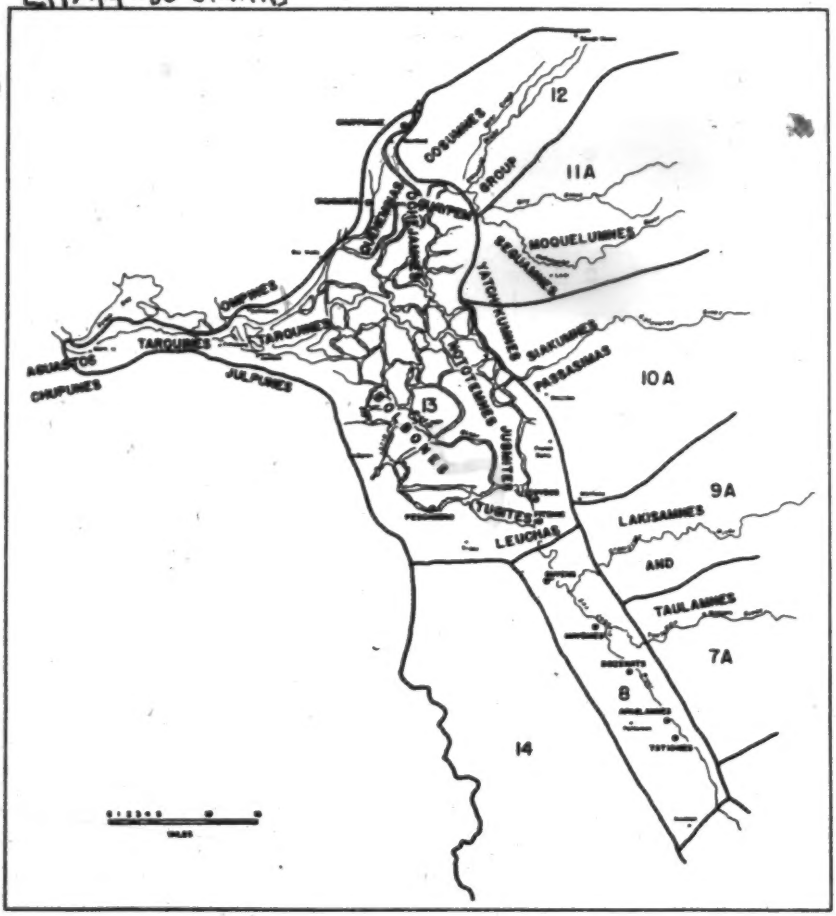

Map 6. The Lower San Joaquin River and Delta areas (particularly areas 8 and 13).

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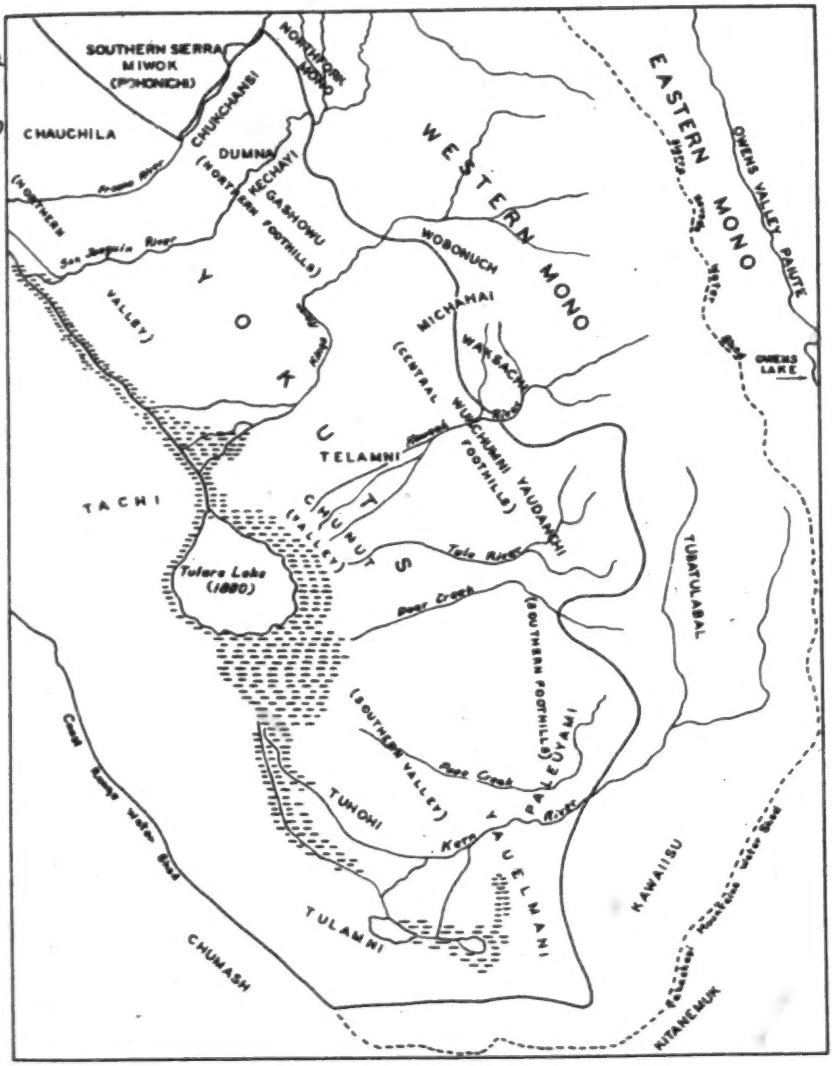

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]

133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small [136] animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I dannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

[12] Ibid., 285.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[35]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering. [312 311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] .. our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[36]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his [16] 36] [648 181]

[35] Ibid., 257.

[36] Ibid., 258-260.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46]
323 Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757] little dishes (ṭipe´kɨl ki´wɨs). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

No detailed description of basketmaking
285 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and
438 Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of
285 California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

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[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations [127] made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135 I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302] for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[824] to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

A few Yowlumne traders traveled to what is now Inyo County to trade for mineral salt, and for obsidian, the volcanic glass used in making arrow and spear points. They also traveled to the West Side to trade for asphaltum from the deposits near present Maricopa and McKittrick. Some venturesome traders traveled to the coast near Moro Bay to trade for abalone, Pismo clam, keyhole limpet, and periwinkle shells, from which some of their ornaments and money were made. 487 439

Many kinds of herbs, roots and seeds in addition to saltweed ashes and salt from salt grass, were traded, but to a limited extent, because the growth of most herbs and roots was wide-spread in the San Joaquin Valley. Dried wild blackberries were traded to the people who lived on the plains and lake shores away from the rivers, where those berries grew in abundance. [251]

Yowlumne traders traveled as far north as *Yokohl* Valley, northeast of present Lindsay, to trade for steatite, or soapstone, from which were made their cooking vessels and one variety of bead money. Chalcedony, jasper, agate, and any other stone which was easily chipped into arrow points was also valued very highly. Rare curios or oddities of any kind had a high trade value. Quartz crystals, star-fish, sea urchins, cowrie shells, the canine teeth of grizzly bears, and any other uncommon objects, were certain of a ready market by trade. [135]

To fully explain Yokuts trading and trade routes would require more space than is available for this entire article. But it is necessary to know at least something of this practice, which, because of the low mountain passes to both east and west, was probably more extensive among the Yowlumne than it was among most other Yokuts tribes.

According to old Yowlumne Indians, elk, deer and antelope skins, steatite and the salt from native salt grass were the local key articles of trade. They were scarce in much of the desert territory east of the Sierra.

Yowlumne traders would gather a pack of tanned skins, purchasing them with Yokuts money, and carry them to the desert, where there were deposits of obsidian, or volcanic glass. As there existed a set standard of values between deer skins and obsidian, it required only a short period of visiting, news exchange, and bartering before the Yowlumne trader was ready to return to his home on Kern River.

133 gone eight miles he crossed Gopher Creek, which probably dried during the summer, and after having gone a total of thirty-four miles he camped on Cottonwood Creek which he said was a constant stream. This took him through a no-man's-land unclaimed, so far as we know, by any Yokuts tribe.

[134] The soil was not only of the most wretched description, dry, powdery and decomposed, but was everywhere burrowed by gophers, and a small [136] animal resembling a common house rat... of a whitish grey color, short round body, and a very strong bony head. These animals are innumerable, though what they subsist upon I cannot conceive, for there is little or no vegetation. Their holes and burrows, into which a horse sinks to his knees at almost every step, render the travelling difficult and dangerous. The low hills south of Gopher Creek extend about eight miles into the plain, their summit being about on the same level as the plain between that stream and Moore's [Deer] Creek, and are singularly intersected by valleys running nearly south and north, which are crossed by other numerous small valleys running nearly east and west, thus dividing the whole of this portion of the valley into blocks of hills about a quarter of a mile square, and from one hundred to three hundred feet in height.[12]

Continuing southward on the 9th, Derby passed through country we believe belonged to the Tuhohi. He went thirteen miles along the north branch of the Kern River.

...a very broad deep stream with a current of six miles an hour, which, rising high up in the Sierra Nevada, discharges itself by two mouths into Buena Vista lake near its northern extremity. Three large sloughs also make out from the river near its mouth and from an extensive swamp in the plain upon the north bank of the lake. We found the river impassable with animals.

On the 10th, having got across Kern River, he reached Buena Vista Lake in Hometwali territory.

Buena Vista lake is a sheet of water about ten miles in length and from four to six miles in width; it lies about eight miles from the head of the valley formed by the junction of the ridges of the Coast Range and Sierra Nevada. Like other bodies of water in the valley it is nearly surrounded with tulé, and upon its north and east banks there is found a heavy growth of willows. A slough, some sixty miles in length, connects it with the swamp and bodies of standing water in the bed of Ton Taché, and through them with the great northern lake. The surrounding land is sterile and unproductive when not an absolute swamp, with the exception of

[12] Ibid., 255.

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its
central waterway was barren ground little used
[224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the
east was the fertile land watered by snows of
311] the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent
roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land
spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great
valley was not overpopulated and seed and game
were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food
are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about
the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had
22 a very different environment from those of the
tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the
food quest a problem. Nothing could be more
misleading than labeling the people of the San
Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes,
the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of
the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-
eaters," as though their diet were preponder-
antly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake
region, supplemented by ground squirrels,
● 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains.
In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel,
quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the common-
est meats. Early travelers, Spanish and Ameri-
can, testify in open amazement to the plentiful
supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns
[262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less im-
portant than meat, but they were not more im-
portant in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was en-
joined at all times of religious or spiritual
stress was not thought of as a personal sacri-
ficial abstention because of the preciousness
of meat: rather, meat and grease were sub-
stantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and
were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in
order to attain that peculiar exalted physical
condition brought about by fast or by the
mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco
and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vege-
table, did not constitute one of the hardships
of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Tokohl Valley (Tokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

301 221 were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it [171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 825 The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´l:ts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´n:ts; from towo´´e, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust [262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" [237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill 844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

136 825 of the dead. The following birds were named without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hehe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo´heno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m:k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h:l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet [184 262] (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on [262] coals, a dish called tap:´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´:n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tatahe ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat:k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t:l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n:ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´:ts ken:ts).[*]

The tarantula (tu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k:´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

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[192 828] [*]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´´:ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´:ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta´taita´tai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t'ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

136 Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
825 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and
773 another one "with colors on it" were known in the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma t'´pni; wile´li t'´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ti´y nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands."[*]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol'lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alata´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alatana right under my knees. He said, "That's alatana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'stawat. The bullfrog was called o'oi´'ts by the Tachi, but wipel'ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[*] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbɔ´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with
823] supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

[56] A Palliganoosp whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pohoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.--Pages speaks at length of the animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo ʼhɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʼtɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[136] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʼta pŏ ʼdta ma ṭupɛ ʼnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʼpɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[281] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
inside out as it was worked off and the antlers
281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut
under the throat was sewed up and the head and
neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head
rested on the man's head, the skin hanging
down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that
the hunter looked out through the eye-holes,
with the skin tied under his chin, does not
sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the
weapons pushed the skin up at the back making
a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
on two short sticks to assist the four-legged
224 pose as he walked. These he cracked together
to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a
man could approach within twenty feet of
grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to
the silent arrow shot, others ran up to in-
vestigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive,
two to scare up the deer and one to kill by
waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons.
[276] J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and
lime and to vomit the night before hunting.
They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel,
and departed in the morning. The only tabu was
on saying where one was going, "if you told,
you would never see any deer." Neither has he
heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or
claims on special places since game was so
plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else
went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to
get deer, but a hunter would often take another
man along to help him, and this man received
some meat in return. S.G. believes that every-
[262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like
bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar
flesh although many people did.

● 136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: ʎo ʻkoi, elk,
wandered east of the swamps in the valley;
soi ʻyɔd, a goat with straight horns, belongs
in the valley, seen near the foothills at
Hadi ʻdɜt; duwe ʻsɜp, mountain sheep, had curved
horns and belonged in the mountains; wɔ ʻkno,
antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially
in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and
hoi, deer.

224 <u>Bear hunting</u>.--Bears were not ordinarily
shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as
game. The meat was not eaten by many people,
and the animal was held in considerable awe.
When deliberately sought to be killed, the
creature was roused during hibernation, forced
to run out into the open, and shot from ambush.
The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by
members of the Bear lineage, certain members of
which would use these parts in the Bear Dance.
As an illustration of the hunting method and
its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po ˆhot), tree squirrels (sa ˜ñsañwide ´´·t), gophers (hu ˜ñhed) and chipmunk (aho ´´ŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
262 salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by
[263] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times
[412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to
accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens.
However, all agreed that deer meat was more
often roasted than boiled, and that this was
done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia.
M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a [illegible] fish with a short head, a large dors[illegible] and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small [illegible]sh (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowta[illegible] (a[illegible]du´du); a small fish with lateral fins th[illegible] looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´tu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were
the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock
salt which was in strong solution or pulverized.
The strips of flesh were hung over tree
branches where they were not in too hot sun,
and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
323 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests
were watched at sundown; often three or four
were located near each other when the returning

[187]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

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131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[514] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

283 Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts
286 were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under
[136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (č'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107]Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108]The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Mukehumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

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lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.--B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu·huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´a´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čk:t: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´bük: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik: digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wihutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´ara: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či"au´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´čo´čč: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

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čuču ´'ai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini ´ba: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu´mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču'i´na: Oregon junco
muči'uoi´na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti´t:š: Audubon warbler?
so'o´wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho´mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či´p:t: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi'oi´'ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara´rapa: kingfisher
šo´'šo': little green heron
wa´k:ts: blue crane
ko´d:to: sand-hill crane
ka´hi: grouse
kura´vi: duck (kind?)
la´la: geese
huihui´mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai´ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü·´y:m: fly
čokoi´'ica: wasp
pe·´na: yellow jacket
hu´biwa: bumble bee
naraposta´pe´na: hornet
ta´beko'ot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu´ñ:p: tarantula
mu´ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu´lu: brown lizard
kumče´ča: black lizard
wasu´'i: a large "brush" lizard
musi´gi: rattlesnake
paso´go: water snake
kolo´lki: King snake
o·´koko: bullfrog
kuai´aki: a small frog
a·natza´na: water dog
ta´l:m: speckled trout
e´bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po´lhoi: sucker
aiya´go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai´h:t: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta´k:ts: minnows
a´ñya: turtle

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Trees and shrubs:
pohue´dop*: valley oak
ya´kap*: post oak
wi´'up*: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša´ba: live oak
tikai´ya: acorns of all oak species
a´psoab*: manzanita
to´nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no´jib¹: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso´poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo´haba: "Jack" pine
pane´wan:p: sugar pine
pone´diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu·´bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

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133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water
[262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ-
[285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used
[28] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about
136 the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the
137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were
361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules
[343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a
342 sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves
291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall
281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

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101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
[361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[6 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

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The writer has seen arrow and spear points made in this manner. In less than four minutes of measured time a flake was removed from a large piece of obsidian and reduced to a finely worked point. During this time complete explanation was made of the entire process. 324

I know that this method will be questioned by many laymen, but not by persons who have investigated these methods of manufacture. A popular bit of misinformation will always survive. I have a very distinct recollection of searching through a vineyard for arrow points and Indians beads and of collecting a mixed handful of them only to be told by one of the natives (white) that they were not beads or arrow points, but were pumped from the irrigation well and that they could be found in all parts of the field.

THE ANTELOPE SURROUND

One of the most interesting methods of taking game, common to the Yokuts Indians, is that of the "surround" or "drive". In some cases, as in taking jack rabbits, a net and Indian fence were used. 224

Probably the largest game taken by driving was antelope. Before the coming of the Americans the San Joaquin Valley was covered with vast herds of these animals. If the descriptions of early travelers and settlers are to be credited, there were probably hundreds of thousands of these animals within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. They ran in herds and covered the surrounding country like a moving tan blanket. 136 224

The pronghorned antelope of the San Joaquin Valley is undoubtedly extinct. In the northern portion of California there is a wild game preserve upon which have been placed what are said to be some Great Plains antelope. They are also said to be the same as were those of the San Joaquin Valley.

The horns of the antelope were not shed like the antlers of the deer. Both male and female carried horns. These horns were about ten to twelve inches in height and stood almost erect. The tops curved sharply together in the shape of large question marks. Near the base of each horn was a small webbed point, or eye guard. The base of the horn was rough, but the tip was smooth, like the horn of a cow.

Antelope were probably possessed of more curiosity than any animal with which we are familiar, unless it is the more or less domesticated mule. It was this curiosity which made the

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136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

101 The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

224 The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

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501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

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226
"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano 136
about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was 225
captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco 439
market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus.

SPEARING FISH

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and 227
arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear?

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

227 shorter, and blunt on the end. It was lashed opposite the first, making the two projecting pieces about an inch apart.

"On the blunt end of the second piece was fitted by means of a socket a short, sharp piece of bone or hardwood. It was attached to the pole by means of string through a hole near the middle.

"This string had several inches of slack in it. When the fish was speared, the unjointed tip would pull out, and the socketed tip would be disengaged and turned crossways inside of the fish.

"The fish was then attached to the end of the pole with a short piece of string and could be hauled in without any danger of breaking the gig with its struggling.

"I believe that the unjointed point was necessary in order to keep the other point from slipping off the fish.

"In using the gig they built a sort of scaffolding over the water. A deep place in the stream was selected and two long poles set on end ten or fifteen feet from the bank.

"These poles were about ten feet apart at the bottom and crossed at the top about level with the bank. Where they crossed they were lashed together.

"Then the ends of two more long poles would be placed in the crotch above where the first two poles crossed, with the other ends resting on the bank about ten feet apart.

"This formed two V shaped arrangements with the points of the V's together, the open part of one on the bed of the stream and the other on the bank.

"Across the horizontal poles were laid smaller poles and branches to make a dense shade. The fisherman lay on his stomach on top of the branches and dropped the point of the gig down through an opening in them.

"When the fish passed into the shade below, it could be seen and was promptly gigged."

226 Many of the fish obtained in this manner were known as steel heads; they were large fish resembling both the salmon
● 136 and the trout. The meat of these as well as many others, was
251 dried and smoked in large quantities. Being cured in this way, the fish could be preserved from one year to another. Along the San Joaquin river, we are assured that many tons of salmon were taken each year during the annual "run" and that the bushes and banks about the rancherias were red with drying fish.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes. [251]

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish. 159 226 136

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass salt with the dried fish. That made it good. [251] [263]

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about 361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-166 wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first 159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to 648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six 166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none [197] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared 262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco 224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tĕss*). Ke'-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. [137] In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[3]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin*, here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis*.

● 136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

[3] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records [161]
the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
[501] for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east. [439]

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12] 136 172

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products. [321] 439 [436]

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple. 105 [262]

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi- 105 184

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

000 river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Ranchería of Chanesches, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tulares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recrossed?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Ranchería Canesche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various [361] sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

●136 In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?, *mojarras*], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [*abujeros*] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

000 I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the [487] Chinesches and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Chenesches [copy of Nov. 19: Chanesches] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherías to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said ranchería, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Kiwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit)[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

● 136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to
[197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michabai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

133 that portion lying immediately at the head of the valley, and among the ridges of the surrounding hills, where are some extremely fertile and well watered spots.[13]

When returning to his encampment on Moore's (Deer) Creek he followed a course fifteen miles west of his route down.

We found it, however, of precisely the [137] same character throughout -- barren, decomposed soil, and no trace of vegetation but a few straggling artemesias, except upon the margin of the creeks. Gopher creek we found entirely dry, at the point of crossing, its shallow stream sinking in the sandy soil some eight or ten miles above.

On May 13, Derby reached Tule River at a point which was 7.16 miles from Moore's (Deer) Creek -- probably close to the present site of Porterville. Here, Derby reported, the Tule River was 150 feet wide and he had to use wagon floats to get his party across. This was in Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory.

133 The country much improved in aspect from the time of leaving Moore's [Deer] creek, and 137 upon Tule river, and during our march upon the 14th, we passed over rich tracts of arable land, fertile with every description of grass, and covered in many places with a fine growth of heavy oak timber.[14]

133 Continuing north nineteen miles, Derby's party the next day reached the Kaweah River, at that time called the San Gabriel but renamed the Francis by Derby himself -- a name which did not persist. He was in country inhabited by the Choinuk, Wolasl, and Telamni, on the Kaweah River branches, and above them at the edge of the hills were the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchumni.

This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into Tache [Tulare] lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct branch from the Sierra, and joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake. The country, some eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful smooth level plain, covered with clover of different kinds and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oak of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

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[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., 256.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɛt tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syɛn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu, translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

● 137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hɛn tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɛn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɛn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.---A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.---Fages speaks at length of the
262 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
264 other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and
283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in
276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the
252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and put in a basket to boil. They were later
262 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or
222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mːtaki´ŝa (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´ŝta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171] [188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

[P. 155a] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chowchillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɨsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

[37]Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38]"Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

252 262 Greens.--Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.--Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.--Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.--Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 48] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137] "A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 224 a] Western Mono NS25

W
Y
262
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136

čuču ˊˊai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini ˊša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu ˊmna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču ˊi ˊna: Oregon junco
muči ˊuoi ˊna: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti ˊtːš: Audubon warbler?
so ˊo ˊwi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho ˊmona: valley quail; everyone ate
či ˊpːt: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi ˊoi ˊˊina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara ˊrapa: kingfisher
šo ˊˊšo ˊ: little green heron
wa ˊkːts: blue crane
ko ˊdːto: sand-hill crane
ka ˊhi: grouse
kura ˊvi: duck (kind?)
la ˊla: geese
huihui ˊmus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai ˊga: mudhen

Insects:
mü· ˊyːm: fly
čokoi ˊˊica: wasp
pe ˊna: yellow jacket
hu ˊbiwa: bumble bee
naraposta ˊ pe ˊna: hornet
ta ˊbeko ˊot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu ˊñːp: tarantula
mu ˊča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu ˊlu: brown lizard
kumče ˊča: black lizard
wasu ˊˊi: a large "brush" lizard
musi ˊgi: rattlesnake
paso ˊgo: water snake
kolo ˊlki: King snake
o· ˊkoko: bullfrog
kuai ˊaki: a small frog
a ˊnatza ˊna: water dog
ta ˊlːm: speckled trout
e ˊbič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po ˊlhoi: sucker
aiya ˊgo: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai ˊhːt: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta ˊkːts: minnows
a ˊnya: turtle

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Y
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Trees and shrubs:
pohue ˊdopᵃ: valley oak
ya ˊkapᵃ: post oak
wi ˊˊupᵃ: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša ˊba: live oak
tikai ˊya: acorns of all oak species
a ˊpsoabᵃ: manzanita
to ˊnap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no ˊjibᵗ: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso ˊpoip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo ˊhaba: "Jack" pine
pane ˊwanːp: sugar pine
pone ˊdiwa: nut of sugar pine
tu· ˊbap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

W
Y
137
192
262

tu·ba: piñon nut
wa·p: cedar
sana·uap: fir
o·'pa·dra: yucca ("cactus")
o·'b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b¹p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't¹p: slippery elm
napa·'ap²: alder
soho'p²: cottonwood
tanapo'nip²: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s"hu'b²: small willow
se·'nowiyap: elderberry bush

W
Y
372

Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

W
Y
264

Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

W
Y
[415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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Y
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574

The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in 344
no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again.

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of 262
tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic.

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not 137
grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate 222
coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains in- 262
habited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions.

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting 222
and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources 262
of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is 132
not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot sum- 222
mer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 69

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
Hososhud. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
619 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne
361 village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*,
823] meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it.
Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew
there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days
by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E,
MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of
acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [28] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

361 "The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a [342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

291 "In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

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"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes. [75]

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence. [164] [132]

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream. [137]

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

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302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under
[237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers
might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red,
[301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were
hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and
[301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and
302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be
291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design
[531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in
[137] the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com-
[177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p.78]

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291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

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263 The salt obtained from salt grass does not taste like common table salt. It has a sour, salty taste much like that of a dill pickle. Although it is not acceptable to the untrained palate, surviving Yokuts Indians still use it for seasoning, almost to the exclusion of all other salt.

263 The salt is not all placed in cooked material. Some of it is eaten separately. A little of it is kept in a small basket or
264 clay receptacle and occasionally a small pinch is placed in the side of the mouth. This may be done while the meal is being eaten or while housework is being carried on. Some of the salt is mixed with water and cooked. After it is reduced to a thick consistency it is formed into small cakes. As needed, small pieces of this solid salt are placed in the side of the mouth and dissolved like an all-day sucker. The Tachi wet the dry salt and form it into lumps about the size of a golf ball. The children run about the camp licking these lumps.

RIVER JUNGLE GROWTH

137 Persons who have not lived along the San Joaquin Valley rivers prior to the time when they were cleared for farming and in running cattle and sheep upon their bottom land, will scarcely believe the stories told by pioneers about the wild plant growth along those streams. As late as 1900 some of this growth still existed along the Merced River and along the nearby San Joaquin, but only enough to suggest something of its previous rank nature. This jungle consisted not only of trees, but of wild grapes, several varieties of tule and willow, wild blackberries, nettles, grasses, and many other plants too numerous to mention.

It was not until the fall of 1925 that the writer became familiar with the last remaining jungle along the Kaweah river, which he was assured had been almost destroyed at that time, but which was even then beyond the belief of many persons who had lived for years within a few miles of it.

During the spring of 1931, while searching for material to be used in constructing two California Spanish-type oxcarts, I made an exploration of the remaining jungle between Lemon Cove and Visalia. A dense portion of this area lay approximately six miles east of Visalia and near East Mineral King Highway. This territory had been burned over the previous fall and did not present one-third of the growth which had existed the year before.

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The search for large cottonwood trees, from which to make ox-cart wheels, revealed several trees approximately four feet in diameter and of great height. Surrounding these large trees were great areas of wild blackberries and wild grapevines. Some of the grapevine trunks were six inches in diameter. They reached to the very tops of the tallest trees and then hung to the ground. 137

By the latter part of September and the middle of October, the grapevines were loaded with grapes which were gathered by many nearby white and Indian residents for use in making jelly. Some areas, an acre or more in extent, were piled twenty feet or more in height with wild blackberry vines. During June, these had born a tremendous crop of berries. These were about the size of the Himalaya variety of tame blackberry and tasted much like it. In addition to the cottonwood and other trees mentioned, a variety of ash was quite common. There had also started a rather thick growth of young oaks. [222]

It would take several hours to catalog and describe the many varieties of grasses and water plants that in 1931 were growing in the tangled jungle along the banks of the main Kaweah River and its sloughs. Two or three varieties of these grasses are used by the local Indians in basket making, many of them growing to a height of eight feet or more and so thick that passage through them was made with difficulty. Great patches of nettles covered some portions. At other places wild hemp was quite thick.

Over the burned area a young growth of blackberry and grapevines gave evidence that the next year would see several more acres covered to a great height with these plants. During the succeeding fall, (1931), this last jungle area was again burned over and, with the shortage of water and the confining of what remained to the artificial channels, such growth will probably never return to this area.

The descriptions of some pioneers are easily believed by one who saw this last remnant of river jungle, which was soon gone. I have been assured by these early settlers that in some areas the oak growth was so thick that a team and wagon could not be driven between the trees, and that the branches overhead formed a closed canopy which shut out the sun entirely and offered refuge for countless numbers of birds and animals of all varieties.

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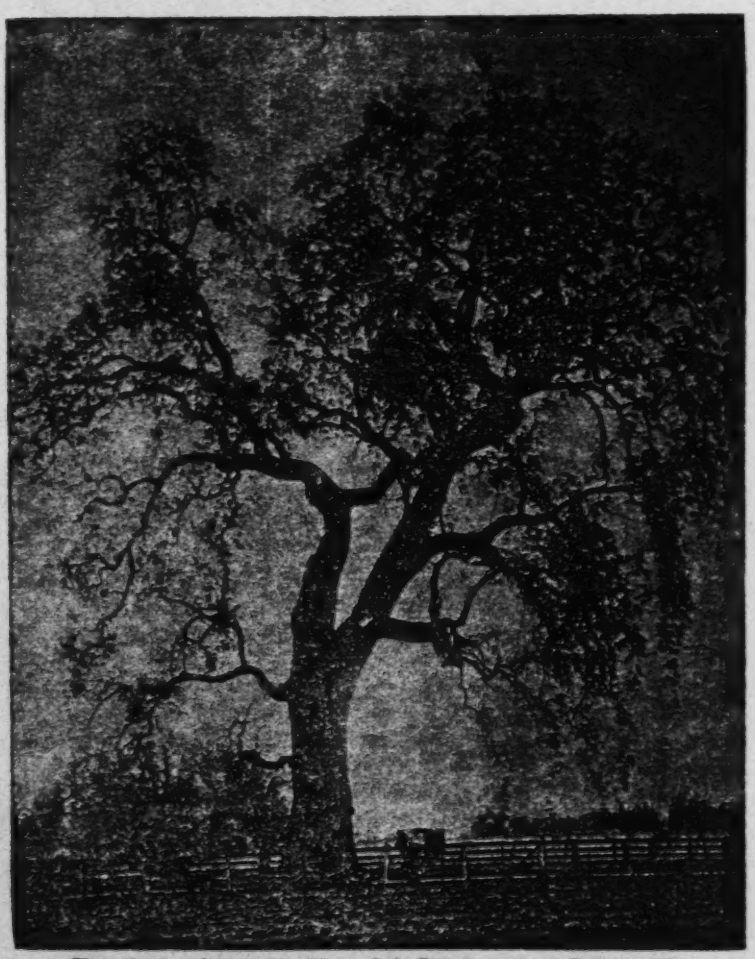

The giant oak, at the Giant Oak Ranch east of Farmersville, in 1910. It was then one hundred and seventy feet tall and forty-five feet in circumference two feet from the ground, having a diameter of fourteen feet and three inches.

With the broad, slow-moving streams, and the numerous Indians who lived along their banks, this entire territory formed the most delightful refuge in the entire San Joaquin Valley, but it can never be appreciated by one who did not see it.

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The following incident will probably impress upon the reader something of the immensity of the growth along these rivers. In the search for cottonwood timber to make the ox-carts already mentioned, a tree was cut which surpassed in size anything of its kind I have ever seen along San Joaquin streams. The tree was a cottonwood, more than five feet in diameter, and measured, as it lay upon the ground after being felled, 115 feet in height. The trunk of the tree was perfectly straight and free of all branches for twenty-four feet. 137

This is certainly remarkable for cottonwood growth, but I have been assured that many of the oak trees which were cut for rails and log houses during the '50's and '60's measured eight feet in diameter and were straight as an arrow for more than thirty feet. Some of these trees undoubtedly stood more than 170 feet in height.

Believing the Indian names for the various San Joaquin Valley landmarks and natural attractions will be of interest in connection with the sketches in which they are mentioned, an effort is being made to insert them in their proper places. As the names varied somewhat from tribe to tribe they are all taken from the Wukchumne tribe, which once occupied the little valley of Lemon Cove. 192

Following is a list of the Indian names involved in this sketch. They were thought to be too bulky for inclusion in the text of the article.

Ash—*Wah'-shick*
Basketry grass—*Chaw'-kish*
Basketry root—*Hoo'-pud*
Blackberry—*Mah'-mid*
Cottonwood tree—*Dah'-pah*
Grape—*In'-suh Naw'-tip*
Hemp—*Shock'h*
Nettles—*Tro'we*
Oak tree—*Trah'-tah*
Tule—*Suey'-yow*
Willow, black—*Shah'-dum*
Willow, button—*Ki'-one*
Willow, common—*Shock'-otch*

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BLACKBERRY JAM

262 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that black-
137 berry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild
222 blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly
[231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the
222 Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries
262 still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food
222 preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gath-
415 ering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket
[482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pull-
262 ing the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in
222 forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached.
[412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

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disappeared and all was quiet. There was nothing in sight. Everyone was gone and the husband sat alone.

Tihpiknits had given the husband a small basket of *toiuk* seed mush. As fast as he ate the mush it grew larger. So he was never out of it. The toiuk seed is the seed of the wild rice. It has a stem like wild oats and the head hangs over when the seed is ripe. It is covered with stickers which will cut your hands and make them bleed. When the Indian women gather toiuk seed they cover their hands and arms with mud. It is the best seed we have. When it is ground and mixed with water it rises like bread. That is why it did not get any smaller when they ate it.

For three days and nights the husband sat alone. On the third evening, while the Winatuns were building the fires, Tihpiknits told the husband that he had decided what to do about him. He was to go to his wife's house and stay that night. If he kept awake all night she could go back with him.

If the husband went to sleep he was to go home alone and hide for six days and nights. He was to tell no one where he had been, or of anything he had seen until the sixth night. Then he was to come out and give a big dance and tell everything. If he told before, Tihpiknits' watchman, the rattlesnake, would know it and he would die right then and there.

Tihpiknits asked the husband what he wanted to eat before he went to his wife's house and he answered, "*Sun-sun*, the mud-hen." So Tihpiknits gave him a fat one, but told him that it would make him sleep. By this time the husband was almost overcome from lack of sleep, but he ate the mud hen anyway.

After eating, the husband went to his wife's house. Soon she returned from the Lonewis dance. She talked with him for a long time and kept telling him over and over, "Don't you go to sleep. You must stay awake, or I cannot go back with you."

The husband kept awake until almost daylight, when he could not keep his eyes open any longer. His wife did all she could to keep him awake, but he went to sleep anyway.

In the morning the husband awakened to find his wife gone and a log of rotten wood in the house. Tihpiknits told the husband to go home and do as he had been told. When he died he was to come again and join his wife. But the wife could never return to this world again.

Tihpiknits gave the husband a fresh basket of toiuk seed mush and started him toward home. He crossed the big water

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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132 climate (BSh), distributed mainly along the western margin and sporadically elsewhere.

134 Soils throughout most of this region are of alluvial valley or valley terrace type. Extensive areas of these are either poorly drained acid soils or are heavily saline, supporting little or no useful vegetation. In the hills to the west and south, are some areas of neutral upland [137] soils, normally favorable to the growth of hardwood trees, especially oaks. In this instance, however, these soils usually are barren because 137 of aridity. In the habitat of the Buena Vista Yokuts, there are only 96 square miles covered predominantly with hardwood trees, but this includes no oaks or other trees economically useful from the standpoint of Indian technology. In the coast ranges to the west of the southern valley Yokuts are 163 square miles occupied by woodland-grass associations (a park landscape of mixed grass and hardwoods) but the trees here are sparse with relatively few oaks. Although included in the area usually attributed to the southern valley Yokuts, there is no evidence that this upland region was exploited. Over most of the entire habitat attributed to the southern valley Yokuts a sparse desert type vegetation prevailed.[8]

133 The rather grim desert environment was mitigated by streams flowing from the mountains. Many of these, especially those draining from the high Sierra Nevada to the east were perennial. Virtually all the drainage went into three shallow basins of Tulare, Kern, and Buena Vista lakes. Only in years of unusually high precipitation in the mountains did overflow water from the lakes drain into the San Joaquin 137 River system and hence reach the ocean. Along streams and stagnant sloughs occurred some shrubs and trees and river bottoms might support lush grasses. The vegetation of primary economic importance was the tule which grew along streams and sloughs and especially in the extensive *tulares* around the marshy margins of the lakes. Tule, hispanicized from the Nahuatl *Tollin,* here is the bullrush, chiefly *Scirpus acutis.*

136 Fish, shellfish and waterfowl were the most abundant animal forms. Few deer existed in the area. The California deer is a browsing

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[8] See Weislander and Jensen for vegetation data and Storie and Weir [127] for soils data. Other environmental data are summarized from compilations made by the project on a state-wide basis, utilizing a wide variety of government documents, geographical and ethnographic reports, too numerous to list in this short paper, supplemented by spot field observations.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
[501] for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[361
162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 262 [197] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

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Concerning cephalic index in southern California, Boas writes:[3] "It is of interest to note that a secondary maximum of frequency of the length-breadth index of the Mission Indians is found at 79, and that it is most strongly developed among the Indians of San Luis Rey, who lived in the closest proximity to the long-headed islanders. It is quite probable that this maximum may be due to intermixture." For measurements of the long-headed islanders referred to, see table 32 of this paper.

The average cephalic, facial, and nasal indices for Serrano, Luiseño, and Diegueño in the following table are based on Boas' series of children, ranging in age from five to seventeen years for the Serrano, from six to twenty for the Luiseño, and from six to eighten for the Diegueño.

Head deformation is doubtless responsible in part for the higher of the average cephalic indices in the two following tables (3 and 4):

TABLE 3

CALIFORNIAN TYPE

Narrow-nosed Subtype—Averages

	CI	FI	NI	NH	NW
Hupa	82^{20}	83^{20}	78^{20}	166^{20*}	153^{14}
Karok	85^{13}	86^{9}	72^{9}		144^{1}
Hill Patwin	82^{14}	85^{10}	79^{11}	169^{2}	
Valley Patwin	85^{2}	83^{2}	80^{2}		
Northwestern Maidu (Valley)†	83^{9}	83^{9}	76^{9}	161^{1}	
Atsugewi	86^{17}	83^{12}	74^{12}	165^{5}	154^{4}
Achomawi	84^{24}	85^{24}	73^{24}	167^{8}	153^{1}
Modoc	86^{13}	82^{9}	74^{9}	162^{8}	155^{7}
Klamath	80^{20}	81^{17}	75^{16}	167^{20*}	160^{8}
Northern Paiute	80^{16}	83^{11}	78^{11}	169^{6}	160^{8}
Eastern Mono	82^{9}	85^{5}	79^{9}	164^{1}	156^{1}
Washo	84^{11}	82^{10}	77^{11}	173^{9}	159^{8}
Northern Miwok	86^{6}	87^{6}	78^{6}	173^{1}	151^{1}
Central Miwok	86^{10}	84^{10}	79^{10}	165^{1}	152^{8}
Southern Miwok	86^{10}	81^{12}	78^{10}	166^{8}	153^{4}
Northern Hill Yokuts	81^{10}	86^{10}	80^{10}	164^{1}	151^{1}
Cahuilla	82^{20}	83^{8}	76^{8}	167^{20}	158^{20}
Serrano	82^{20}	85^{10}	78^{10}	171^{10}	158^{8}
Luiseño	81^{40}	83^{40}	77^{40}	169^{40}	157^{40}
Diegueño	82^{18}	83^{18}	77^{18}		164^{1}

* From Franz Boas, Verhandlungen Berliner Gesell. f. Anthr. Ethn. Urgesch., pp. 370, 371, 1888. Boas' Klamath figures perhaps include Modoc as well as Klamath.

† The Northwestern Maidu (Valley) occupy the narrow triangular western strip, with apex at north, of area 19a, as shown on maps 2 and 3. The remainder of area 19a is occupied by the Northeastern Maidu (Hill).

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[3] *Ibid.*, 202, 209.

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Seven groups are represented by measurements of but a single individual each, making it impossible to definitely classify them. They are listed below.

TABLE 6

GROUPS REPRESENTED BY SINGLE INDIVIDUALS

	CI	FI	NI	SM	SW
Barbareño	82	76	93		
Cocopa	86	87	73		163
Antoniano	84	83	88	167	
Northeastern Pomo	78	86	84	157	
Yahi	84	86	77		
Central Yana	81	81	85		
Northern Yana	87	81	87	169	

AVERAGE MEASUREMENTS OF THE LIVING

Tables 7 to 30 present the average measurements of living Californian Indians who are not mixed as to tribal blood so far as known.

Measurements of mixed-blood Indians and individuals with Caucasian, Mongolian, or Negro blood, not hitherto published, are presented in the latter portion of this paper.

TABLE 7

CEPHALIC INDEX

Y4
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Y6
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Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	6	80		N. Yana	1	87	
Yurok	49	83	3.06	Atsugewi	17	86	4.35
Karok	12	85	3.64	Achomawi	15	84	4.34
Chimariko	1	90		Modoc	13	86	3.11
Hupa	60	82	2.79	Klamath	20	90	3.82
Chilula	1	82		N. Paiute	16	90	3.01
Whilkut	1	84		E. Mono	6	83	
Wailaki	7	74		Washo	16	84	2.30
Kato	3	77		N. Miwok	2	88	
Yuki	65	76	2.98	C. Miwok	16	88	3.16
Huchnom	3	79		S. Miwok	12	80	2.39
N. Pomo	32	80	4.11	W. Mono	19	76	2.76
NE. Pomo	1	78		N. H. Yokuts	13	81	3.83
E. Pomo	4	83		T. K. Yokuts	6	82	
SE. Pomo	4	84		Antoniano	1	84	
H. Patwin	14	88	3.84	Barbareño	1	82	
V. Patwin	6	85		Serrano	19	83	3.27
Nomlaki	6	79		Luiseño	43	81	2.72
N.W. Maidu (V.)	5	82		Cupeño	9	82	
NW. Maidu (H.)	43	79	2.91	Cahuilla	32	82	4.14
NE. Maidu	8	81		Diegueño	35	82	2.75
S. Maidu	6	84		Mohave	32	80	4.6
Yahi	1	84		Yuma	6	87	
C. Yana	1	81		Cocopa	1	86	

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Yurok NS 31

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Cephalic indices for certain groups have been published by Boas and ten Kate. For the Hupa, Boas gives 80.2 as the average of a series of twenty-two; for the Lower Klamath (probably mostly Yurok) he gives 83.0 as the average index for a series of eighteen.[4] The Hupa figure is two points lower than mine, while the "Yurok" is identical with mine. Herman F. C. ten Kate gives the Mohave average cephalic index as 87.07 on the basis of forty cases.[5] This is two points below Boas' figure of 89.4, which I give in table 7.[6] The figure for the Yuma in table 7 is from ten Kate.[7]

TABLE 8

FACIAL INDEX

Men 19 years and over; women 17 years and over

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[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	6	82		C. Yana	1	81	
Yurok	33	81	3.50	N. Yana	1	81	
Karok	6	86		Atsugewi	12	83	5.29
Hupa	29	82	3.77	Achomawi	22	85	3.58
Wailaki	7	78		Modoc	8	82	
Kato	2	77		Klamath	17	81	5.41
Yuki	58	78	3.85	N. Paiute	11	83	5.20
Huchnom	3	75		E. Mono	8	85	
N. Pomo	23	79	5.21	Washo	10	82	3.84
NE. Pomo	1	86		N. Miwok	2	87	
E. Pomo	3	84		C. Miwok	16	84	4.47
SE. Pomo	2	84		S. Miwok	12	81	3.61
E. Patwin	10	85	2.94	W. Mono	19	83	4.08
V. Patwin	2	83		N. H. Yokuts	13	86	5.12
Nomlaki	6	81		Antoniano	1	83	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	84		Barbareño	1	76	
NW. Maidu (H.)	26	82	4.07	Luiseño	1	79	
NE. Maidu	8	81		Cahuilla	8	83	
S. Maidu	5	83		Diegueño	1	86	
Yahi	1	86		Cocopa	1	87	

[4] Franz Boas, Zur Anthropologie der nordamerikanischen Indianer, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XXVII, 391, 1895.

[5] Jour. Am. Ethn. Arch., III, 194, 1892.

[6] Op. cit., p. 391.

[7] Op. cit., p. 194.

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
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TABLE 9

NASAL INDEX

Men 19 years and over; women 17 years and over

Yu
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Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	6	83	
Yurok	33	85	8.07
Karok	6	72	
Chimariko	1	96	
Hupa	29	78	6.25
Wailaki	7	86	
Kato	2	82	
Yuki	58	87	9.61
Huchnom	3	87	
N. Pomo	25	91	10.82
NE. Pomo	1	84	
E. Pomo	3	84	
SE. Pomo	2	91	
H. Patwin	11	79	10.00
V. Patwin	2	80	
Nomlaki	6	83	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	76	
NW. Maidu (H.)	37	85	7.29
NE. Maidu	3	85	
S. Maidu	5	83	
Yahi	1	77	
C. Yana	1	85	
N. Yana	1	87	
Atsugewi	12	74	6.47
Achomawi	22	73	4.60
Modoc	8	74	
Klamath	18	75	6.62
N. Paiute	11	78	7.96
E. Mono	8	75	
Washo	11	77	5.29
N. Miwok	2	78	
C. Miwok	16	79	5.68
S. Miwok	12	78	4.70
W. Mono	19	78	7.32
N. H. Yokuts	13	80	8.51
Antoniano	1	86	
Barbareño	1	93	
Luiseño	1	81	
Cahuilla	8	78	
Diegueño	1	78	
Mohave	38	82	
Cocopa	1	73	

TABLE 10

EAR INDEX

Yo
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD
S. Maidu	5	55	
N. Yana	1	55	
Atsugewi	12	50	3.80
Achomawi	20	50	3.74
N. Paiute	13	50	6.10
E. Mono	8	53	
Washo	16	51	4.10
N. Miwok	2	50	
C. Miwok	6	48	
S. Miwok	12	49	3.47
W. Mono	14	51	3.00
N. H. Yokuts	13	46	3.74
Cocopa	1	50	

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
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Yurok NS 31

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TABLE 11

REACH INDEX—MEN

19 to 60 years of age

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Yurok	11	105	2.74	Achomawi	8	102	
Hupa	9	103		Modoc	5	106	
Wailaki	2	107		Klamath	9	105	
Yuki	20	105	1.34	N. Paiute	6	104	
N. Pomo	8	106		E. Mono	3	107	
E. Pomo	1	101		Washo	6	102	
H. Patwin	1	103		N. Miwok	1	105	
Nomlaki	2	105		C. Miwok	4	101	
NW. Maidu (V.)	4	104		S. Miwok	3	103	
NW. Maidu (H.)	23	104	2.54	W. Mono	5	103	
NE. Maidu	6	106		N. H. Yokuts	4	104	
S. Maidu	1	102		Antoniano	1	107	
N. Yana	1	105		Barbareño	1	102	
Atsugewi	5	103		Cahuilla	2	107	

Yo
[141]

TABLE 12

REACH INDEX—WOMEN

17 to 60 years of age

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Yurok	13	102	2.71	Klamath	5	104	
Karok	1	103		N. Paiute	2	99	
Hupa	14	103	2.39	E. Mono	3	103	
Wailaki	1	103		Washo	5	103	
Kato	1	103		N. Miwok	1	100	
Yuki	25	102	1.92	C. Miwok	1	104	
Huchnom	1	106		S. Miwok	4	103	
N. Pomo	11	103	1.85	W. Mono	7	103	
E. Pomo	1	103		N. H. Yokuts	9	103	
Nomlaki	2	106		Luiseño	1	104	
NW. Maidu (H.)	9	101		Cupeño	1	104	
NE. Maidu	2	103		Cahuilla	6	104	
Atsugewi	4	102		Diegueño	1	106	
Achomawi	10	102	1.41	Cocopa	1	103	
Modoc	2	104					

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
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Yurok NS 31

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TABLE 13

STATURE—MEN

19 to 60 years of age

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	1	165		Klamath	30	167	
Yurok	11	164	6.22	N. Paiute	6	169	
Hupa	32	166		E. Mono	3	164	
Wailaki	3	154		Washo	6	173	
Yuki	20	157	5.33	N. Miwok	1	173	
N. Pomo	8	164		C. Miwok	4	165	
NE. Pomo	1	157		S. Miwok	4	166	
E. Pomo	2	169		W. Mono	5	165	
H. Patwin	2	169		N. H. Yokuts	4	164	
Nomlaki	2	165		T. K. Yokuts	16	168	7.01
NW Maidu (V.)	4	160		Antoniano	1	167	
NW. Maidu (H.)	22	163	6.75	Barbareño	1	171	
NE. Maidu	6	167		Serrano	24	171	4.98
S. Maidu	1	162		Luiseño	52	169	7.86
N. Yana	1	169		Cupeño	14	168	4.10
Atsugewi	5	163		Cahuilla	28	167	5.07
Achomawi	8	167		Mohave	45	171	
Modoc	5	162		Yuma	37	172	

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The Mohave and Yuma statures of men and women are after Hrdlička.[8] Ten Kate gives the average stature of thirty-five Mohave men as 174 cm., and of three(?) women as 173 cm.,[9] both in excess of Hrdlička's average of 171 cm. for men and 158 cm. for women.

The average stature of the Cahuilla men is from Boas,[10] as are also the average statures of thirty-two Hupa and thirty Klamath men, which are taken from the German paper just cited.

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[8] Ales Hrdlička, On the Stature of the Indians of the Southwest and of Northern Mexico, Putnam Anniversary Volume, G. E. Stechert & Co., New York, 1909, p. 414; also Physiological and Medical Observations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico, Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. 34, p. 132, 1908.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

[10] Anthropometrical Observations on the Mission Indians of Southern California, Proc. A. A. A. S., XLIV, 262, 1895. The same series plus one additional stature is given by the same author in Zur Anthropologie der nordamerikanischen Indianer, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XXVII, 370, 1895.

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
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TABLE 14

STATURE—WOMEN

17 to 60 years of age

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	1	146		N. Paiute	3	160	
Yurok	13	153	3.89	E. Mono	3	156	
Karok	1	144		Washo	5	158	
Hupa	14	152	4.39	N. Miwok	1	151	
Wailaki	1	157		C. Miwok	1	152	
Kato	1	143		S. Miwok	4	155	
Yuki	25	148	4.93	W. Mono	7	156	
Huchnom	1	149		N. H. Yokuts	9	151	
N. Pomo	11	154	4.40	T. K. Yokuts	15	155	6.56
E. Pomo	1	164		Serrano	1	158	
Nomlaki	2	152		Luiseño	42	157	5.03
NW. Maidu (H.)	9	153		Cupeño	20	156	4.83
NE. Maidu	2	158		Cahuilla	25	158	4.82
Atsugewi	4	154		Diegueño	1	164	
Achomawi	10	153	2.66	Mohave	25	158	
Modoc	2	155		Yuma	5	161	
Klamath	5	160		Cocopa	1	163	

Yo
[141]

TABLE 15

HEAD LENGTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	196		Yahi	1	192	
Yurok	16	189	6.32	C. Yana	1	191	
Karok	2	187		N. Yana	1	195	
Chimariko	1	191		Atsugewi	6	189	
Hupa	13	191	5.18	Achomawi	9	192	
Wailaki	4	197		Modoc	5	186	
Yuki	28	195	5.58	Klamath	12	183	6.30
Huchnom	2	186		N. Paiute	6	195	
N. Pomo	12	191	4.95	E. Mono	3	188	
NE. Pomo	1	192		Washo	6	190	
E. Pomo	2	183		N. Miwok	1	188	
SE. Pomo	2	192		C. Miwok	9	184	
H. Patwin	9	190		S. Miwok	5	183	
V. Patwin	1	192		W. Mono	8	196	
Nomlaki	4	196		N. H. Yokuts	4	194	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	189		Antoniano	1	189	
NW. Maidu (H.)	27	194	5.64	Barbareño	1	186	
NE. Maidu	6	192		Cahuilla	2	193	
S. Maidu	4	189					

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[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
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TABLE 16

HEAD LENGTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Yu
[141]
Yo
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	186		Achomawi	13	180	5.67
Yurok	17	184	5.98	Modoc	3	179	
Karok	4	177		Klamath	6	177	
Hupa	16	194	5.71	N. Paiute	5	185	
Wailaki	3	186		E. Mono	5	180	
Kato	2	189		Washo	5	181	
Yuki	30	187	5.28	N. Miwok	1	185	
Huchnom	1	178		C. Miwok	7	177	
N. Pomo	13	181	7.00	S. Miwok	7	184	
E. Pomo	1	186		W. Mono	11	187	3.65
H. Patwin	2	180		N. H. Yokuts	9	181	
V. Patwin	1	179		Luiseño	1	180	
Nomlaki	2	187		Cupeño	1	183	
NW. Maidu (H.)	10	184	5.44	Cahuilla	6	186	
NE. Maidu	2	189		Diegueño	1	183	
S. Maidu	1	192		Cocopa	1	175	
Atsugewi	6	180					

TABLE 17

HEAD BREADTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Yu
[141]
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[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	157		Yahi	1	163	
Yurok	16	158	4.60	C. Yana	1	155	
Karok	2	157		N. Yana	1	170	
Chimariko	1	154		Atsugewi	6	161	
Hupa	13	157	3.53	Achomawi	9	159	
Wailaki	4	147		Modoc	5	159	
Yuki	28	147	3.63	Klamath	12	164	5.57
Huchnom	2	146		N. Paiute	6	155	
N. Pomo	12	153	6.73	E. Mono	3	156	
NE. Pomo	1	150		Washo	6	158	
E. Pomo	2	160		N. Miwok	1	171	
SE. Pomo	2	161		C. Miwok	9	162	
H. Patwin	9	154		S. Miwok	5	163	
V. Patwin	1	162		W. Mono	8	147	
Nomlaki	4	156		N. H. Yokuts	4	156	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	155		Antoniano	1	159	
NW. Maidu (H.)	27	154	5.94	Barbareño	1	152	
NE. Maidu	6	153		Cahuilla	2	156	
S. Maidu	4	164					

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
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TABLE 18

HEAD BREADTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	150		Achomawi	13	153	3.19
Yurok	17	152	3.95	Modoc	3	157	
Karok	4	152		Klamath	6	163	
Hupa	16	150	3.41	N. Paiute	5	145	
Wailaki	3	140		E. Mono	5	150	
Kato	2	144		Washo	5	152	
Yuki	30	144	4.79	N. Miwok	1	159	
Huchnom	1	144		C. Miwok	7	156	
N. Pomo	13	146	5.62	S. Miwok	7	163	
E. Pomo	1	161		W. Mono	11	144	2.43
H. Patwin	2	151		N. H. Yokuts	9	148	
V. Patwin	1	154		Luiseño	1	145	
Nomlaki	2	150		Cupeño	1	143	
NW. Maidu (H.)	10	145	4.80	Cahuilla	6	149	
NE. Maidu	2	149		Diegueño	1	154	
S. Maidu	1	153		Cocopa	1	154	
Atsugewi	6	158					

Yu
[141]

Yo
[141]

TABLE 19

FACE LENGTH (NASION)—MEN

19 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	123		Yahi	1	131	
Yurok	16	122	5.15	C. Yana	1	120	
Karok	2	133		N. Yana	1	129	
Hupa	13	126	5.44	Atsugewi	6	126	
Wailaki	4	114		Achomawi	9	131	
Yuki	28	115	6.07	Modoc	5	125	
Huchnom	2	112		Klamath	11	124	8.27
N. Pomo	10	117	6.40	N. Paiute	6	125	
NE. Pomo	1	121		E. Mono	3	125	
E. Pomo	2	128		Washo	6	125	
SE. Pomo	2	126		N. Miwok	1	145	
H. Patwin	8	125		C. Miwok	9	129	
V. Patwin	1	126		S. Miwok	5	125	
Nomlaki	4	121		W. Mono	8	126	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	122		N. H. Yokuts	4	124	
NW. Maidu (H.)	27	121	6.26	Antoniano	1	123	
NE. Maidu	6	122		Barbareño	1	109	
S. Maidu	4	125		Cahuilla	2	126	

Yu
[141]

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Yokuts NS 29
Yurok NS 31

C
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TABLE 20

FACE LENGTH (NASION)—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	117		Achomawi	13	119	5.37
Yurok	17	112	5.21	Modoc	3	113	
Karok	4	117		Klamath	6	117	
Hupa	16	114	3.41	N. Paiute	5	117	
Wailaki	3	106		E. Mono	5	112	
Kato	2	107		Washo	5	120	
Yuki	30	107	5.72	N. Miwok	1	122	
Huchnom	1	104		C. Miwok	7	118	
N. Pomo	13	110	7.51	S. Miwok	7	122	
E. Pomo	1	117		W. Mono	11	114	4.99
H. Patwin	2	122		N. H. Yokuts	9	122	
V. Patwin	1	115		Luiseño	1	106	
Nomlaki	2	110		Cupeño	1	120	
NW. Maidu (H.)	10	113	5.74	Cahuilla	6	119	
NE. Maidu	2	113		Diegueño	1	120	
S. Maidu	1	127		Cocopa	1	129	
Atsugewi	6	121					

Yo
[141]

TABLE 21

FACE BREADTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	149		Yahi	1	132	
Yurok	16	148	4.44	C. Yana	1	148	
Karok	2	146		N. Yana	1	158	
Chimariko	1	152		Atsugewi	6	149	
Hupa	13	148	3.95	Achomawi	9	150	
Wailaki	4	147		Modoc	5	147	
Yuki	28	147	3.74	Klamath	12	150	5.09
Huchnom	2	151		N. Paiute	6	150	
N. Pomo	12	150	3.7[illegible]	E. Mono	3	150	
NE. Pomo	1	140		Washo	6	151	
E. Pomo	2	147		N. Miwok	1	160	
SE. Pomo	2	149		C. Miwok	9	152	
H. Patwin	9	147		S. Miwok	5	151	
V. Patwin	1	144		W. Mono	8	145	
Nomlaki	4	147		N. H. Yokuts	4	148	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	145		Antoniano	1	147	
NW. Maidu (H.)	27	148	5.08	Barbareño	1	143	
NE. Maidu	6	150		Cahuilla	2	151	
S. Maidu	4	155					

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Yokuts NS 29
Yurok NS 31

C
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TABLE 22

FACE BREADTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	144		Modoc	3	144	
Yurok	17	140	4.48	Klamath	6	147	
Karok	4	140		N. Paiute	5	140	
Hupa	16	140	4.80	E. Mono	5	141	
Wailaki	3	134		Washo	4	145	
Kato	2	137		N. Miwok	1	145	
Yuki	30	138	3.83	C. Miwok	7	143	
Huchnom	1	136		S. Miwok	7	151	
N. Pomo	13	137	3.53	SE. Wintun	1	144	
E. Pomo	1	147		W. Mono	11	140	2.99
H. Patwin	2	145		N. H. Yokuts	9	138	
Nomlaki	2	140		Luiseño	1	134	
NW. Maidu (H.)	9	135		Cupeño	1	136	
NE. Maidu	2	140		Cahuilla	6	142	
S. Maidu	1	141		Diegueño	1	139	
Atsugewi	6	145		Cocopa	1	148	
Achomawi	13	141	2.86				

Yu
[141]

Yo
[141]

TABLE 23

NOSE LENGTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	54		Yahi	1	54	
Yurok	16	51	2.91	C. Yana	1	49	
Karok	2	58		N. Yana	1	55	
Chimariko	1	50		Atsugewi	6	54	
Hupa	13	54	4.19	Achomawi	9	56	
Wailaki	4	51		Modoc	5	52	
Yuki	28	50	4.97	Klamath	12	55	3.85
Huchnom	2	51		N. Paiute	6	57	
N. Pomo	12	49	4.68	E. Mono	3	55	
NE. Pomo	1	50		Washo	6	55	
E. Pomo	2	50		N. Miwok	1	65	
SE. Pomo	2	52		C. Miwok	9	56	
H. Patwin	9	53		S. Miwok	5	55	
V. Patwin	1	59		W. Mono	8	56	
Nomlaki	4	52		N. H. Yokuts	4	53	
NW. Maidu (V.)	3	56		Antoniano	1	52	
NW. Maidu (H.)	27	50	2.35	Barbareño	1	45	
NE. Maidu	6	48		Cahuilla	2	52	
S. Maidu	4	53					

Yu
[141]

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Yokuts NS 29
Yurok NS 31

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TABLE 24

NOSE LENGTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	51		Achomawi	13	50	2.58
Yurok	17	45	4.00	Modoc	3	47	
Karok	4	52		Klamath	6	49	
Hupa	16	47	3.32	N. Paiute	5	51	
Wailaki	3	47		E. Mono	5	54	
Kato	2	46		Washo	5	52	
Yuki	30	44	3.28	N. Miwok	1	47	
Huchnom	1	45		C. Miwok	7	53	
N. Pomo	13	44	2.63	S. Miwok	7	51	
E. Pomo	1	46		W. Mono	11	51	4.53
H. Patwin	2	50		N. H. Yokuts	9	50	
V. Patwin	1	44		Luiseño	1	42	
Nomlaki	2	45		Cupeño	1	53	
NW. Maidu (H.)	10	46	3.42	Cahuilla	6	48	
NE. Maidu	2	46		Diegueño	1	47	
S. Maidu	1	55		Cocopa	1	57	
Atsugewi	6	52					

Yo
[141]

TABLE 25

NOSE BREADTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Yu
[141]

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	46		Yahi	1	42	
Yurok	16	42	2.75	C. Yana	1	42	
Karok	2	42		N. Yana	1	48	
Chimariko	1	48		Atsugewi	6	41	
Hupa	13	42	2.58	Achomawi	9	40	
Wailaki	4	46		Modoc	5	38	
Yuki	28	43	2.66	Klamath	12	40	2.14
Huchnom	2	46		N. Paiute	6	44	
N. Pomo	12	46	2.91	E. Mono	3	42	
NE. Pomo	1	42		Washo	6	43	
E. Pomo	2	44		N. Miwok	1	46	
SE. Pomo	2	48		C. Miwok	9	45	
H. Patwin	9	42		S. Miwok	5	43	
V. Patwin	1	44		W. Mono	8	43	
Nomlaki	4	43		N. H. Yokuts	4	43	
NW. Maidu (V.)	5	43		Antoniano	1	45	
NW. Maidu (H.)	27	43	2.83	Barbareño	1	41	
NE. Maidu	6	41		Cahuilla	2	44	
S. Maidu	4	44					

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Yokuts NS 29
Yurok NS 31

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TABLE 26

NOSE BREADTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Wiyot	3	41		Achomawi	13	37	1.81
Yurok	17	39	3.52	Modoc	3	36	
Karok	4	38		Klamath	6	38	
Hupa	16	37	2.51	N. Paiute	5	40	
Wailaki	3	39		E. Mono	5	41	
Kato	2	38		Washo	5	40	
Yuki	30	39	2.23	N. Miwok	1	40	
Huchnom	1	38		C. Miwok	7	41	
N. Pomo	13	39	2.46	S. Miwok	7	40	
E. Pomo	1	37		W. Mono	11	40	2.87
H. Patwin	2	40		N. H. Yokuts	9	40	
V. Patwin	1	38		Luiseño	1	34	
Nomlaki	2	39		Cupeño	1	39	
NW. Maidu (H.)	10	39	2.12	Cahuilla	6	36	
NE. Maidu (H.)	2	41		Diegueño	1	37	
S. Maidu	1	47		Cocopa	1	42	
Atsugewi	6	37					

Yu
[141]

Yo
[141]

TABLE 27

EAR LENGTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
S. Maidu	4	74		Washo	6	69	
N. Yana	1	74		N. Miwok	1	76	
Atsugewi	6	68		C. Miwok	3	73	
Achomawi	8	71		S. Miwok	5	69	
N. Paiute	4	67		W. Mono	7	70	
E. Mono	3	68		N. H. Yokuts	4	71	

Yo
[141]

TABLE 28

EAR LENGTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Atsugewi	5	68		C. Miwok	3	72	
Achomawi	10	67	4.79	S. Miwok	7	66	
N. Paiute	5	66		W. Mono	7	64	
E. Mono	5	65		N. H. Yokuts	9	62	
Washo	5	67		Cocopa	1	67	
N. Miwok	1	62					

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Yokuts NS 29

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TABLE 29

EAR BREADTH—MEN

19 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
S. Maidu	4	39		Washo	6	34	
N. Yana	1	41		N. Miwok	1	36	
Atsugewi	6	36		C. Miwok	3	35	
Achomawi	8	36		S. Miwok	5	32	
N. Paiute	4	34		W. Mono	7	34	
E. Mono	3	37		N. H. Yokuts	4	31	

Yo
[141]

TABLE 30

EAR BREADTH—WOMEN

17 years of age and over

Group	No.	Mean	SD	Group	No.	Mean	SD
Atsugewi	5	32		C. Miwok	3	35	
Achomawi	10	33	1.92	S. Miwok	7	34	
N. Paiute	5	30		W. Mono	7	34	
E. Mono	5	34		N. H. Yokuts	9	30	
Washo	5	35		Cocopa	1	34	
N. Miwok	1	33					

Yo
[141]

The following table lists the standard deviations for cephalic, facial, and nasal indices in fifteen groups in which the number of individuals is ten or more. The mean of these three standard deviations for each group is also given. The list reveals Southern Miwok as the least variable group and Northern Pomo as the most variable. I have earlier remarked that the Northern Pomo may be hybrids between the *Yuki* type and the *Broad-nosed Californian* subtype. If this is true it probably accounts for the high standard deviations.

TABLE 31

STANDARD DEVIATIONS—LIVING

Tribe	CI	FI	NI	Mean
Southern Miwok	2.20	3.61	4.70	3.56
Washo	2.30	3.84	5.29	3.81
Achomawi	4.34	3.58	4.60	4.17
Hupa	2.79	3.77	6.25	4.27
Central Miwok	3.16	4.47	5.68	4.43
Western Mono	2.76	4.08	7.32	4.72
Northwestern Maidu	2.91	4.07	7.29	4.75
Yurok	3.06	3.50	8.67	5.08
Klamath	3.82	5.41	6.62	5.28
Atsugewi	4.35	5.29	6.47	5.37
Northern Paiute	3.01	5.20	7.96	5.3[illegible]
Yuki	2.96	3.85	9.61	5.48
Hill Patwin	3.84	2.94	10.00	5.59
Northern Hill Yokuts	3.33	5.12	8.51	5.65
Northern Pomo	4.11	5.21	10.82	6.71

Yo
[141]

1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Tubatulabal NS 22
Yurok NS 31
Yokuts NS 29
C
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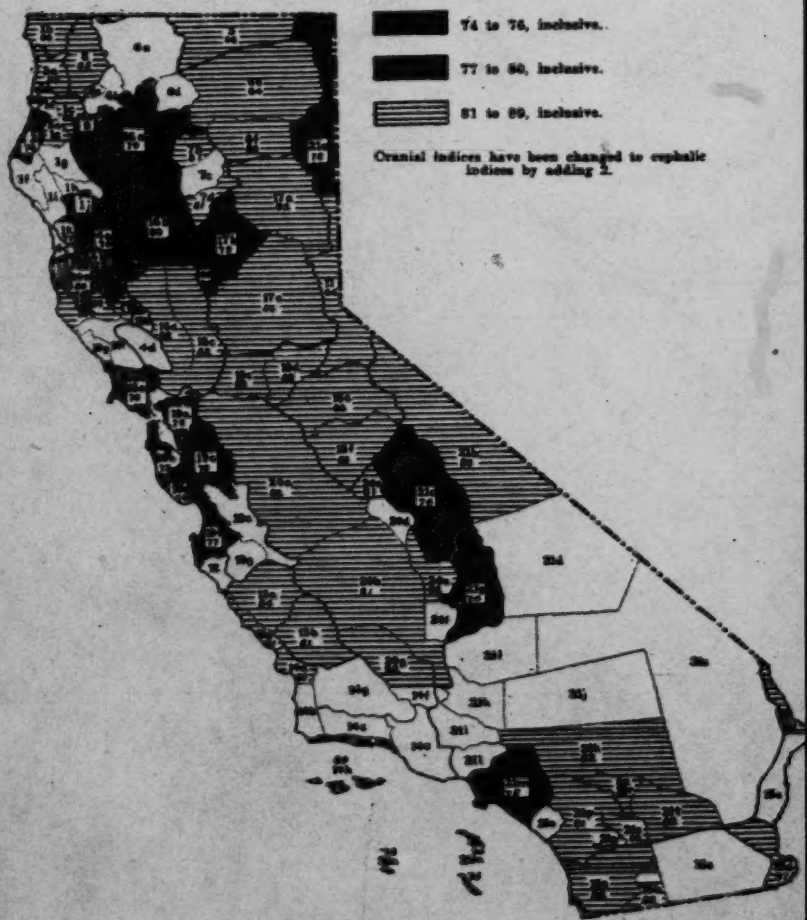
MAP 2

Average cephalic indices (living and cranial combined).



1:Gifford E-5 (1915-1918)1926
NS4 California Indians NS4
Tubatulabal NS 22
Yokuts NS 29
Yurok NS 31

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MAP 3

Physical types (living and cranial data combined).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish*, or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup*, the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start. 438 464 123

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials. [149]

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

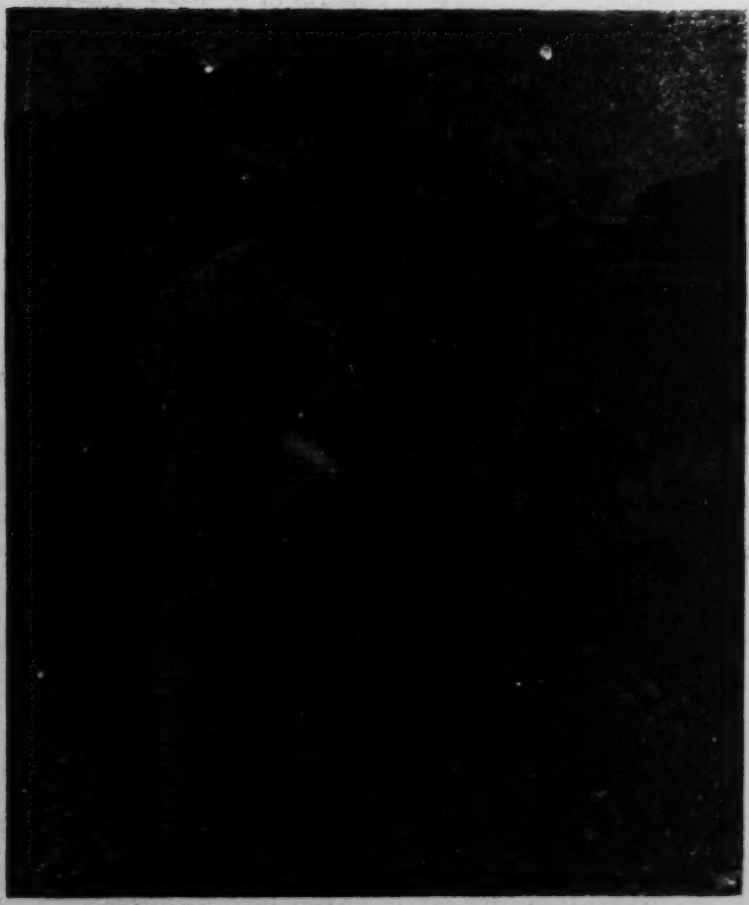
FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe defi-
nitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit-
[262] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi-
[197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
● 142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means
he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an
interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of
their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long
one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and
environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he
is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy
of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the
Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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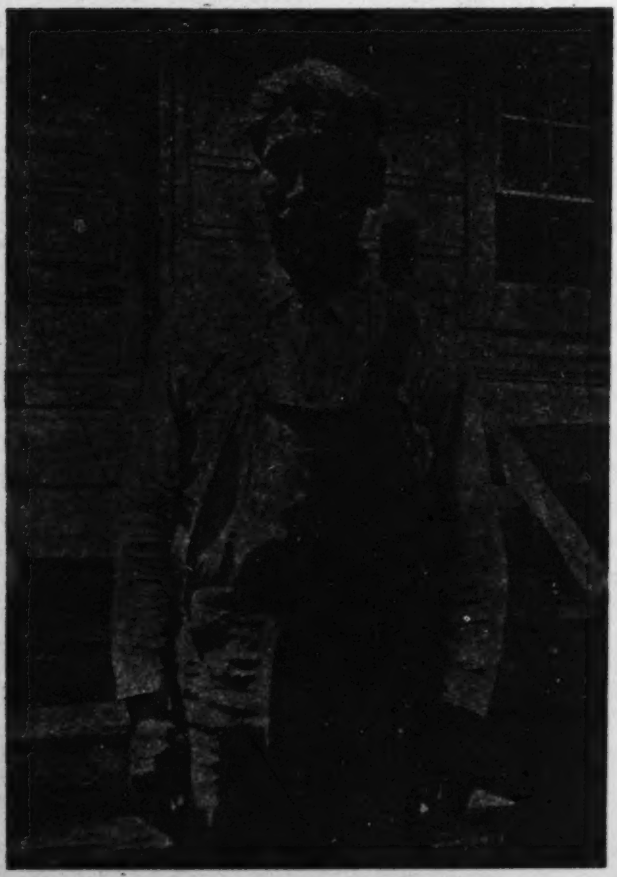
103
131
619
[142]
36

Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunuta tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
361
[142]



This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] when he was small boy. He call that village *Hah-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahno's old-time stories were just like ours—how Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and 159 773

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [491]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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[42]

Wahumchah and his sister, Ihalut, last surviving full-bloods of the Yowlumne Yokuts tribe. Both were born at the village of Wawcoye (Waw-coy'-e) on the south bank of Kern River one-half mile below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Wahumchah is eighty-six years of age and Ihalut ninety.

because they have been generally thought to have been extinct since about 1920.

One of the surviving Yowlumne is *Wahumchah* (Wah-hum'-chah) known to white people living in and around Woodlake and Visalia in Tulare County as Henry Lawrence. Wahumchah is now 86 years of age.

The second surviving full-blood Yowlumne is *I-hal'-ut*, known to her neighbors at Tule River Indian Reservation as Mrs. Mary Santiago. She is a full sister of Wahumchah and is 90 years of age. Both of these people were born at the old Yowlumne Indian village of *Wawcoye* on the south side of Kern River between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. When these two Yowlumne are gone, extinction will have been the fate of the tribe of Yokuts which once occupied the territory surrounding Bakersfield.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

[142] [177]

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

[283 237]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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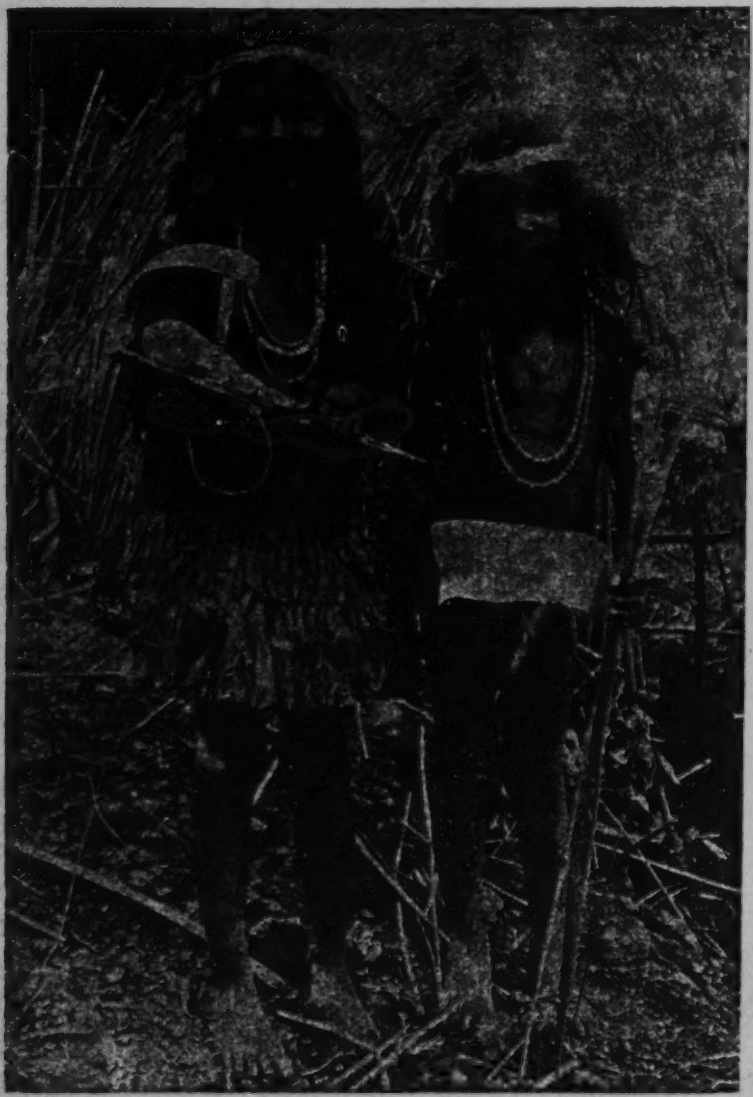

Lewumit and Hewtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wehnomkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

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Wahsuschah, aged 85 and last surviving man from the Yowlumne Yokuts who once lived about present Bakersfield, showing the use of the tule-mat door in a tule-thatched house.

3: Latta Y-5 (.923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wah-puk'-in and Ig'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawwah, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 168

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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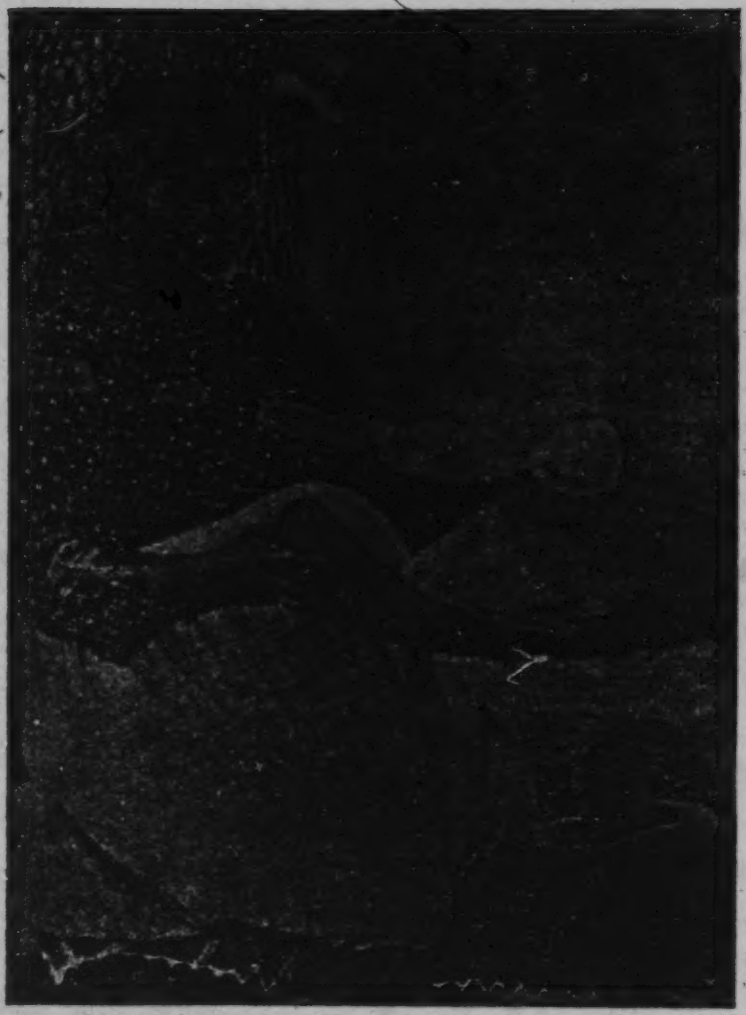

A Chukchansi woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Weh-pak'-is showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine 252
material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it.

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **toh'-meuk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wahneinkat about 1928. In her right hand she holds a basket made to be suspended from the neck, leaving both hands free to pick blackberries. Leaning against her is a boy's baby cradle. In her left hand is the flexible cradle, made before the child is born and for use until the other is completed.

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Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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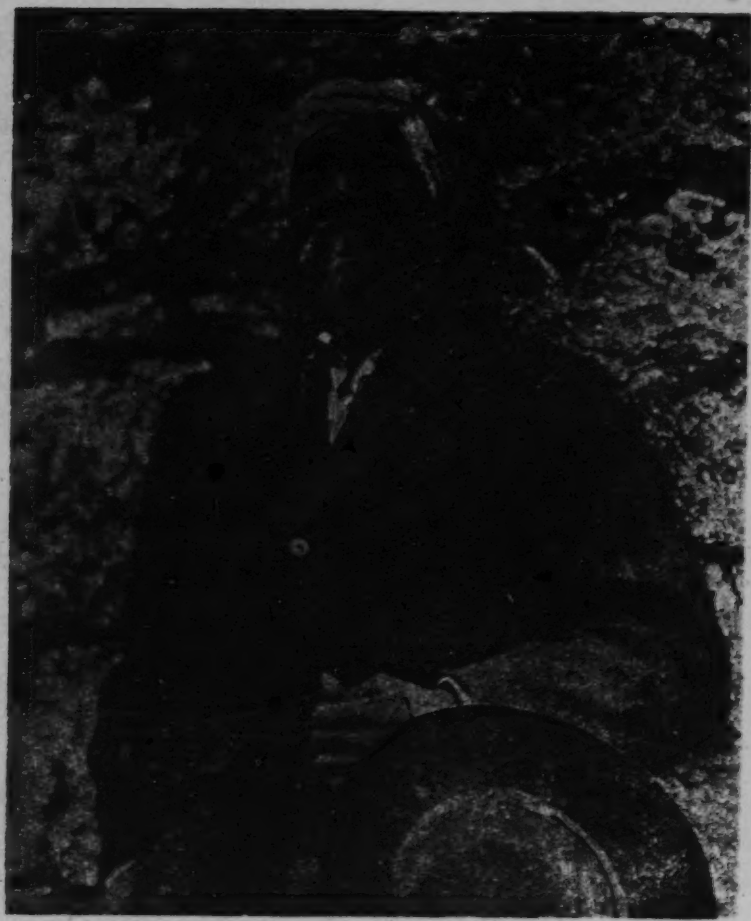

Pahmit in 1929, aged about 100 years, by the wall of the old stone guardhouse at Fort Miller. Pahmit helped to build this wall about 1854.

chan'-se. He sign 'em. My father, *Dawk-taw,* he chief with Dumna tribe Indians. Some people call him *Tap'-pah.* He sign 'em. My uncle, To'-mas, he chief *Kit-cha'-ye* tribe. He sign 'em. Lots Indians sign 'em. Take long time. Then white chief go 'way.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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The late Yel'-mut, last full-blood survivor of the Chunut (Choo'-noot) tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. She spoke seven languages and could read and write both Spanish and English. She dictated to the author many stories and songs that she had memorized. She was the historian of her tribe and the best informer of all races that the author has interviewed. Notice the scars on the bridge of her nose, the result of cuts made by Indian medicine men. She passed away at Hanford.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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"Old Bria," an aged, blind Wukchamna, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
[775] hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
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Ichow, husband of Wuhsemhet and, when he died about 1938, chief of the Wuhsemme, last organized tribe of Yokuts Indians. Ichow was a fine old character and, with his wife, appeared with the author on many programs throughout the San Joaquin Valley. He attended the ghost dance in Rahom valley. He died soon after this photo was made.

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Lewaynit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichew and Wehnemlet. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

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on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people. 648 797

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain. [133]

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under†] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there. [143]

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

[P. 47a] Palewyam. Tubatulabal NS22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 787 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.N.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

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184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

101 Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
619 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
184 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

101 These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
181 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
184 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

101 The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
175 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

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Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

262 The grubs (ɔm´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called [252] tapːsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant 262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pːs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hːs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´tanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ta´sːp, the flesh). Abalones (to´nːk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did [147] before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

754 tail at the sun, at the same time laying an-
755 other animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she
[147] fell asleep, and she began to get better. About a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

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648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspa had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [481] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large [147] fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya'h·n (pai'ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

At another time J.A. made brief reference
535 to a similar affair which she called "plain
616 fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´nıč). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´tıt and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), mannood, and old age.

wi´tep, wi´tipeč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witep: baby boy
mo´kıs witep: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witep mu´kıs: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

769 767 152 Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the tonočim, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

[I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joaspa]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[379]

769 532 Effigy-making.--The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[379] Ibid., 73.

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Šá´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonıl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
769 was called gokosyu ñıt. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, pre-
769 ceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hı´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

756 heavy. there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!". During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the
● [152] contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and
767 thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. When the dance ended the tonoč:m retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although
[783] this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners
[152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate´ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (epla´oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Ponglisa were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Hutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
131 t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
131 Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 186] straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
222 three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262 Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484 traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[157] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124]The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125]p. 383.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918); 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 apathetic, as is the wont. It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the supplest of muscular responses are matched; and only rarely are the faculties of a Caucasian left sufficiently undulled in adult age to compete other than disastrously against the Indian practiced in his specialty. Seen in this light, the contortions, gesticulations, [152] noises, and excitement of the native are not the mere uncontrolledness of an overgrown child, but the outward reflexes of a powerfully surcharged intensity, and devices that at once stimulate the contestant's energy still further and aid him in dazzling and confusing his opponent. There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities.

The Yaudanchi shuffled under a blanket instead of behind the back or in bunches of hay. Among the Chukchansi only women used the blanket.

Chomwosh is the guessing or matching of hidden fingers. It is too little described to allow of a decision between the possibilities of native and Mediterranean origin.

Dice was the woman's game. There were two forms. *Huchuwish* was played with 8 *huech*, half shells of nut filled with pitch or asphalt and bits of sea shell, thrown from both hands on a basketry tray, *t'aiwan*. The far-away Chemehuevi play this much like the southern Yokuts, though with 6 instead of 8 pieces; it appears to be a game of Shoshonean origin. The Chukchansi keep the name, but use 6 split acorn kernels. Beyond them, the course of the game becomes uncertain. For the Miwok nothing is known, and the Maidu seem to lack all dice. The Yaudanchi played for 12 counters, and the scoring ran: 5 of 8 flat surfaces up, 2 counters; 2 up, 1; any other number, none. The Chukchansi won by taking 10 counters, and considered only the possible combinations of falls, irrespective of side. Six to none counted 4 points; 4 to 2 or 3 to 3, 1; 5 to 1, nothing. Such variations seem to occur in all Californian games, even between adjacent areas.

The second dice game, *tachuwish*, was played with 6 (or 8) split sticks, *dalak*, of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin.

There was a generic word, *goyuwinich*, for gambler. *Gwiunaushid mak*, "let us gamble," the Yaudanchi would say.

ESTHETICS.

517 Apart from basket patterns, there was no trace of activity of graphic or plastic art in Yokuts life. The images in the mourning ceremony were symbols of the rudest kind. Anything like the trac-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152 522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [161] [648]

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 769 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

159 769 624 The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Winat'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 769 [152] At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Everything was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*, [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing. [539] This was one of the songs they sang:

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
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153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

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came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed
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825 and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

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Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the
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4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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825 152 182 787 [757]

shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my pošа; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

182 155

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

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The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as; the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

6: Gayton E- -1928) 1930
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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[53] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

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Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[54]

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[53] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[54] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest [152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

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	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Ha[illegible]′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they [304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little [278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
● 152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [276] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

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These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners.

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At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance,

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W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe'wia nü u'bunıt, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking tıpni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

W Y [606] 153

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
182 tioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are
153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

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[p. 8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the sympton of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of [182 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc- 195 esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms, ● 153] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths [114] in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote). 152 182 787 [757]

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28] 182 155

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as; the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul- 182

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi ˈyoti·yaš heˈba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Saiˈhu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokonːk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, saneˈnaš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 753 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewuˈki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was tːpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 ●157 273 E.M.'s brother, Haiˈaiˈːč, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 On another occasion he wanted to get some-
825 thing to drink, and went to kumku m:č (humming-
157 bird place) where there was a little saloon.
He came back, drinking along the way, and
finally fell by the roadside. While he was
273 unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let
us pack this man to our den." They took him
home and kept him all night. When he woke in
the morning he was frightened. The bears were
dancing; they told him to join, and all danced
together for some time. At last they let him
go, but told him to be sure to return in four
days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out
as fast as he could and never went back."

756 When talking of the doctor's cache or
556 pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any
422 of the objects said to be in them. She told
the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went black-
berrying in the direction of Kings River. The
old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea,
and died about one week after her return home.
At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai':č was "just
beginning to get his power." He had gone up to
visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by super-
natural means what was happening at home, so
returned. But his mother died before his ar-
[164] rival. Then he went to his father's pački and
brought back a large handsome basket. This he
placed over his mother's head, and he talked,
saying where he had got the basket and that it
was to be buried with her. This was the only
object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely
knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 To illustrate the danger of a layman en-
556 tering a pački she related the following.

422 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip:t, and
his wife went out to dig roots. The old man
753 went toward his father's pački. Though he was
not a shaman, he danced in front of it and
called to his father. The door opened a wee
bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he
put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings
of humna around his neck; he took many baskets.
He returned to his wife and hung beads on her.
They took these things home. Immediately
Čip:t fell ill. His face and eyes became
swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in
six days. He was a plain man and had tampered
with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but
had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grand-
father" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were
very fond of this old man, they played around
him frequently at his house. On one very
foggy morning he told them to run outside be-
cause he was going to die. The fog cleared
suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit.
He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it
had told him he was going to die that day.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 124 not Processed]

CHAPTER VII

GAMES

SHINNY

526 It comes as a surprise to many persons to find that a number of the games played by pioneer white children were well known to the Indians. One of the most characteristic of these is Shinny. Shinny was probably the most wide-spread of any of the athletic-type games, and is said to have been common over the greater portion of North America. "Shinny on your own side" is not a new expression in the San Joaquin Valley. The game was called *Kah-dah-doo'-itch* by the Wukchumne Yokuts.

The shinny game was an extremely rough game among the Indians. We know this to be true of the game played by white boys, but we are assured that it was much rougher as played by young Indians. They would yell, push and shove, and strike each other on the shins with their clubs. They entered into the game in the most aggressive sort of way. In spite of all this, we are told by pioneers that they never saw a fight or quarrel in connection with an Indian game. This conforms very [157] well with what we know of Indian characteristics, as, except when under the influence of liquor, they possessed far more self-control than most white persons.

We are told by native Indians that several highly prized shinny clubs were included in the equipment of every well-regulated household. A great deal of labor was often expended in preparing the club, and it was very carefully preserved. Indians yet living say that when they were children they hunted along the banks of the streams for small saplings having a curved root exposed. The roots and lower portions of the saplings were carefully cut away and taken to the rancheria. They were then carefully whittled and scraped to shape, seasoned and hardened in the fire. The result was a smooth, nicely balanced club, resembling the hockey club now in use by white people.

A wooden ball, generally made from an oak burl, was used. It was about the size of a baseball, and was called *hupduish* (hoop-do'-ish). Two Indians started the play about as boys do

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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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[120]See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

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[172]

[121]Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[122]Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

T. [P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

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159 member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[769 551]

[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i [i.e. Frank Manuel. - Analyst]

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ´'in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wa in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ´n"wao, was east of Čena"a. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s'ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´w'l ti´'i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´'i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

10 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concern-
ing this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodore Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

● 159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in 131
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 361
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses 159
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 648
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 797
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old.

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south
103 to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

"We stay there one week and have dance for dead people.
[648] Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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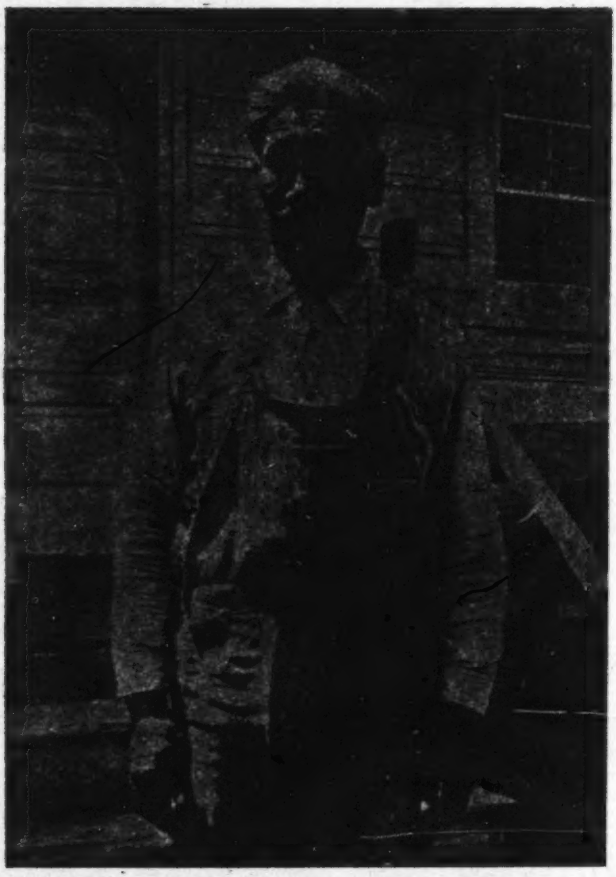

This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] when he was small boy. He call that village *Hah-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahno's old-time stories were just like ours—how Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and 159 773

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 how the Kahwatchwah got fire. He told me lots more things
773 'bout his people, but I guess I forget 'em. It's too long ago."

During November and December of 1815, Sergeant Jose
175 Dolores Pico made an excursion into the Joaquin after Indians who had run many horses away from Mission San Juan Bautista. In his diary-report covering this expedition, Pico mentioned several Indian names which may be the names of Indian tribes, of villages, or of headmen of villages.

Pico stated that his party traveled easterly from San Luis Gonzaga, which is located definitely enough to be positively identified as present San Luis Gonzaga Rancho Headquarters at the east mouth of Pacheo Pass. Leaving San Luis in the evening and traveling eastwardly, the party arrived about midnight "at the creek called San Jose."

At first thought one might decide that the San Jose Creek mentioned would be the well known Sanjon de San Jose in the vicinity of San Jose School, Kings County. But between evening and midnight they could not possibly have traveled that far, a distance of seventy-five miles, airline, and at least ninety miles by known trails. The nearest point on that channel, now known as Fish Slough, southeast of Mendota, is fifty miles airline from San Luis, and about sixty-five miles by the old trail.

Pico's party certainly did not travel at more than five miles an hour, or at most, twenty-five miles between seven P. M. and midnight. This would have taken them to about the present Santa Rita Rancho, directly east from San Luis. They probably traveled at a rate of about three miles an hour. One can be certain that at midnight they were somewhere between San Luis Camp (seven miles north of present Los Baños) and present Dos Palos.

The Pico force rested from midnight until "time to fall upon the rancherie of the *Che neches*." The name used could have been that of the local chief, the tribe, or the village. One would suppose it was the name of the tribe, but experience has taught that the name of the tribe was seldom obtained by such parties. Most often they designated villages and even tribes by the name of the local Headman, who was well known to them and who was on their "must" list.

Four leagues away (anywhere from nine to fifteen miles, according to the accuracy with which such expeditions estimated distance) was a "rancherie called *Nopchendies*." The

796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

796 "When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
159 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
756 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
[151] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live.

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on downfeathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. [522]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is 198
crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik,* long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit,* chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 657 [461] Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes; pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

159 173 648 First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high; wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat on river take white man across water. Then lots white man come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutunutu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief, Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Then Tomkit talk Major Savage. He tell him, "It's summer now; it's hot; it's long way Kuyu Illik, Kings River, where Choinimne live; it long way Nutununtu Indian; lony way Chauchile Indian; long way *Kahwatchwah* Indian. Take long time see all them Indian. I think maybe take my men three, four weeks see 'em. They run long way; they sweat lots. Why you want us do this? What they gonna do that paper we got sign?" 159 173 648

I hear all this. Tomkit say, "You be next chief, Pahmit. You hear what white man say."

Then Major Savage he tell Tomkit. Major Savage, he say, "I big medicine man with big father at Washington. You haf do what I say. I hurt you if I want to. I make all your people die. I make all fish go out river. I make all antelope, all elk go 'way. I make dark. You do what I say, nothing hurt you. But you no hurt me. You shoot me with bow, arrow, I live. I do all thing I tell you 'bout. You shoot me with pistol, you no hurt me."

Major Savage have nice six shooter. My people never see six shooter before. They see rifle; they see pistol. One, two my people know how shoot 'em.

Major Savage put white handkerchief side oak tree. He load six shooter one, two, three, six bullet. He put powder; he put paper; he put bullet; he stand close tree. He shoot handkerchief, one, two, three, six time. Every time he make hole in handkerchief.

My people all stand 'round close, see. Major Savage load six shooter 'gen. We see him put powder, paper, bullet. Then he give our man. "Now, you shoot me. You shoot me; you no hurt me. You no kill me. Don't you 'fraid. You go 'head, shoot; you no kill me." Then he stand close our man. Our man shoot, bang! Then Major Savage he grab in air with his hand. He don't fall down. Our people look each other. They say he big medicine man. Then our man shoot 'gen. He shoot six time. Major Savage, he grab in air six time. Our people all come close, look. Then Major Savage hold out hand, open it. We see six bullet our man shoot. Major Savage catch 'em all his hand.

My grandpa, Tomkit, he see that. He b'lieve 'em. I see that. I b'lieve 'em, too. All my people see that. They all think Major Savage big medicine man. They all think they better do what he say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 173 648

Then Major Savage he talk. He tell us, "Now you do what I say. You bring chief all Indian tribe here. You bring 'em here ten days now. You bring two Indian each tribe. You bring one chief; you bring one *moke* for me. I want one wife each Indian tribe."

My grandpa, Tomkit, he send men bring all Indian chief; tell all Indian chief bring one Indian wife Major Savage. Indian chief all come Kuyu Illik. They bring Indian wife Major Savage. I think they bring seventeen. I think some run 'way. I think seven stay work for Major Savage.

After all chief come Kuyu Illik, one, maybe two days, big man from Washington come with paper. Lots 'em come. I think they fifteen, maybe twenty horse-back soldier. They three soldier on four horses wagon. They stop wagon Kuyu Illik on big open place south my grandpa's house. All Indian crowd 'round, look. All chief set 'round on ground.

Some soldier take three big box out wagon. They put 'em in open place, each one up top. Then Indian get on top, way up high. He talk our people. That Indian belong our people long time 'go. When he little boy, Spanish preacher take him Mission at San Juan. At San Juan he learn read, write, talk like white man. Big white chief call him Charlie. Our people call him *Yo'-ho.* White chief talk him. Then Yoho talk us long time. He talk, 'n talk, 'n talk. He turn 'round, 'n 'round, 'n 'round on box. My people all hear him. He say we got give big Father at Washington all our land. We got go down valley, live. He say big white Father at Washington send us clothes; send us flour, send us blanket, send us horse. He say big white Father send us teacher, so our people go school like white man.

Our people no like that. They think all right send things. They no like go down valley. No acorn there; too many Indian there. They think have fight with Indian there. My grandpa, Tomkit tell Yoho. Yoho talk long time big white chief.

Then Major Savage he go wagon. He bring whisky; he bring tobacco. He tell all Indian set down, they gonna smoke. Major Savage fill tobacco pipe. He make one puff, he give pipe Indian. All Indian make one puff. All white chief make one puff.

Then Major Savage give 'em lots whisky. Then Yoho talk long time 'gen. Our chief all set 'round, listen. Then they make sign mark on piece paper. *Co-toom'-se,* chief with *Chuck-*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[142]

Pahmit in 1929, aged about 100 years, by the wall of the old stone guardhouse at Fort Miller. Pahmit helped to build this wall about 1854.

chan'-se. He sign 'em. My father, *Dawk-taw,* he chief with Dumna tribe Indians. Some people call him *Tap'-pah.* He sign 'em. My uncle, To'-mas, he chief *Kit-cha'-ye* tribe. He sign 'em. Lots Indians sign 'em. Take long time. Then white chief go 'way.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Major Savage go 'way. He go Kings River. White man
173 there shoot Major Savage like our man shoot 'im. Major Sav-
648 age he die. Ha! Ha! Why he no catch 'em bullets?

Then white man come; they mine gold in river. They shoot Indian. Soldier put Indian in jail; they whip Indian. They run all Indian 'way from village Kuyu Illik. They burn all Indian house.

They smooth ground where Indian house burn. They play music there. Blue clothes soldier march, march, march there. They make Indian dig dirt, mix mud; make adobe brick; make white soldier big house. White men call big house Fort Miller. They take Indian by tree over river. They hang 'em there; they cut rope and dead Indian fall in river. My grandpa, Tomkit, he tell white soldier, "You better look out." He tell white miner, "You better look out. Indian spirits no like you do this. Pretty soon bad things happen you."

Then high water come wash 'way all white man's store; wash 'way lots white man; wash 'way lots, lots Chinaman. Then pretty soon white soldiers all go away. My people think Indian spirit make 'em go. They glad. They dance. They
[165] sing. Not many Indian left. Lots Indian die whisky; lots Indian die bad white man sickness. Just few Indian left. Indian live Kuyu Illik 'gen. White miner still whip Indian; still shoot Indian.

Then by 'n by, white man all talk fight. They say long way off, white man shoot white man. Lots white man go long way off, fight. Then white soldier come back Fort Miller. This time white soldier pretty good man; they no shoot Indian, they no whip Indian too much. Some Indian work for white soldier; white soldier give 'em flour, give 'em tobacco, but Indian pretty near all gone. White soldier stay this time maybe three, maybe four years. Then all go 'way. I never see no more white soldier.

159 My father, Dawktaw, gone. My grandpa, Tomkit, gone. My uncle, Tomas, gone. I big chief now, but no got Indian tribe. Just me; just my sister left. My sister got one boy, got one girl. I blind; I no see. I no see maybe ten, fifteen year. I got one boy; he got three, four, baby. We work hard, we don't have 'nough eat. Big Father at Washington no send flour; no send horse; no send clothes; no send blanket, like white chief say when Indian sign paper at Kuyu Illik.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

My people no drink whisky, I think be lots Indian yet. I drink just once. I work for white man. He put me in wagon. He take me home. He tell me, "Pahmit, whisky no good. Whisky kill white man. Whisky kill Indian. You no drink 'em." White man good my friend. I live long time. Pretty soon I go. Then white man no haf pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. 159

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LAST CHUNUT

Of the several thousand pioneers I have interviewed, no one was more fascinating than *Yoimut* (Yoi'-mut), last survivor of the *Chunut* Yokuts tribe which once occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. It is of interest to know how I found Yoimut. 115 124

One evening I was at the Loy Cutler ranch east of Visalia, talking with Indian Joe Wilcox, making inquiry about the individuals who had been the last survivors of several extinct San Joaquin Valley Indian tribes. Joe had known several last survivors, those from the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Telumne, Pahdwishi, Wowol,* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. I asked him about the Chunut. For a moment or two he was at a loss to recollect. Suddenly remembering, he spoke, "There is one Chunut left. Her daughter was here last night. She is at the W. H. Wilbur ranch, near Tulare."

It was then 10:30 P.M., December 1, 1930. I immediately drove to the Wilbur ranch. Billy Wilbur had not gone to bed, so he climbed in the car with me and at 11:30 we were in the cotton camp in the Wilbur field. Soon we had awakened everyone at the camp. Yoimut's daughter and son-in-law talked with us in the kitchen. Yoimut stood silent in a doorway. I explained who I was and that I wanted Yoimut to go with me to our home for a visit, so I could record her story. I expected it to take at least two or three days to persuade her to go.

No one spoke. The daughter looked inquiringly at Yoimut. Yoimut then addressed me in as good English as I could ask and said, "Yes, we know all about you. Our people tell us all about the questions you ask them. Lots of times I tell them what to tell you. I like to tell my story myself. I will go with you tomorrow."

And so Yoimut came. From the first she was as interested and interesting as it is possible for a person to be. She had a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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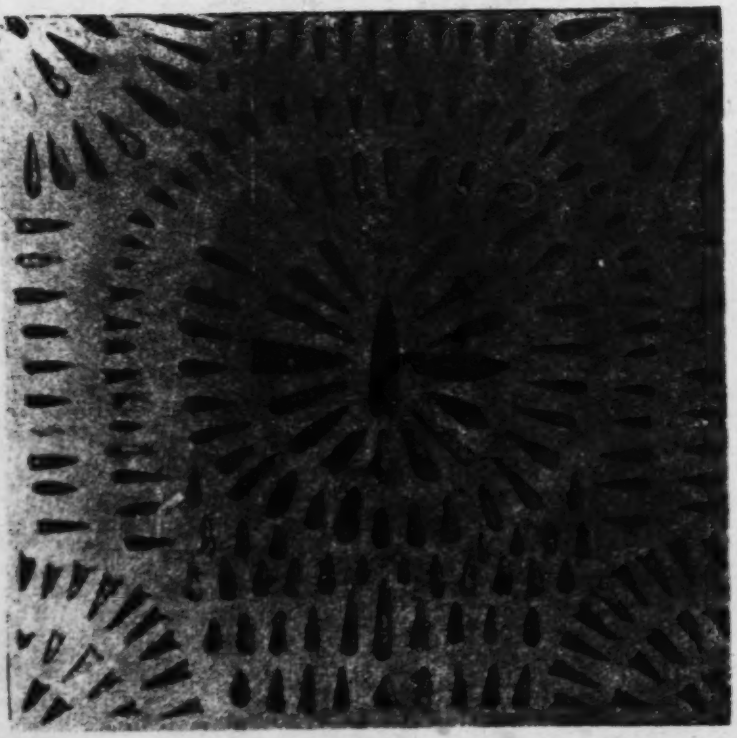

Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tubohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

● 159 361 I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

sugar factory about a mile south-east of Visalia. This was the real old Telumne head village. When I was a little girl there I knew the last chief of that tribe. His name was *Nahalets* (Nah-ha'-leets). White people called him Joaquin. His wife was *Hawtulu* (Haw-too'-loo, meaning Hoot-owl). They were the head people there when I was born. 159 [361]

My father's name was *Po'-kah-sah'*. He was born at the old Chunut village called *Mih-ka'-et* just south of the mouth of Tule River. I believe the white people call that place Turnbull. It was about a mile above the old Turnbull house. At Mihkaet my people used to surround antelope and kill them. We call them *suey'-yohl*. My father died when I was about six years old, but my mother showed me the place two or three times. [361]

My mother was *Te-ta-we'-cot*. She was born at the old Wowol village of *Chawlawin* on Atwell Island where Alpaugh is now. *Wocoiyu* (Wo-coi'-you), my mother's father, was chief of the *Wowol* tribe. When he died his oldest brother was chief. This brother's name was *Teh-nih'-pahs*. After I was grown he died at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lah'-ne), the "Fish" Rice Rancheria, four miles south of Farmersville. I learned much about my old-time people from him. He was my good uncle. [361]

When I was a little girl at Watot Shulul there was a big log fence around the old house at the Blankenship ranch just southeast of us. They were afraid of the Indians. We used to laugh at this, for we used to work for the Blankenships and we knew our people would never hurt them.

There was a young Indian girl working for Mrs. Blankenship. Once they could not find her. They looked for a long time. They found her dead and covered up with dirt and leaves. Some of our people saw a white man take her from where she was washing. We were afraid to say anything about it. He was bad man. He killed lots of Indians and he would have killed us if we had told Mr. Blankenship. We have always been sure that the white man killed her.

I have heard my mother and lots of other Indians tell about the log fence in Visalia, too, but I never saw it. The white people built it because they were afraid of the Indians. It was torn down before I was old enough to remember.

When I was about seven years old the Indians all got sick at Watot Shulul. Lots of them died. They had measles. The Telumne tribe was all broken up. The chief, Nahalets, died 159 164

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu,* and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake.* I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

Just a few months before I was born my father and mother
[103 361] lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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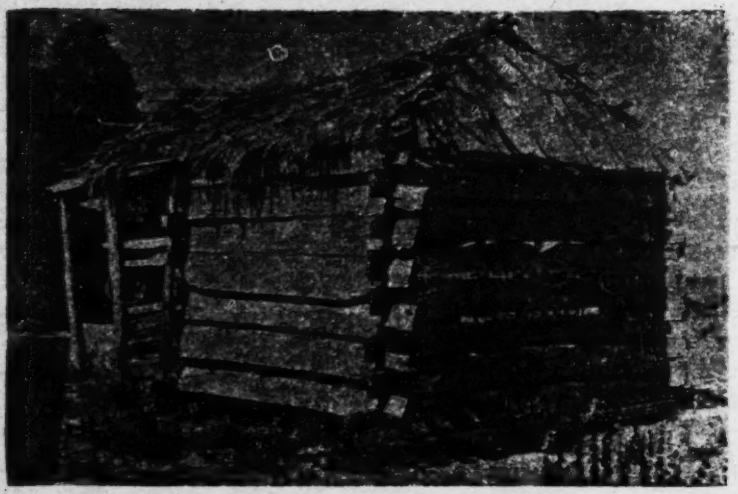

Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the [361] old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the [164] big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and never cheated us.
648

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.
[868] [854]

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

I was about six years old when we moved from Watot Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.
159 769

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol*, a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke*, who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne*. He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit*. One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let*.

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

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159 769 There was a big brush shade around where they danced. The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes [624] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, [574] Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a [551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put [302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father [317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we [152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until [262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the [551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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"Old Bria," an aged, blind Wakchamna, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

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159 769 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

159 769 624 The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Winat'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 769 [152] At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Everything was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*. [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing. [539] This was one of the songs they sang:

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[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach. [533] [302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die. 159 769 292 237

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together. 159 769 293

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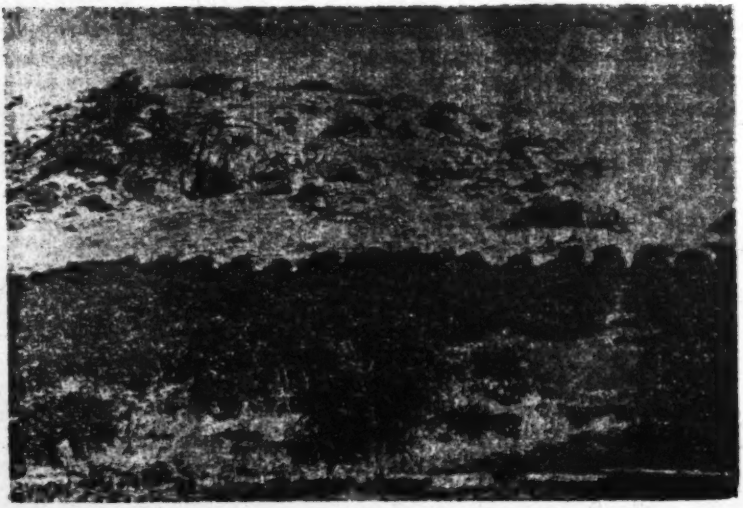

This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the Wukchumne called it Ho-hu'-no.

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs. [535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 769 756 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne*. The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

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The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159 769 756 [624]

Then the Teah called, "*He'-ahn tahn'-hin.*" The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed Cuksa

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159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.
756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he
[624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took
[755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him
[237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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They took the stuffed clothes back into the house this fourth night. They did not burn them. Then some of the people sang and cried and danced until the next night. 159 769

The fifth night about midnight they brought out the same stuffed clothes and marched around and around the fire singing the same song. But this time they threw everything in the fire.

Just before they burned everything the Winatun threw small dry oak limbs on the fire to make a big blaze. Then the chief called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and they threw everything in the fire, almost all at once. The fire was almost covered up with stuffed clothes, baskets, and things that had belonged to the dead people.

The Ahanich (professional singers) had the right to catch anything they could as it was thrown on the fire. If they caught it, or could grab it out of the fire before it was burned, it belonged to them. Sometimes they got a whole suit of clothes, sometimes they got good baskets. [533]

It was all right for the Ahanich to keep the clothes and wear them. But they had to get them to their camp before the person who threw them in could catch hold of them. If the Ahanich was caught, he had to give the things back to the person who had thrown them in and then that person could keep them and use them, or wear them. They did not need to be burned if the Ahanich caught them or took them out of the fire.

When the things were first thrown on the fire there was a good chance to take some out without getting burned. But in just a few seconds everything was on fire. We stood back and tried to throw the things over the Ahanich's heads into the middle of the fire.

I remember that one Ahanich caught a fine basket, one like they made just to burn. He ran for his camp. The lady who had thrown it in caught him, but he pulled loose and ran on. They quarreled about it and the Teah took the basket and threw it back in the fire.

By daylight everything was burned up and only a few people were singing and crying around their own fires. They kept that up all day.

My mother worked hard to get the money to buy the clothes to burn in the fire for my father. She washed for the Blankenships and for Mrs. "Fish" Rice. But you white people do the same thing. You save money and dress dead people in good clothes. You spend lots of money for coffin.

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 769 [775] Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahs* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 767 769 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

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and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn.* Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

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775 there every night, just like they used to do here. They play games and have a good time. They eat *toi'-uk* seed mush which never gets any smaller, no matter how much they eat. In the morning they all disappear and nothing can be seen of them until the next night, when the *Win-at'-un* [dove, the messenger] builds new fires for the dances and calls them all back to their natural selves. You may walk through any nice place in the trees where the Indians hold their Lonewis dances for Tihpiknits Pahn. In the daytime you can not see any of the people. They have changed into a rotten log, clam shell, or something. At night you have to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural] to see them. I never saw them. I just heard Indian doctors say that. But we always go very quiet through a nice place out in the trees.

775 825 In Tihpiknits Pahn, *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are always playing the old game of *Hih'-sa Na'-us*. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Kiyu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pulls feathers from him.

Kiyu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of the winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Kiyu won that time". When we heard *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying. Watite was the Winatun for the Ahanich who sang at the Lonewis.

159 825 Watite, the little ground owl, lives in squirrel holes. His head looks like an Indian woman's head when she has cut her bangs and her hair off with a fire stick and is crying for someone who has died. We used to sing a nice song about him. It is a *Wowol* song. My mother taught it to me. When I cried about anything she would hold up her first finger and say, "*Lahn'-he*, listen, Watite hears you crying and he is singing for you." She would make a little play. She would put her hand on top of her head to make it flat like Watite's. She would make a move with her other hand like she was cutting her hair off and cutting her bangs for the Lonewis. She would stand on one leg and draw the other up like Watite does. Of course my mother was an old woman when she died. But I remember her to sing this song for me when she was a young, pretty woman. She was always good to me. Every day she

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159 825

would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah* [537]
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim[illegible]'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it. 775

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

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775 again on the pesasin string and traveled six days toward the south and the rancheria where his parents-in-law lived. Then he hid in the brush until after almost everyone at the rancheria had gone to sleep.

When all was quiet the husband crept quietly to the house where his parents-in-law lived and called to them. He could hear them crying softly inside. When he called they stopped crying and answered him. They were overjoyed at his return and stopped crying.

Upon being asked where he had been he said, "I have just been walking around the country. I must hide. Fix a place for me." A small lean-to was built on the side of the house. In this the husband hid. By morning no one could tell that the house had been changed at all.

In the morning the people at the rancheria were all surprised to see that the parents-in-law did not cry. They were so happy that the people knew the husband had returned. The people kept asking about him. He was just inside the thin tule partition and could hear everything that was said.

For five days and nights the husband hid and listened to the people inquiring about him. Then he could endure it no longer. He came out and told all the people to come together around the fire and he would tell them where he had been and all that he had seen. The people all came and listened to the husband's story.

Just as the husband finished talking, a rattlesnake, who was there as a watchman for Tihpiknits, bit him and he immediately fell dead.

That is how the Yokuts came to know where the dead people go and what they do in Tihpiknits Pahn.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE GHOST DANCE

159 All of the Indian tribes around Tulare Lake had good
756 Doctors. Some doctors were just *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo). They could give people medicine and help them a little. But they could not help very much. Some of the doctors were *Trip'-ne* [had supernatural power]. They could do anything. They could make it rain. They could make anyone die. They could change themselves into coyote, bear, or eagle. We were always afraid of Tripne Doctors. We were not afraid of Ahnutru Doctors.

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The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuhmoom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-pahs,* taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone. 159 756 778

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that. 159 755

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. 159 756

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would 159 754

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159 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The
754 Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were follow-
159 ing him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah.
754 Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and
627 go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "*Een-sis* (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to Tulamni, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at Tulamni. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian
159 Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked
756 to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop
[754] the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they talked about it for a long time.

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The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we). 159 756 769

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley. [103]

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek. [103]

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpikntis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We [535]

[text continues on p. 249]

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *No-he'-st*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

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159 769 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

159 342 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake, my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

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I think most of the houses had been burned, because I 159
remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two 342
of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house.

It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were [354]
about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came.

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. 159
It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other 343
houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Maws*.

The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a 159
house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made 342
these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.)

Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to

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159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.

342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake. [361] They always were close to the water and the ground was wet. When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win,* on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was [361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few [361] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol) had was called *Che.* It was a long tule house. It was made so 342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule 592 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

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the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

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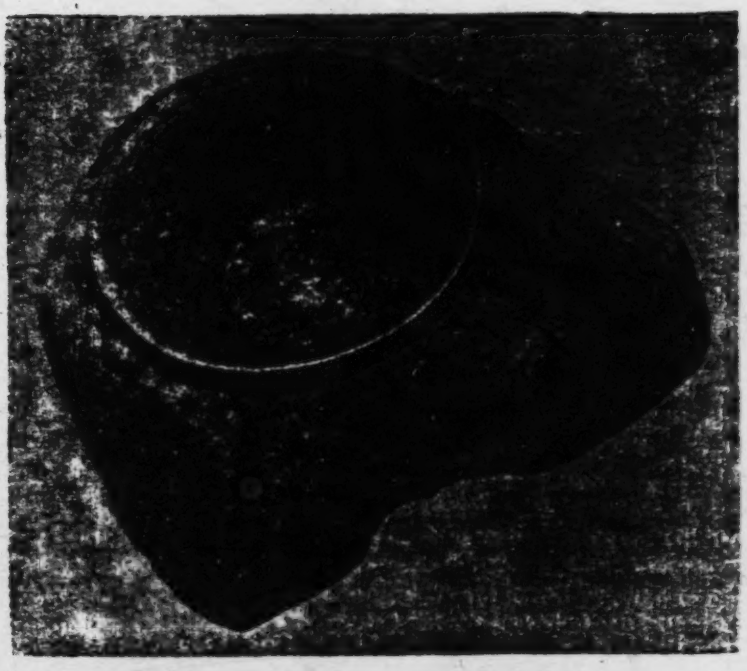

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
512

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right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call- 513
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159 513
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 237
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. [438]
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-sum'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

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159 291 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 304 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed [184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their [302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 386 438 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted [765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 531 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used red, white, and black. and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain [438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 372 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 524 533 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready!" or, "Here it comes." [624]

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159 526 When they played for fun they did not keep the score. If they gambled they played ten or twenty points. The Winatun kept the score by marking on the ground with his toe.

[525] [802] The ring was made of tules. It was about twelve inches across. It had a hole about the size of my fist in the middle. It was wound tightly with tules. We make a point when an arrow hit the ring and stuck in it, not when it went through the hole in the center.

The Tulare Lake Indians had a football game, too. They called it *tahl'-wats*. For a football they used a burl from an ash tree. It was about as big as a baseball. We called the ball *aw'-lul tah-ow'-chit*.

Some Indians used a rock for a football. I heard that the Nutunutu did that. I never saw it. The wooden ball was heavy enough. We did not kick the ball. We caught our toes under it and threw it with our feet.

Two people played at once. They took the ball around a tree or a stake about two hundred yards from where they started. They called the goal *sick'-aht*. The players carried the ball around the outpost and back to the goal as fast as they could.

They went around the post in opposite directions. *Hipaets* (Hih-pa'-eets) the referee, ran along with them to see that they went around the outpost and that they did not touch the other person's ball. We kept the score with small sticks, which we called *we'-chet*. [802]

The *Chunut* (Choo-noot) had a shinny game, too. We called that *Kats-le'-wits*. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) had another kind called *Kawm'-wats*. A lot of people played in that game. I saw all of the Tokelewits at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-e) play against all the Nutuwits at one time in the Wowol game. I think there must be two hundred people in that game. My side, the Tokelewits, won.

In both shinny games we used a club made from the ash tree. The crooked part was made from the root. They made them nice and smooth and dried them in the fire. That made them good and strong. We called the shinny club *kah'-tahl*.

In the Chunut game we put the outpost about two hundred yards away from the goal stick. The goal stick we called *sick'-it*. The outpost we called *kaw-naw'-um wa'-uh* [the turning place]. It was a race between two teams. Each team had a ball. There were three or four players on each side. The

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referee started them and kept the score. The game was over when one side was three turns ahead of the other. 159 526

Shinny was a rough game. Lots of people got hurt at it. They would get in front of the other ball and try to stop it and would get hit by it. The same ball was used for shinny that we used in football.

The players on each side did not all run together. One started the ball. He knocked it to a man about fifty yards away. That man knocked it to another. The farthest player took the ball around the post and knocked it back to the others. They knocked it back to the start. Good players did not have to run very much.

The Wowol played a different kind of shinny. I saw them play it. They called it *Kawm'-wats*. They had two goals about two hundred yards apart. One was to the west. It was called *too-qhell* and the Tokelewits took their ball to that side. The one at the east was called *naws'-to*. The Nutuwits took their ball to that side. The goals were two stakes, about two feet apart. To make a point the ball had to pass between the stakes. [525] That made a game, unless they were gambling. Then they played three points ahead.

The Wowol started halfway between the goals. They buried the ball in loose dirt. They called the starting place *lo-kaw'-lah-tun*. Two men started the game. When the Hipaets called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," the two starters began to dig the ball out of the dirt with their clubs.

The Tokelewits got between the starters and the Nutuwits' goal. The Nutuwits got on the other side. As soon as the ball started, everyone ran after the ball and hit at it with their clubs. We had lots of fun at this game.

At the village play-ground the children and young men played another game called *I-ke'-wits*. They threw a long stick at a bundle of tules. The stick was about as high as your head. It had a sharp wooden point and feathers on the other end like an arrow.

The tules were tied tight into a bundle and one end buried in the ground. About one foot was out of the ground. It was a little bigger than your arm. We made a point when we stuck the stick in the tule bundle. We called the stick *i'-yuk*. We threw it about fifty feet. A game was twenty hits.

We played another game called *Cuh-moom'-wits*. We used the stone that is round and has a hole in it like a doughnut. We

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159 called the stone *Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah* [thunder and lightning stone].
526 The Winatun rolled the stone on the village game place. He called out like he did for the start of the other games.

The players stood at one side like they did in the ring and arrow game. But they counted the points different. They had a point when the arrow went through the hole. Only the good hunters played this game. It was a gambling game.

The boys played another game with the same round stone. They set it on some loose dirt and shot arrows through it. They counted it the same as when they rolled it. I do not remember what they called this game.

159 The Chunut men had a long game to guess which hand they had *Ahlewus* (Ah-le'-wus), the bone, in. They called the game
524 Ahlewus, too. That was what the Wowol called it. The Chunut called it *Wa-luh'-wus*. I do not know the guessing game very well. Only men played it. The Wowol used only one bone to guess for. Some tribes used two bones, a white one and a black one. The men sat on the ground facing each other with a deer skin or a blanket on the ground between them. They put their hands behind them to hide the bone. Then they brought it in front, hidden in their hands.

The man on the other side tried to guess which hand the bone was in. If he guessed it was in the left hand one finger was pointed at the left hand. If he changed his mind quick he could point two fingers on the same hand. That meant the bone was in the other hand, in the one he was not pointing at. They kept count with small sticks, ten, I think. They sang a song with it, but I do not remember it. I only played that game once. We did not think it was nice for women to play that game.

Both the Wowol and Chunut women played a game with dice. They played it on a big tray made like a basket, called *ti'-won*. The game was called *Huchuish* (Hoo-choo'-ish). Four women played at one tiwon. They threw dice on the tiwon. The dice were made of walnut shells filled with pitch. They were numbered from one to eight by fastening beads or pieces of abalone shell into the pitch. Sometimes they were made of big acorn caps. The dice were called *hoo'-wawts*.

The Chunut used thirteen *we'-chet* [scoring sticks] to keep the count. When two women won all of the sticks twice in succession they won the game. The dice were gathered in the

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hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, "*Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,*" meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

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539 finch. One of the birds would sit on *pahn*, the ground. He was "it" like in hide-and-go-seek. The others would peck at him.

A'-nis, my Grandfather, used to say that the Tawtawkits birds were playing an old game that was played by the old-time bird and animal *Yo'-kuts* [people] before the Indians came to California. One bird would sit on the ground and close its eyes. The rest would fly close to it. Then *Weutoi* (We'-oo-toi), the bird on the ground, would peck at them. If it pulled out *te-pit'-pil* [feathers], that bird must sit on pahn, the ground, beside it until all the rest of Weutoi, the birds, were caught. Then the game began all over.

Once, in the old days, the Tawtawkits were playing their game and *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, came along. He said, "What are you people doing?"

The birds answered, "We are playing Hihsuh Naes."

"Let me play that game," said Kiyu.

Kiyu was *he-ow'-trah* [mean] and the birds were afraid to come near him. He shut his eyes only part way and said, "Come close to me. Come close to my nose. Do not be afraid. I will not hurt you. Come on." Soon Tawtawkits began fluttering about Kiyu's nose. Soon he snapped one from the air and swallowed it. Then he called again to the birds to come closer still.

Again Kiyu caught and ate a Tawtawkits. After the third bird had been eaten, the birds began to talk among themselves. They said, "Where did those other birds go? They are not on the ground beside Kiyu. Kiyu is heowtrah. He must have eaten them." So Tawtawkits would not play with Kiyu any more.

Kiyu still wanted to play, but finally he went on along a trail until he came to *lah'-pah*, the cotton tree. He sat down under lahpah to rest. He saw *top'-top*, the leaf, come fluttering down. Then two more came whirling down. "I can do that," said Kiyu. He climbed up high in the tree and jumped to the ground. He fell on his face and was killed, *Kiyu tow'-it-se* [coyote is dead].

159 533 My people had lots of songs. Once I knew almost all of them. My mother used to sing them. Now I remember only a few. The one I remember best was called *Wih-la'-litch We'-peh*, the lizard song. The little white-grey lizard of *Chaw-law'-win*, the plains, sang this song. *Wihlalitch* was an *Ahn'-troo* Doctor, but he wanted to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural].

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159 533 539

Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

When I was about ten years old my mother married again. 159 Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa 103 Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and 361 at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay 587 at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white 159 people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had 361 two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of [578] *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of 159 us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, 166 my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at 361 Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the [103] name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

159 We were at the camp about three months, until summer
was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

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have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

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166 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they
[223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
159 like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
166 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
484 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
501 did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

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Soon it was dark and we were all cold and wet. It was just as wet on the boat as if we were in the lake. We could all swim, but we were afraid all of the time, because the water was about seven feet deep and the rough water would drown us if we fell in it. So we stayed awake all night and shivered and held on to each other.

When it got daylight we could not see the land in any way. We could see the Kettleman Hills and the Sierra, but we were away out in the middle of the lake. The water was too deep to reach bottom with our poles. The wind was all gone, so we had to wait.

We stayed out there all day. It looked like we stood right still. I guess we did. There were lots of fish under the boat. My stepfather speared lots of nice ones. We could look down through kotlaum, the spearing hole, and see nothing but fish.

It was hot in the daytime, so we all got dry and warm. We made a fire and cooked fish, using the loose dry tules to burn. We were not hungry and we were not afraid any more, but we did not see how we were ever going to get to land. We stayed there all of that day and that night. It was a nice moonlight night and very pretty on the water. My mother told stories and sang for us almost all night and we had a good time.

When it came daylight again we could just see the tules on Chawlowin. But the tule boat looked like it was just standing still. My stepfather could just reach the bottom with our longest pole. We stayed out there all day again, and we got pretty tired of it. By dark my stepfather and my mother could use the poles on the bottom and they worked almost all night pushing the raft toward Chawlowin. By daylight we could see the land about a half mile away. Almost as soon as we could see, a heavy wind started up and in a few minutes the boat hit the bottom about one hundred yards from the tules.

Before we could get off the boat three or four men waded out to meet us. One of them was my mother's brother. We were very glad to see him. The men helped us to the shore and then they began to push the boat around to the west where they had a camp. It took all the rest of the day to get it around there.

We walked along the lake to the camp through a narrow trail in the high tules. Sometimes the water came up to our knees. The north wind was blowing hard again and that made the water come in on the land.

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island. 648

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more. 159 342

We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way. 159 262 223

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point. 159 224 [411]

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

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old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this [251] on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes.

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked 159 best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as 226 big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called 136 *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish.

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was [251] dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass [263] salt with the dried fish. That made it good.

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

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136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about 361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'- 166 wol) and two *Chumut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first 159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to 648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six 166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none [147] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

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An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it.. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went 361
back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

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159
166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahduwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
159 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
224 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with
165 the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it.* I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
361

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 439 [482]

The people who wanted to trade carried their things in baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

[576]

When the two parties got close to each other they all took hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

[539] [533]

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah
(sung five times)
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

159 312

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

159 133

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 115 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 177 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:

[533 539]

Toke'-uh lih'-muh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)

Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings [312 River was much as it is now (save for oases of 311] agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] .. our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across tha plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen [161 rancherias of Indians upon this river, number- 36] ing in all probably about three thousand, in- [648 cluding those situated among the hills of the 181] vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[15] Ibid., 257.
[16] Ibid., 258-260.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the [16] débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en 361] route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

[20] Ibid., 261.
[21] Ibid., 262.

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[361]
[342]

I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

[561]
[252]

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

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The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769
177

Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

[532]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
161 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo
177 to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process. 161 177 797

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain. 161 161 177 161

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

161 too small for an estimate of the original block. The remnant may be 2 per cent or 5. It does not help to answer the question.

101 This uncertainty weakens one of the potentially strongest lines of evidence that might bear on the problem of the ancient population
161 of California. The Yokuts held a full tenth, possibly an eighth, of the area of the State. If we knew their numbers, a simple multiplication, corrected by an allowance for productivity of the soil under native exploitation, would yield a total that would be of value for controlling estimates derived by other methods. Groups of narrower range or numbers do not justify the application of such procedure; conditions are too unrepresentative. The Yurok, for instance, owned barely one-half of 1 per cent of the area of California, the Chemehuevi perhaps 5 per cent: ratios that, with what is known of their numbers, would give in the one case well over half a million and in the other much less than 50,000 for the State.

161 However, the almost lost opportunity may be essayed. Say 18,000 Yokuts in a ninth of California: 162,000 Indians once in the State. Or, taking the highest possible figures, 25,000 in a tenth, gives 250,000 as a maximum limit.

Then comes the correction. There undoubtedly were areas more densely populated than the average of the Yokuts habitat: the Santa Barbara Islands, stretches of the shore fronting them, certain valleys in the coast region, the district of the lower Klamath. There were probably as many Pomo on Clear Lake as Yokuts on much larger Tulare Lake. But these areas of concentration were small. It was apparently precisely the fact of their confinement that brought about the density. The additions to be made to the total on account of distinctly heavier population are therefore not very great in the aggregate.

The deductions to be made for a sinking of the Yokuts ratio in less favorable regions are more considerable. A full third of the State is thorough desert, substantially desert, high mountains, bare lava flow, or dense timber. In all these environments the population was of the slenderest. Generally such regions were not even inhabited except in oasislike spots; and that the maps in the present and other volumes show continuous territories rather than these significant oases is not because the entire areas have been thought to be inhabited, but because ignorance of precise conditions of habitation has rendered other delineation impracticable for most of the State. Everything east of the Sierra, its entire upper portion, a solid three-fourths of southern California, most of the northeastern angle of the State, and a number of tracts in the coast ranges, belong to these thinly populated regions, which loom broadly enough to bring down by at least a fourth any total computed from the rate prevailing in more favored regions.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Let us balance this reduction by the smaller additions and say that not a fourth but a fifth must be taken from the multiplicative total. That diminishes by 32,000 our apparently soundest estimate of 162,000 and gives for the native population of the State 130,000, or about eight times the present number of full bloods and mixed bloods combined. At any rate, there is a high degree of probability that the actual figure fell between 100,000 and 150,000. The maximum limit under the same process falls from 250,000 to 200,000, or less than almost all published estimates.

We have one check on the estimate of 300 to 400 souls per Yokuts tribe that underlies this total. In 1806 Moraga marched up half the length of the San Joaquin Valley and returned with the names of more than 20 groups and estimates of their numbers. Most of these must have been Yokuts, and about half of them can be identified.

YOKUTS.		YOKUTS OR OTHER.	
Nupchenche (Noptinte)	250		
		Chineguis	250
		Yunate	250
		Chamuasi	250
		Latelate	200
		Lachuo	200
Piscache (Pitkachi)	200
Aycuyche (Aiticha)	60
		Ecsas	100
		Ehiaja	100
		Xayuase	100
		Capatau	10
		Hual	400
Tunctache (Chunotachi)	250
Notonto (Nutunutu)	300
Do	100
Telame (Telamni)	600
Do	200
Uholasi (Wowulasi)	100
Eagueya (Gawia)	300
Cohochs (Yokol?)	100
Choynogue (Choinok)	300
		Cutucha (Coltache)	400
Tahualamne (Yauelmani?)	200
Coyehete (Koyeti)	400
	3,360		2,260
		Total	5,620

Five thousand six hundred and twenty people in 23 groups yield an average of less than 250; or, if we divide the 3,360 known to have been Yokuts by 12, the result is 280 per tribe. The earliest observer's estimate is a fifth less than the figure of 300 to 400—say. 350—assumed above. There is thus every reason to believe that the total computed for California does not err on the side of parsimony.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south
103 to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

●[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

"We stay there one week and have dance for dead people.
[648] Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

161
[142]

Wahumchah and his sister, Ihalut, last surviving full-bloods of the Yowlumne Yokuts tribe. Both were born at the village of Wawcoye (Waw-coy'-e) on the south bank of Kern River one-half mile below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. Wahumchah is eighty-six years of age and Ihalut ninety.

because they have been generally thought to have been extinct since about 1930.

One of the surviving Yowlumne is *Wahumchah* (Wah-hum'-chah) known to white people living in and around Woodlake and Visalia in Tulare County as Henry Lawrence. Wahumchah is now 86 years of age.

The second surviving full-blood Yowlumne is *I-hal'-ut*, known to her neighbors at Tule River Indian Reservation as Mrs. Mary Santiago. She is a full sister of Wahumchah and is 90 years of age. Both of these people were born at the old Yowlumne Indian village of *Wawcoye* on the south side of Kern River between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. When these two Yowlumne are gone, extinction will have been the fate of the tribe of Yokuts which once occupied the territory surrounding Bakersfield.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

It is the nature of the Yokuts to look to someone for counsel and advise. In the old days the chief of the tribe was the person who acted in the capacity of general advisor. It is believed that he held his position through his natural ability and through the tendency of the majority of the people around him to come to him for advice. 181

Members of the tribe were inclined to wait for the chief to determine when to gather the various foodstuffs, and when to move from one seasonal location to another. It is said by some pioneers that the chief often told his people where to build their houses, and sometimes when and whom to marry. If the foregoing describes conditions in general, the Indians, however voluntarily, were too much ruled.

Unless suggestions are made to the ordinary Indian, he is unable to meet a new situation, one to which he is a stranger and untrained, but he is quick to act upon the suggestion of anyone whose advice he values. This is probably not so true of the families of chiefs or headmen, who commonly inter-married between tribes. They were more versatile, had more initiative, and were better able to adjust themselves to the great upheaval caused by the coming of the white man.

Because of this need of leadership Indians have been accused of being lazy. According to the standard of the white man this is in many cases quite true. But I have known many exceptions, especially where Indians have had the guidance of dependable and well meaning whites. The Indian sees no earthly use for a large percentage of the things white people do, so, when left to himself, he doesn't do them.

About the disappearance of the Indian there is much to be said. Since the first great blow delivered by the white man, which took from the Indian his water, game and land and beseiged him with epidemics of disease and with poverty, the Indian has not been disappearing with any great rapidity. The foregoing sketches have shown that there are several hundred Indians left along the Sierra foothills. Most of these are not full-bloods and, of course, many are not Yokuts. 181 165 [161]

It is true that the dissipating type of Indian is disappearing, in fact he always has been. With few exceptions, the more sober, industrious individuals are surviving. The majority of them are self sustaining and are raising families. 181

It is believed that several generations will pass before all of the full-blood Yokuts Indians are gone. This is due to two

[text continues on p. 279]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure. |8|

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived. [161]

One of the common criticisms of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day. |8| 515

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet." [484]

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroe- [161]
ber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

161

[For information on population statistics, see category 116, pp. 31A-31C, 33B-34B, 36B-37A, 38A-48A, 49B-64A, 67A-68B, and 70A-71B. --Analyst]

Y W 161

6,255, an average of 232 per tribe. To allow for the nontribal and unrecognizable names on Ryer's lists this value may be arbitrarily reduced to 200. Ryer mentions in the Fresno-San Joaquin area the following: Chowchilla, Chukchansi, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Goshowu, Dumna, Dalinchi, Pohinichi (Miwok), and Posgisa (Mono). The Pohinichi should be excluded since they have already been considered in connection with the southern Miwok. The other nine, reckoned at 200 persons per tribe, would represent an aggregate of 1,800. However, Kroeber (1925, p. 481, and map, p. 526) shows four other Yokuts subdivisions within the same territory: Hoyima, Wakichi, Kechayi, and Tolichi. Although Ryer may have included these under other tribal names they perhaps ought to be included here, thus making the total 2,600.

*Y W 161

For villages there are two sets of sources. The first pertains primarily to the Yokuts, covers a territory substantially coterminous with that seen by the contemporary observers mentioned above, and is found in the work of Kroeber (1925), Gayton (1948), and Latta (1949). The second set of villages is confined to the Mono and is derived from Gifford (1932) and Merriam.

The first group of authors list villages for the 13 tribes mentioned in the preceding discussion, 49 in all or an average of 3.77 per tribe. With respect to size there is reason to believe that the settlements in this area, even in the early 1850's, were considerably larger than those described by Gifford for the central Miwok. The estimate of Adam Johnston of an average of 125 per rancheria on the lower Tuolumne has already been mentioned. H. W. Wessels in 1853 wrote that the Pitkachi plus the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, had 500 to 600 souls (Wessels, 1857). Half of these, or 300, may have been Pitkachi, a tribe for which Kroeber lists 3 villages. This would have meant 100 per village. Merriam credits Savage with the statement that in 1851 the Kechayi had 1,000 people. Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta list 6 different villages for this tribe or, according to Savage's figures, 167 persons per village. Ryer's total of 2,600 prorated among 49 villages, would yield 53 persons each. Although it is probable that the values computed from the statements of Johnston, Wessels, and Savage are too high, that derived from Ryer may be somewhat too low. An intermediate figure of 70 inhabitants per village for the valley and lower foothills would perhaps come as close as we can get to the truth. This, with 49 villages, gives 3,430, somewhat more than the 2,633 cited as the average of the general estimates.

W 101 128

Inhabiting the higher foothills and extending to the upper limit of habitation from the San Joaquin to the Kaweah rivers were the Western Mono. This tribe lived just above the Yokuts and at points was in very close association with them. As a whole the Western Mono constitute a racial and ecological unit and as such it is probably preferable to consider them as a single population entity than to segregate them by rivers, as has been done for the Miwok and the Yokuts. It will be necessary, therefore, to digress for this purpose and subsequently return to the discussion.

W [114] 361

The classic ethnographic work on the tribe, and the only work which contains any numerical data, is that of Gifford (1932) on the North Fork division of the Mono. This is supplemented by Merriam's manuscript entitled "Monache Tribes, Bands, and Villages." Gifford gives the names (text and map) of 67 North Fork villages, or, as he prefers to call them, hamlets. These were quite unlike either those of the Miwok or of the valley Yokuts, being very much smaller and subject to an extraordinary

W 161 127 for the North Fork Mono, the inhabitants must have numbered 280. One of the rancherias seen by Derby was Cho-e-mime which had 70 "warriors." Reckoning the "warriors" as half the males the population would have been 280. Derby says the village of Notonto (of the tribe Nutunutu on the south bank of the lower Kings) had 300 inhabitants. These places were of course relatively Y large and important and do not represent the general *[161] average. However, the village of Notonto must have [36] reached fully 150 persons.

Apart from the Mono, the tribes located on the Kings River were all Yokuts, as follows: Aitiche, Apiachi, Wimilchi, Nutunutu, Wechihit, Toihichi, Chukomina, and Choinimni. For these the modern ethnographers Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart have been able to Y 161 127 locate and identify 25 villages inhabited during the youth of informants. Since this covers a somewhat larger territory than was seen by Derby, the correspondence in number of rancherias is reasonably close. At 150 persons per village the population would be 3,750. If we add 1,700 for the Kings River Mono, the total is 5,450. However, there may have been some overlap, so this figure may be reduced to 5,000. It should be noted that the area embraced within this estimate includes the Kings River basin as a whole, together with that of all its affluents.

The Kaweah River from Lemon Cove to the town of Tulare diverges to form a delta, which originally contained a very large native population. At the time of the American occupation there had occurred a material reduction, which was accelerated by the fact that the region provided excellent farming land for the entering Americans. Hence the value for the population in 1850-1853 must be relatively low in comparison with preceding decades. In May, 1851, according to G. W. Barbour (1853, pp. 253-255) there were 7 tribes on the Kaweah, and 1,200 people came to treat with the commissioners. These tribes included the following: Chunut, Choinok, Wolasi, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. Of these, the first, the Chunut, inhabited the shore of Lake Tulare and should not be included as a Kaweah River tribe. The estimated population of the remainder would, therefore, be approximately 1,000, if the figure of the commissioners is to be taken without qualification.

With respect to the individual tribes there are a few scattered bits of information. Derby (1852) mentions three rancherias or bands in the area: Cowees (Gawia) with 200 people, Thulime (Telamni) with 65 men, or roughly 200 people, and Heame-a-tahs (Telamni) with 200 people. Merriam in his "Yokuts List" cites an informant who said that the Wukchumne "used to number" 5,000 and occupied the valley now called Lemon Cove and up and down the Kaweah River. Clearly this is an extreme overestimate, unless the informant was referring to the period prior to 1800. Finally Merriam cites a letter by Lt. N. H. McLean, which states that the "Four Creeks Country" included the "Cahwiahs, Okuls, Choinux, Wicktrumnees, Talumnies" and in 1853 had not over 1,200 souls.[4]

It thus appears quite evident that the six Yokuts tribes, except perhaps the Wukchumni, had no more than 200 persons apiece during the era under consideration. From modern informants Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta have obtained for the Choinok, Gawia, Telamni, Yokod, and Wolasi collectively the names of only 8 villages. Assuming the Kings River value of 150 persons per village,

[4] Merriam's manuscript entitled "Yokuts List" mentions a report from Lt. N. H. McLean, dated July 12, 1853, to E. J. Wessels, on file in "Old Files Division," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, no. N398. As far as I am aware, this letter has never been quoted elsewhere.

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[142
302
415
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352]

Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kotz, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 [162] [768]

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [62] at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162 it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was 797 named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this [162 ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, 62] Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij- [36] nocko [Choinok?] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small 162

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797
648
[361
162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired [765] this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place 133 of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; [137] there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and [283 strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) 227] for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very 263 savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally [197] produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and [252] dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San 797 Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and 648 to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had [609] their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra 648 [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to 797 his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was 574 to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

648 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, be of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to
[162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this
[361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756
[342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented
[162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-
[252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the
797 objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jousps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jousps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*f berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this rancheria [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[437] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Rancheria of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their rancheria in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[797] tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of [648] Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great [622] captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once [201] put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering th[illegible]nd sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise [?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the [162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is [133] without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 42 B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 162 192 there are several hundred skeletons excavated from habitation sites in central and northern California, the ages of which have been determined and which constitute a fair cross section of the native population during the centuries immediately preceding invasion by the white man. Of these skeletons 22.6 per cent represent persons dying under the age of twenty years, and perhaps 10 or 15 per cent persons dying under the age of ten.

*161 162 797 Further light is shed by the baptism records of the missions San Jose and Santa Clara (these are discussed in greater detail in a later paragraph) which list gentile baptisms according to village and distinguish between men, women, and children. In the two missions, from approximately 1805 to 1833 there were baptized a total of 5,217 persons from villages in the valley region. Of these 930, or 17.8 per cent were children and 1,939, or 37.1 per cent were listed as men. The sex ratio is 0.826. Evidently the natives captured and brought to the missions do not give us a completely true picture of the composition of the aboriginal population, despite the large sample at our disposal. It is highly probable that (1) the natural sex ratio was nearly unity and (2) many of the men were killed in warfare or escaped the clutches of the convert hunters. Therefore we are justified in setting the number of men equal to that of the women. If we do this, the population represented by the 5,217 conversions was actually 5,626, of which men and women each constituted 41.8 per cent and children 16.4 per cent.

*161 162 Finally, we have figures from Zalvidea (MS, 1806) with respect to villages at the extreme southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. (These are discussed subsequently in connection with the population of that area.) At two of these, after adjusting for disturbed sex ratio, he found respectively 13.5 and 9.6 per cent children. However, Zalvidea's account states specifically that in these villages he carries the age of childhood only through the seventh year. If he had counted as children those under ten years of age, the percentages would naturally have been higher.

The data just set forth render it abundantly clear that the children constituted between 10 and 20 per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary figure of 15 per cent. If we apply this factor to Bubal, it is not less than an aggregate of 1,333 persons, much greater than the value set by Moraga in 1806.

*161 162 797 With respect to the suggestion of Gifford and Schenck that the number of inhabitants of Bubal had been augmented between 1806 and 1814 by refugees from the missions the following points may be noted. In the first place, it has been possible to show (Cook, 1940) by means of the mission censuses that in 1815 the cumulative total of fugitives reported by all the missions in the colony amounted to 1,927 persons. Of these a great many who ran away in the earlier years were deceased. Many never went to the valley at all and the remainder were distributed from Sacramento to Bakersfield. It is highly unlikely that as many as 300 would be concentrated at one village such as Bubal. In the second place, the majority of the fugitives who did reach the village or its vicinity were former inhabitants of the locality who were merely returning to their old homes rather than coastal Indians, who would have constituted real refugees. On the whole, therefore, and this conclusion applies throughout the valley, true increase of population by immigration of foreign fugitives was negligible.

847 278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
● 163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʼ ʼʼ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and [484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Y Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was [361] called witi'tsolo´wɛn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the Y island was a tremendous number of bleaching [164] bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.* The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɛl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on [439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɛt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, [441] toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey 101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another 131 time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɛn, where there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

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*Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

[164]

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lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the 515
water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally [578] came to regard it as sacred.

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sugar factory about a mile south-east of Visalia. This was the 159
real old Telumne head village. When I was a little girl there I [361]
knew the last chief of that tribe. His name was *Nahalets* (Nah-ha'-leets). White people called him Joaquin. His wife was *Hawtulu* (Haw-too'-loo, meaning Hoot-owl). They were the head people there when I was born.

My father's name was *Po'-kah-sah'*. He was born at the [361]
old Chunut village called *Mih-ka'-et* just south of the mouth of Tule River. I believe the white people call that place Turnbull. It was about a mile above the old Turnbull house. At Mihkaet my people used to surround antelope and kill them. We call them *suey'-yohl*. My father died when I was about six years old, but my mother showed me the place two or three times.

My mother was *Te-ta-we'-cot*. She was born at the old [361]
Wowol village of *Chawlawin* on Atwell Island where Alpaugh is now. *Wocoiyu* (Wo-coi'-you), my mother's father, was chief of the *Wowol* tribe. When he died his oldest brother was chief. This brother's name was *Teh-nih'-pahs*. After I was grown he died at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lah'-ne), the "Fish" Rice Rancheria, four miles south of Farmersville. I learned much about my old-time people from him. He was my good uncle.

When I was a little girl at Watot Shulul there was a big log fence around the old house at the Blankenship ranch just southeast of us. They were afraid of the Indians. We used to laugh at this, for we used to work for the Blankenships and we knew our people would never hurt them.

There was a young Indian girl working for Mrs. Blankenship. Once they could not find her. They looked for a long time. They found her dead and covered up with dirt and leaves. Some of our people saw a white man take her from where she was washing. We were afraid to say anything about it. He was bad man. He killed lots of Indians and he would have killed us if we had told Mr. Blankenship. We have always been sure that the white man killed her.

I have heard my mother and lots of other Indians tell about the log fence in Visalia, too, but I never saw it. The white people built it because they were afraid of the Indians. It was torn down before I was old enough to remember.

When I was about seven years old the Indians all got sick 159
at Watot Shulul. Lots of them died. They had measles. The 164
Telumne tribe was all broken up. The chief, Nahalets, died

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159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu,* and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake.* I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

Just a few months before I was born my father and mother
[103 361] lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

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Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-ai; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those 542 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuamé.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear 165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . en- 931 contrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian. . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi- *161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em- ● 164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the 73 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

*161 from measles, dysentery, and other contagious mala-
● 16A dies introduced by the whites. The whole picture is
731 one of ruinous devastation in the Kaweah delta just prior to 1816, with accompanying disorganization of the local economy and reduction of population.

The effect of war, disease, and starvation cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor can mention be made of them too often. On account of their debilitating influence the populations seen in the Kaweah delta and reported in the documents cannot possibly be overestimates of the aboriginal number. On the contrary, they undoubtedly represent too low, rather than too high, a figure.

*161 Reverting now to the villages reported, Moraga
361 mentions eight places, four of them by name or other specific reference. Martinez mentions four, all by name. Cabot refers to Telame as the largest village in the Tulares. Elsewhere (MS, 1818) he states that before reaching Telame there are five rancherias, including Quiuamine and Yulumne. Quiuamine is no doubt the Quihuama of Martinez.

Telame was one village, according to all observers except Moraga (actually Muñoz, who wrote the diary). Moraga ascribes 600 people to the first Telame and 200 to the second. The first estimate, be it noted, was "segun corto computo," or according to a short count. The estimate must therefore on Moraga's own admission be increased, certainly to 1,000 and perhaps more. In view of the size of the well known rancheria Bubal, fully 1,300, Telame must have contained 1,200 persons.

In addition to the two Telames Moraga mentions a "big rancheria" one league to the east. Hence there were three villages which comprised what may be termed the Telame complex. No figures were given by Moraga for the unnamed rancheria, since it was entirely deserted. However, since it was regarded as "big," there must have been several hundred inhabitants, say 500. The total for the triad then would have reached nearly 2,000.

The Martinez description is apparently somewhat at variance with that of his predecessor. Martinez saw, cites distances for, and mentions by name three rancherias: Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto. They were located within a radius of one league of each other and must correspond to the three seen by Moraga. Gelecto was in ruins, with only the cemetery still in evidence. Hence Gelecto may very well have been the big, deserted rancheria of Moraga. Martinez gives no population data for Telame but says there were 300 heads of families in Lihuauhilame, which was, therefore, without much doubt the largest of the three. According to Moraga's figures, Telame I was the largest. Hence the concordance seems to be that Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto of Martinez correspond respectively to Telame II, Telame I and the "big" rancheria of Moraga. As pointed out previously, the total inhabitants to be deduced from 300 heads of families, under the conditions existing in 1816 was 1,200. This is twice the estimate of Moraga.

*161 An important point arises here with respect to Moraga's estimates. At Bubal, it will be remembered, Martin found evidence of 1,300 people in 1804 whereas Moraga reported only 400 in 1806. At Lihuauhilame Martinez found according to the statement of the village chief 1,200, although Moraga had reported ten years previously only 600. Furthermore Cabot, at Bubal eight years after Moraga, found 700 persons. For these two important villages therefore Moraga differs flatly with three other competent authorities by a factor of two or three. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in

847 278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 163 165 Some women had a child every year. Of twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six, maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 278 237 If parturition was difficult, scrapings from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 278 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 163 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 852 The infant was named shortly after birth, according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119] The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʲ ʲ ʲ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120] Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

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224 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape
551 with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the
• [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel
192 at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the
197 *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

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159 Major Savage go 'way. He go Kings River. White man
173 there shoot Major Savage like our man shoot 'im. Major Sav-
648 age he die. Ha! Ha! Why he no catch 'em bullets?

Then white man come; they mine gold in river. They shoot Indian. Soldier put Indian in jail; they whip Indian. They run all Indian 'way from village Kuyu Illik. They burn all Indian house.

They smooth ground where Indian house burn. They play music there. Blue clothes soldier march, march, march there. They make Indian dig dirt, mix mud; make adobe brick; make white soldier big house. White men call big house Fort Miller. They take Indian by tree over river. They hang 'em there; they cut rope and dead Indian fall in river. My grandpa, Tomkit, he tell white soldier, "You better look out." He tell white miner, "You better look out. Indian spirits no like you do this. Pretty soon bad things happen you."

Then high water come wash 'way all white man's store; wash 'way lots white man; wash 'way lots, lots Chinaman. Then pretty soon white soldiers all go away. My people think Indian spirit make 'em go. They glad. They dance. They [165] sing. Not many Indian left. Lots Indian die whisky; lots Indian die bad white man sickness. Just few Indian left. Indian live Kuyu Illik 'gen. White miner still whip Indian; still shoot Indian.

Then by 'n by, white man all talk fight. They say long way off, white man shoot white man. Lots white man go long way off, fight. Then white soldier come back Fort Miller. This time white soldier pretty good man; they no shoot Indian, they no whip Indian too much. Some Indian work for white soldier; white soldier give 'em flour, give 'em tobacco, but Indian pretty near all gone. White soldier stay this time maybe three, maybe four years. Then all go 'way. I never see no more white soldier.

159 My father, Dawktaw, gone. My grandpa, Tomkit, gone. My uncle, Tomas, gone. I big chief now, but no got Indian tribe. Just me; just my sister left. My sister got one boy, got one girl. I blind; I no see. I no see maybe ten, fifteen year. I got one boy; he got three, four, baby. We work hard, we don't have 'nough eat. Big Father at Washington no send flour; no send horse; no send clothes; no send blanket, like white chief say when Indian sign paper at Kuyu Illik.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn*. Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahduwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

159 One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
224 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
165 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it*. I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
361

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

It is the nature of the Yokuts to look to someone for counsel and advise. In the old days the chief of the tribe was the person who acted in the capacity of general advisor. It is believed that he held his position through his natural ability and through the tendency of the majority of the people around him to come to him for advice. |8|

Members of the tribe were inclined to wait for the chief to determine when to gather the various foodstuffs, and when to move from one seasonal location to another. It is said by some pioneers that the chief often told his people where to build their houses, and sometimes when and whom to marry. If the foregoing describes conditions in general, the Indians, however voluntarily, were too much ruled.

Unless suggestions are made to the ordinary Indian, he is unable to meet a new situation, one to which he is a stranger and untrained, but he is quick to act upon the suggestion of anyone whose advice he values. This is probably not so true of the families of chiefs or headmen, who commonly inter-married between tribes. They were more versatile, had more initiative, and were better able to adjust themselves to the great upheaval caused by the coming of the white man.

Because of this need of leadership Indians have been accused of being lazy. According to the standard of the white man this is in many cases quite true. But I have known many exceptions, especially where Indians have had the guidance of dependable and well meaning whites. The Indian sees no earthly use for a large percentage of the things white people do, so, when left to himself, he doesn't do them.

About the disappearance of the Indian there is much to be said. Since the first great blow delivered by the white man, which took from the Indian his water, game and land and beseiged him with epidemics of disease and with poverty, the Indian has not been disappearing with any great rapidity. The foregoing sketches have shown that there are several hundred Indians left along the Sierra foothills. Most of these are not full-bloods and, of course, many are not Yokuts. |8| 165 [161]

It is true that the dissipating type of Indian is disappearing, in fact he always has been. With few exceptions, the more sober, industrious individuals are surviving. The majority of them are self sustaining and are raising families. |8|

It is believed that several generations will pass before all of the full-blood Yokuts Indians are gone. This is due to two

[text continues on p. 279]

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at l[illegible] Martinez therefore gives us four sizable plac[illegible] (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according [illegible]ga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere [578] in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
● 165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence
731 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . encontrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi-
*161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em-
164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the
773 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménagé at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

221
166 the families in Diapnuša would move within
621 about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did
[888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other
[131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod
[312] territory. The original source of the water there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own
[342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and
[412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of
342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con-
592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were
621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pono (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itowi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´iwn[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make [535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. [177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
call only three families. The chief there was
512 Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all [361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to
[281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye´'itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda´o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi´ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida´pw:š
4. poanai´yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta´o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa´'asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai´'yuhao
8. čaše´ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau´ču
10. topo´ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai´'yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa´o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo´kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču´m: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya´gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo´ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi´yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono´: a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu´mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño´našu
21. čoiši´šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi´šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa´o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu´nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
103 tain was there
č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 176 a] Chuckchansi

166 222 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about [484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and [438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

242 351 J.R. claims that when he was a boy the Indians throughout this region set fire to the brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 184 Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.C.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.U. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.C.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] 727 J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

[103]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

We were at the camp about three months, until summer
159 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 166 484 361 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them across the lake on our boat.

159 166 484 If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they [223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

159 166 484 501 The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Soon it was dark and we were all cold and wet. It was just as wet on the boat as if we were in the lake. We could all swim, but we were afraid all of the time, because the water was about seven feet deep and the rough water would drown us if we fell in it. So we stayed awake all night and shivered and held on to each other. 159 166 484

When it got daylight we could not see the land in any way. We could see the Kettleman Hills and the Sierra, but we were away out in the middle of the lake. The water was too deep to reach bottom with our poles. The wind was all gone, so we had to wait.

We stayed out there all day. It looked like we stood right still. I guess we did. There were lots of fish under the boat. My stepfather speared lots of nice ones. We could look down through kotlaum, the spearing hole, and see nothing but fish. [226]

It was hot in the daytime, so we all got dry and warm. We made a fire and cooked fish, using the loose dry tules to burn. We were not hungry and we were not afraid any more, but we did not see how we were ever going to get to land. We stayed there all of that day and that night. It was a nice moonlight night and very pretty on the water. My mother told stories and sang for us almost all night and we had a good time.

When it came daylight again we could just see the tules on Chawlowin. But the tule boat looked like it was just standing still. My stepfather could just reach the bottom with our longest pole. We stayed out there all day again, and we got pretty tired of it. By dark my stepfather and my mother could use the poles on the bottom and they worked almost all night pushing the raft toward Chawlowin. By daylight we could see the land about a half mile away. Almost as soon as we could see, a heavy wind started up and in a few minutes the boat hit the bottom about one hundred yards from the tules.

Before we could get off the boat three or four men waded out to meet us. One of them was my mother's brother. We were very glad to see him. The men helped us to the shore and then they began to push the boat around to the west where they had a camp. It took all the rest of the day to get it around there.

We walked along the lake to the camp through a narrow trail in the high tules. Sometimes the water came up to our knees. The north wind was blowing hard again and that made the water come in on the land.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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159 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it
226 sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle
159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across
648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about
361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-
166 wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first
159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to
648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six
166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon.
[578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none
[197] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it.. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went 361
back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahduwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
159 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
224 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with
165 the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it*. I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 756 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merrian and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 2a]

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 778 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the
Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque
hooded twined cradle which are now made by
Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved,
I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts
foothills is a craft derived from the Western
Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval
frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
Reservation; a few families have been permitted
to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches
●171 of white landowners along the foothills. Some
Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of
their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers
or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life
shows in this existence, save for the continued
use of acorn foods and the few implements
needed for their preparation, and basketmaking,
an art which flourishes because of tourist
trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language
and kinship terms are in use; family totems are
retained, and official functions are aberrantly
performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the
life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers
and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and
Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which
follows, the reader should be familiarized with
the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley
in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the
environment of the upper and lower foothills
has changed but little, whereas the great
valley floor was unbelievably different in the
past from the completely dry, hard plain it is
today. There is no better way to present the
picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses
to speak for themselves. There were many
travelers in the area who left records of their
experiences with the troublesome mire of the
tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration
for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada;[6] but no
account so well fits our purpose as that of
Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850,
made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4] Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5] Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[32] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it [171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[33]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lʼts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nʼts; from towo´´e, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust [262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku´uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" [237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [32] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[33] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

343 old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[148] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom, but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles,

[148] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Kose (cf. ibid., 590, pl.56).

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family
343 of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small
251 replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split
[285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from
[674] these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from
[621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171]

[157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 304 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 281 [202] An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin 291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat 281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons. [681]

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] 286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 435 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as needed. [534] The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mets to´hil) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wets), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi´tis), and grey eagle (ṭohil), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[136] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi´ta pŏ´dta ma ṭupi´nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi´pini. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[281] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in
[171] the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [824] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The 322 joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern [171] California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] p. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the
252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and put in a basket to boil. They were later
262 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pɛn) or
222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihɛt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mɛtski´ŝa (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hɛč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tɛk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´ŝta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

[171]

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket
262 and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

The load of wood was held on the back by
313 means of a tumpline. This passed over the
482 upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[171]

[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa´'uk, M.L.; ap´'up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket. 428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" [764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in- [437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka´di´an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants
789 were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.);
the two sides might be composed of shamans from
different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am
769 inclined to accept the first opinion which I
think not only represents the correct theory
but was practically possible in the days before
the decline of population. As indicated by
J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a
single tribe could provide several shamans at
once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal
[616] alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich
and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides
took up western and eastern positions on the
assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 <u>Redemption of totem animals</u>.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´p:t, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´h:p (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čip:t received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´y:l) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62]Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). *The door was 4 or 5 feet high,* 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex-
[533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were
[184] bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 9] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

285 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
[272] mentation (toward upper right, second from top); the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[824 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?)
284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

283 Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milk-
286 weed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under
[136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (ǎ'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukshumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110]Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111]Ibid., 528.

[112]Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 Old people made a practice of eating to-
887 bacco and lime frequently. They would gather
[574] at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).
[171]

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe Nokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A 847 woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being 171 similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard,
769 especially at night, for they said they could
753 see people moving around there, although they
775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said
302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers wit-
293 nessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were made and carried at mourning ceremonies in abo-
[171] riginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

The informant N.W. described games which 524 she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. [177] The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 796 This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, [17] of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to 622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The [562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawàsh*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

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Chapter 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

881 276 Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

171 To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlxoxuhqui*, "green snake weed," *ololiuhqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. innoxia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *necuzcul* and *teloatrin*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

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ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

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sen" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshoosh:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshoosh*. Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowish* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshoosh* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *He'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

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535 527 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 237 [301] The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California Indians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part [171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

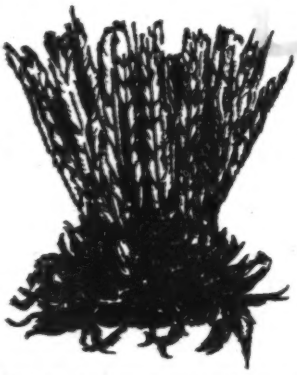

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 237 301 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 237 301 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wacham* and the *notanat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread [177]

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent. 171 177

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: 776 177 [782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tūfishiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes 756 192

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755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method. [276]

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little 754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) [533] A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 754 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. 756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole:
226 but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor environment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the
171 animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

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412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

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411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity
285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the
531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however,
285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the
171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

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285 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity
● 171 is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the
285 southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only
[482] with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing
[53] horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em-
[525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in
[177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

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283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle
352 or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is
loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is car-
285 ried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [171] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in [171] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

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by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found. 854 352 285 [171]

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

[171]

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is [171]

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854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f*
352 is found without a hood as well as with it.

Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the
285 same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, dif-
171 fering only in its pliability.

An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel
352 diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
285 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
531 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*). Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be [174] avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi 171 and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint. 517

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts. 517 171

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints. 517 538

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517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

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the larger valleys, though they were the first to crumble at the touch of the Caucasian, elaborated a more complex culture than the hill tribes; and the Yokuts were a lowland people in a greater measure than any other stock in California. 17/ 18/

But it is also evident that wherever the soil of history is really penetrated in California a rich variety of growths is found. If a little mountain group like the Yuki, placed between more highly civilized nations, has been able to evolve feature after feature of cultural distinctness, there is every reason to believe that the same would prove to be true of nearly all the California tribes, if only we really knew them; and a large, compact, and prosperous block of people like the Yokuts would be exceptional only in having carried the development of their originality somewhat farther than the majority. 18/

It so happens that in the long stretch of land between the Maidu and the Luiseño no tribe has yet been exhaustively studied with any array of information. It is therefore inevitable that the present account of the Yokuts, the first rendered in any detail, scattered as that is, should reveal many novelties. But there is nothing to encourage the belief that if the Miwok, the Tübatulabal, the Serrano, or the Salinans had happened to be chosen, there would have been any notably less quantity of interesting peculiarities revealed; not to mention that for the Pomo and Chumash, little known as they are, we have every indication of a civilizational richness greater, if anything, than that evinced by the Yokuts.

In other words, the exact understanding of the Indian history of California still lies before us. Some foundations may have been laid for it in the present work. The outlines were sketched for all time 40 years ago by the masterly hand of Stephen Powers. But the real structure will be a gift of the future; and its materials can only be assembled by investigations far more intensive, as well as continuous, than those yet undertaken.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to
131 four other large groups which once occupied almost half of
619 what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok*
131 (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life
[171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 tions of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up. The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims, *yet'-ni* (equivalent to one-y), or *wi-atak*, or *kimai-eh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song chant."

GUESSING GAMES

Almost the only vice possessed by present-day Indians which was not brought to them by the white man is that of gambling. We are assured from many sources that the Indians, almost without exception, were inveterate gamblers. A game might continue for days and nights and at the end of this time an Indian might have gambled away all of the food and clothing he possessed, and, possibly, as is maintained by some authorities, even his family.

One of the most characteristic Indian gambling games is the guessing game. This type of game is the most common [171] of all primitive games. Various forms of the guessing game are reported from the Aleutian Islands to Cape Horn. There is probably less variation between them than there is between most other games. The Yokuts game was sometimes played by a group of as many as eight, composing two sets of four partners each. The opponents sat facing each other, with a blanket on the ground between them. The main object of the game was to guess in which hand the opponent held a marked stick, or a piece of bone or shell. However simple this game may seem, we are assured by persons who have played it, that one uninitiated to its many possibilities, could not win one time out of ten. Surely, if this is true, the Yokuts Indians were able to realize to a remarkable degree the possibilities of a comparatively simple contest.

During the game a constant sing-song was kept up by any or all present. The two sticks, or dice, one black and one white, or one marked and one unmarked, were shuffled from one hand to another, or were placed behind the back, and then the two hands were brought to the front. After considerable manipulating, the opponents were allowed to guess in which hand the blackened, or marked stick, was held.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill.* 194
It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, re- 192
sembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we.* It 193
is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. 192
We'-che means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with 171
language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon 197
and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila.* However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit,* Wukchumne, *Kaweah, Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne, Chunut, Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip.* The Wukchumne call this *chadip.* They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik,* name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking water, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

Y W 176 184 323

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Tsi'in na ki'wie nim hi'am si'ci, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 58d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 171 184 323

charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Y W 323

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

Y W 276 323

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Y W 323

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono US25

Y
W
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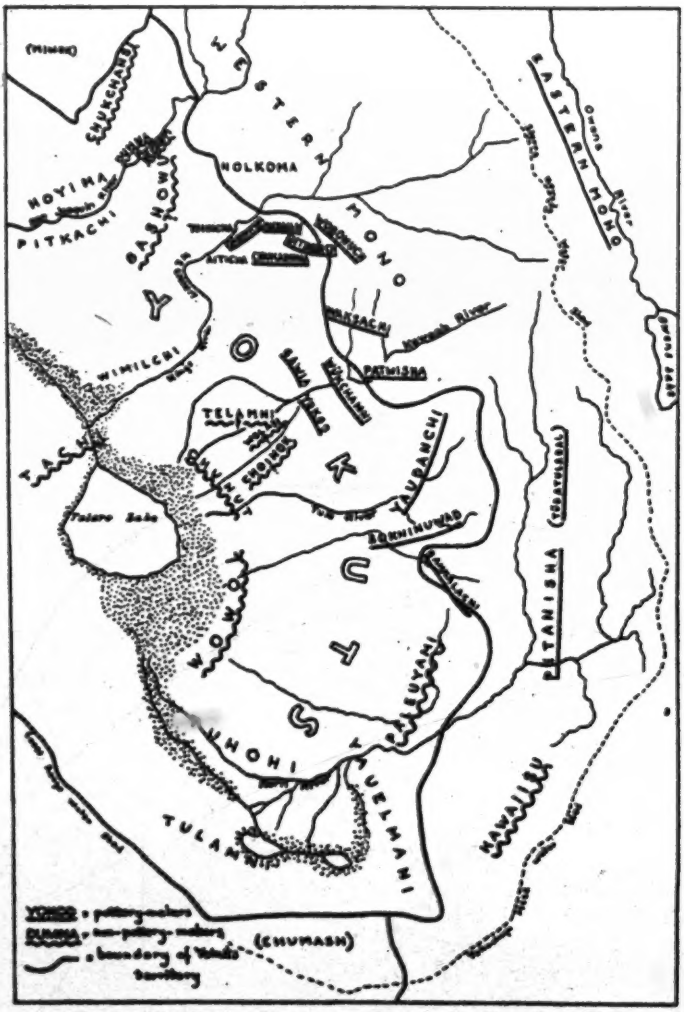

Fig. 3. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y
W
171

only recently heard of the art through contact with northern foothill Yokuts.[12] East of the Sierras the Eastern Mono practiced pottery-making of the same type as that practiced by their western relatives, according to Mr. J. H. Steward.[13] The continuity of the distribution of pottery-making from the foothill Yokuts through the Western Mono to Eastern Mono tribes leaves little doubt that the California art was derived from or at least genetically related to the great Southwestern pottery area.

[12] Field notes.
[13] Field notes.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Depart-
122 ment of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the
[101] plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have
121 been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
●171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts
[642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the
[616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:227–229, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put [554] him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort. Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; 171 Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:[45]

> The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

[45] Informant, Sam Garfield.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

624
171

that were called for. On the evening of the fifth day of the annual mourning ceremony the subchiefs gave a supper to the chief. Money, baskets, and blankets which had previously been given them by the chief were returned to him at this time.

A Yaudanchi informant said:

"The tuye'i helped the tia'a at the mourning ceremony. If the tia'a put up five dollars the tuye'i put up three. If the tia'a had no money these men had to put up the rest."[46]

The Wobonuch (WM) regarded the brothers of an active chief as sub- or secondary chiefs. They had no special term for these men, whose functions were as among the Yokuts.

Both Chunut and Tachi informants denied the existence of this official in their tribe or vicinity.[47]

Some tribes had an official who took charge of the camp and ritual organization at large fandangos. He is called in English the "dance manager"; he was a kind of master of ceremonies. The Yokuts called this man the yate'ite. The Kechayi (Y) had the official and describe him as follows:[48]

The yate'ite was a kind of winatum. He talked for the tiya and he worked at arranging meals. He made all announcements for the chief and often acted as a go-between, between the chief and his people. The chief often talked to people in person or in public but he seldom made announcements to a large gathering unless his yate'ite were away. The position was inherited from the father's side but could be of either moiety. The Kechayi yate'ite, Koteon, was of the Nutawic moiety, whereas the Poagisa yate'ite, E'ukiyi, was Tokeluwic. At fandangos or parties the yate'ite "prayed" before each meal. He said, "Come close to this food. We are going to have a good feast. When supper is over we will play and have a good time."

On the Wukchumni (Y) dance manager we have the following:[49]

This man was not called winatum. He was hired for a big fandango by the chief. The position was hereditary; it always had raven for totem. The man's duty was to keep order in camp and affairs running smoothly: he called to the people to get up in the morning, went out to meet new arrivals and told them where to camp, informed the chief of their arrival; he told people to be quiet, stopped children who were playing too noisily, or women who were quarreling or "getting mad over their cooking."

The dance manager among the Wobonuch (Y) had no special name but was called natinab (winatum), just as were the official servants of chiefs and shamans.

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[46] Tom Wilcox; see Appendix.
[47] Josie Alonzo and Mollie Garcia, respectively.
[48] Ellen Murphy; see Appendix.
[49] Joe Pobot.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[50]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[50] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *hai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *hai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintün language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in 193 different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more 192 pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost endless variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

*197 It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families 193 of California, especially those in the large Central morphological 171 group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

8:Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All 197*
these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta-
Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of 193
them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive con- 171
sonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects 197*
through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the 197*
radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is 177
becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

8:Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing. 197* 192

	Identical Items in all groups	*Identical Items* in all so far as known	*Different Stems*	*Percentage of total formed by identical stems*
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	31	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	29	24
Mammals	2	3	18	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	49
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the composite nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical. [802 171]

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the social organization of the Indians of South Central California. The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions. |2| 616

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada. |1| 616

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the |0| |2|

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the
121 San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 The principal facts concerning social organization among the
171 tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception
551 of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi,
171 Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker. 171 60

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses. 616 171 [611]

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci. 171

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name. 171 616 171 551 616

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 622 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 189, 1912.

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the survey. Another equally important matter, to be clearly established, is the interrelations within the South Central California area itself. Although it is still too early to make a positive statement, yet it seems that the Miwok organization, judging from its simpler character, as compared with the Tachi, lies on the periphery of the moiety area, not only geographically, but also in point of complexity. A consideration of the North Fork Mono complex conveys a similar impression. The absence of exogamy and the presence of a kinship system totally unlike that of the other groups having a dual organization seem to warrant the conclusion that the ceremonial features of the Yokuts and Miwok moieties have been borrowed, while the two social features, exogamy and kinship system, have not. It is therefore not unlikely that, in South Central California, the dichotomous social organization was primarily a valley institution, which spread to the mountains.

Transmitted January 29, 1916.

533 Therefore the compression occurs after the third repeat of the first phrase, after the second repeat of the second phrase, and so on.

Almost all the songs were sung by both males and females with no apparent
533 difference or "parts" such as found on the northwest California coast. One
462 of the exceptions to this statement is the single work song recorded -- the Acorn Grinding Song. This song was sung only by the women, who did the acorn grinding, while the males did not, or pretended not, to know it. It is true that the males knew more songs than the women; no reason was given why the women could not sing them if they wanted to. The one example of harmony, which occurs in the Sopas Song, is certainly accidental.

533 The tempos ranged from andantino to vivace, from 63 beats to 138 beats per minute, with the bulk of the songs falling at the latter end of the scale. In some of the songs there was considerable rhythmic variation. This was for two reasons: the first was that some of the songs, like the Deer Song mentioned above, were supposed to be sung without a fixed beat. The second reason for variation stemmed from the fact that individual singers, when singing alone, could and would vary rhythm and melody much more than when the group sang together. The combination of the group's clapsticks and singing would carry the song to its conclusion with a minimum of discontinuity.

The spread of the melodic contour was rarely over eight or ten semitones, with the largest group falling between six and seven semitones. This is in contrast with the northwest California coast, where an octave and one-half are extremely common, especially in the Brush Dance and White Deerskin Dance Songs. This again contrasts with the limited spread which is found among [171] the Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, and other north central and northeastern groups. Among these groups melodic spreads of three or four semitones are not uncommon, and there is one grass game song, recorded by Dr. Kroeber, characterized by a two semi-tone spread.

The scale was predominantly pentatonic, although the limited spread of some of the songs made it difficult to evaluate. Some, but not all, of the songs showed a definable rise. The rise in Tachi music can best be described as a low-pitch low-contrast section alternating with a rise of a fourth or a fifth and a descending lyrical passage back to the low-pitch low-contrast section. The Tawanic or Morning Song shows a rise beginning in the 5th measure, and again in the 18th. The Lizard Handgame Song #4 begins with a rise.

Another feature of the songs was the sparseness of lyrics. Most of the songs averaged no more than two or three phrases totaling 10-12 syllables. Common repetition patterns for lines were:

1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2; 1,1,1,2,2,2,1,1,2,2,3,1,1;

and so forth. The repetition of the Lizard Handgame Song showed some variation:

1,1,1,1,2,1,1,1,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,1,2.

[177] 178 533 songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas [171] the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. Some of the [196] ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also [171] the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 769 551 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of 184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally 769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River 551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same [553] time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet 775 become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can fre- 769 quently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is [82] probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, [768] or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon [688] another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

[p. 1-A]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

[p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

●171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[128] incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

[p. 7-A]

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

[p.8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6] Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
●[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[262] [576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

778 [276]

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xɔ·xɔ·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

[171]

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

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538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) ".... is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

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[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[15] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p. 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE[13] IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

[p.14-A]

171 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestion-
538 ably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono, yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo, Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein his rôle is often at least daring if not undefeatedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
[184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill or mountain country. How far he was popular with Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi, Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the mythology recorded from these groups is hopelessly incomplete. With these people it is possible that Coyote or some other held a more elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

[p.14-B]

171 538 773 The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tübatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[128] [18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts.[1]

[1] [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES — ANALYST]

T 788 facewashing, whereas FP, FM mentioned lower sums, $5, $6 or "whatever one had."

765 572 Money received in ta·gin relationship spent "to buy meat, things like that" in interim before death in recipient's family necessitated repayment of equal sum. After death in family man "would go hunting, sell the meat, and get some money; his relations would help him out with gifts of money too, so he could get his face washed and eat meat" (SM). If person had 2 deaths in family, with only short interval elapsing between them, he had to observe 2 separate meat taboos, have face washed twice. Person could be ta·gin to as many other persons as he cared to be; "often this happened; the chief was often ta·gin for a lot of people, but not for anybody in his hamlet, and people didn't have to go to him" (SM). Child of 4-5 yrs. would have to have face washed if one of his brother's or sister's adult children died; would pay as much as adult for face washing. If 2 or 3 persons came under meat taboo following death of relative, they all had faces washed at same time, contributing equally to amount paid facewasher, with whom all entered into ta·gin relationship. If one's ta·gin died before one had been able to collect reciprocal payment from him, offspring, or other relatives of deceased not obliged to carry on any ta·gin relationships deceased had entered into.

T 587 After having face washed widow let her hair grow, could remarry.

T 572 754 [78] Failure to observe meat taboo implied disrespect to dead, as it meant one was eating corpse. Breach of taboo might be avenged by witchcraft on part of relative of deceased; woman cited (p. 80) who after husband died ate meat without having face washed; as consequence she was bewitched, killed by her mother-in-law. Witchcraft, it might be noted, also entered into other phases of this taboo; if person's ta·gin was witch, latter might kill person's children, "to get her money back." Normally, however, persons in ta·gin relationship "treated each other like brothers," did not borrow money from each other; one basis of selection of ta·gin was that person chosen have "lots of children," because the person paying for face washing would be interested in question regarding "when he was going to get his money back" (SM).

T Y ● 171 Owens Valley Paiute and Yokuts of Tule River reservation said by informants to have this same ceremony; Kawaiisu, Koso lack it (FP). Owens Valley Paiute head washing, similar to Tübatulabal face washing, described (Steward, 1933, 298); several features of Yokuts meat taboo correspond to Tübatulabal practice (Kroeber, Handbook, 499).

T 788 765 768 764 Mourning ceremony.- At face washing mourner announced when he or she would hold "big fiesta" or mourning ceremony (mu·yil) to burn image, possessions of deceased person. Property of dead burned so deceased would have it in land of dead; "if the relatives failed to burn enough of a dead

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Frank Manuel was born at Soto´tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo´no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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[122]See Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 19.

[123]Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

[124]Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok; one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

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1. yet	6. tu ´dipi
2. po ´ñoi	7. no ´mčɛn
3. so ´pɛn	8. mo ´ñus
4. ha ´po ´ñi	9. no ´nɛp
5. yu ´tsɛnuk	10. ṭi ´´uv

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because
576 of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] P. 375.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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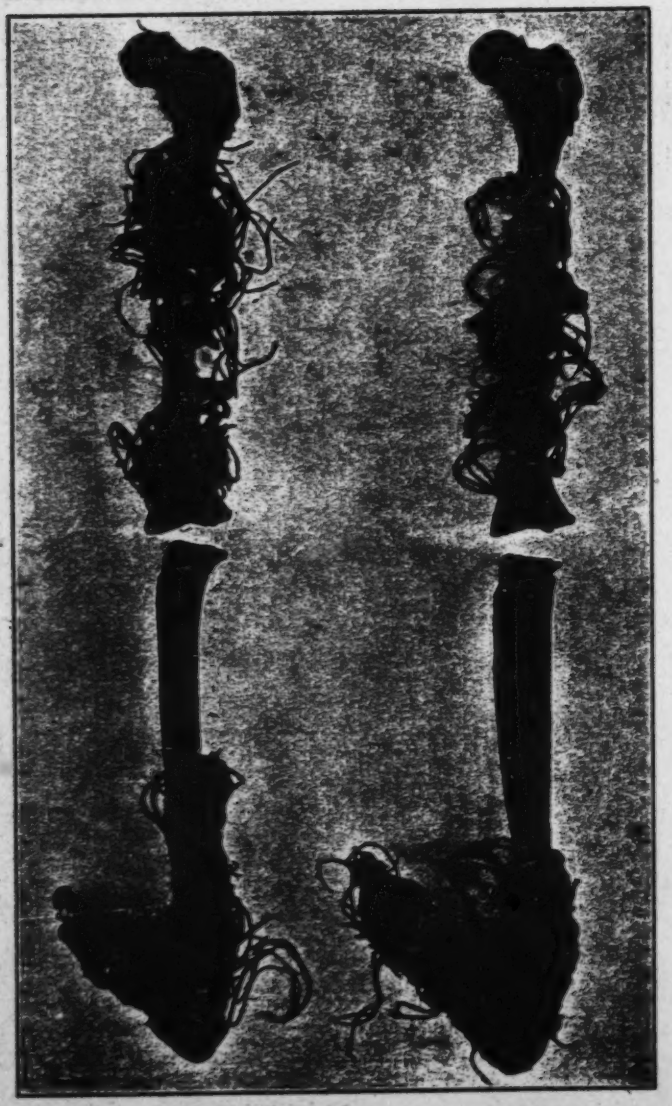

CORD-WRAPPED LEG REMAINS, BUENA VISTA LAKE

[p. 508(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 115 124

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living 177 Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

● 172 The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re- 361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

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the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

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Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the 103 Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement.* About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinchiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu,* was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F 172 streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

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Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

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438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

435 In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
438 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

436 When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the
● 172 Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

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near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls. 436 172

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F. W. Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as probably being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded to the *Entimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves. 487 439 [172]

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California. 487 439 172 [177]

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaelogical evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast. 487 439

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291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for
765 Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

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Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-wou*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

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302 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the
172 present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [186] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that mat-
484 ter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

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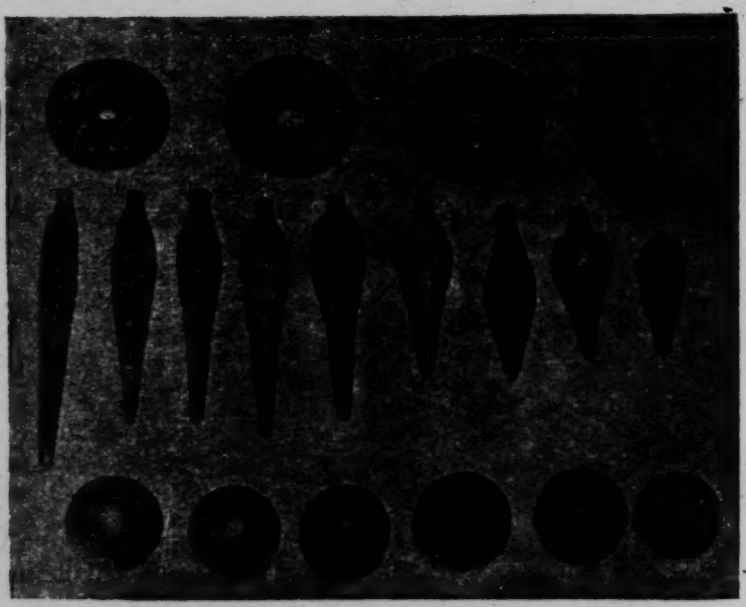

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers
526 who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

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in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

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never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne. 789 778

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago." 124

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery. 172 778

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield, and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

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Nine charm stones, replaced in the soil as they were found in an Indian mound-campsite about two miles southwest of Rio Bravo school in Kern County. They were uncovered by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell while leveling land in April of 1948.

Finally, at a depth of about eight feet, a carryall, operated by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell, scraped off the top of a finely polished stone. Investigation brought to light seven finely made serpentine charm stones and two made of fine-grained banded stone. They stood with their points down and were arranged in the form of a circle about sixteen inches in diameter.

While an account of the above find was being added to this chapter, I became acquainted with a person who has probably had more experience than anyone else in uncovering charm, or rainmaker's, ceremonial-stones. He is Mr. A. L. Threewit, of Buttonwillow. Mr. Threewit has leveled many hundreds of acres of land in the vicinity of Buena Vista slough. In this work he has uncovered no less than six clusters of charm-stones.

He has uncovered numerous other deposits of these stones, but they were disturbed by earth-moving equipment before he saw them, so he could not be certain of the exact position in

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which they had been buried. He has also uncovered dozens of single stones. In 1946, on the Crawford Ranch, about eighteen miles north of Buttonwillow (Section 21, T27S, R22E) he uncovered a cluster of about ten charm stones. As the situation under which they were found was almost identical with the others, Mr. Threewit's description of their position will suffice for all.

"In the fall of 1946 I was leveling a piece of land for Mr. Clinton B. Crawford. On it was an old abandoned slough channel with a large mound beside it. The top of the mound was at least ten feet above the bottom of the slough. The mound was composed of hard, alkali-saturated soil. The old slough channel was about one-fourth mile east of the main channel of Buena Vista Slough, which had been deepened into a drainage canal.

"At the depth of about one and one-half feet below the surface of the mound my scraper uncovered a cluster of plumb-bob shaped stones. They were standing on end and were arranged in a circle about a foot and a half in diameter. Inside this circle were three rocks showing signs of fire. The three rocks were lying in a bed of ashes and charcoal. The plumb-bob shaped stones did not appear to have been burned. The fire had been kindled in the middle of the circle formed by them.

"I have uncovered at least six clusters of these plumb-bob shaped stones, all buried at about the same depth, and all in the same position as the one I have described. I have picked up many other groups of them but did not see them until they were in the scraper. Together with the scattered ones, I have uncovered many dozens of these plumb-bob shaped stones in the area between Tupman and Lost Hills. They have always been uncovered in knolls beside old, dry water courses. In at least one instance a cluster of them was found beside a human skeleton."

Although I have heard numerous other stories of the finding of nests of charm stones at other points in Yokuts territory, accounts concerning the ten mentioned above are all that I have been able to substantiate satisfactorily. Then, about two months after the find west of Bakersfield, while interviewing Mrs. Mable Stricklett of Santa Cruz, I made the most important find of all.

In 1894, Mrs. Mary J. Gates, mother of Mrs. Stricklett, had published verification of all I had gathered, as well as the

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172 778 key to the nest burials of charm-stones. This appeared in a pamphlet titled, *Contributions to Local History,* and gives the history of the territory surrounding Mountain View, in northern Santa Clara County. Here is her account:

"The most interesting specimens of rude aboriginal art are charm or sorcery stones. Ray Dexter has one with the polish worn off that he found in the slough, and Frank Francis has another and highly polished one of a fine-grained, hard stone that was found on the Rev. Mr. Crittenden's ranch. Many charm stones are reported from Mr. Summer's ranch. These stones are of various shapes and sizes. The purpose for which they were used, at what time, it seems not easy to make out. But our comparatively recent Indians finding these stones attributed to them magical powers.

"No less than six theories have been advanced with regard to their use. They have been found in too many forms for games; too heavy for personal adornment; as plummets they would have been of no use to a people who lived in huts, or no shelter whatever; sinkers they need not be, when many stones in the creek would answer fully as well; the small knob on the end of nearly all of them caused them to be of less service than the common pestle; and the investigators came to the conclusion they were used for religious purposes, and in this way they found they were correct, as a few old Indians confirmed this idea.

172 778 789 "The Indian medicine man used to collect twelve or maybe twenty charm stones and arrange them in the form of a circle, with another very different stone in the center, and over these he sprinkled the seed of the wild sage, feathers and red ochre, when war, sickness, drought or famine came to the tribe. He would next thrust the stones violently together, all the time muttering his incantations - - - - -.

"These charm stones were also suspended by a string over the water where they were fishing, hung from trees to call the fish up the streams, and at points in the mountains favorable for hunting."

It would almost seem that Mary J. Gates had actually interviewed Mr. Zachary T. Blankenship, quoted above. And does her article not explain why our San Joaquin Valley charm-stones were buried in nests? Were not all ten burials described above located on streams that had changed their channels? Can

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

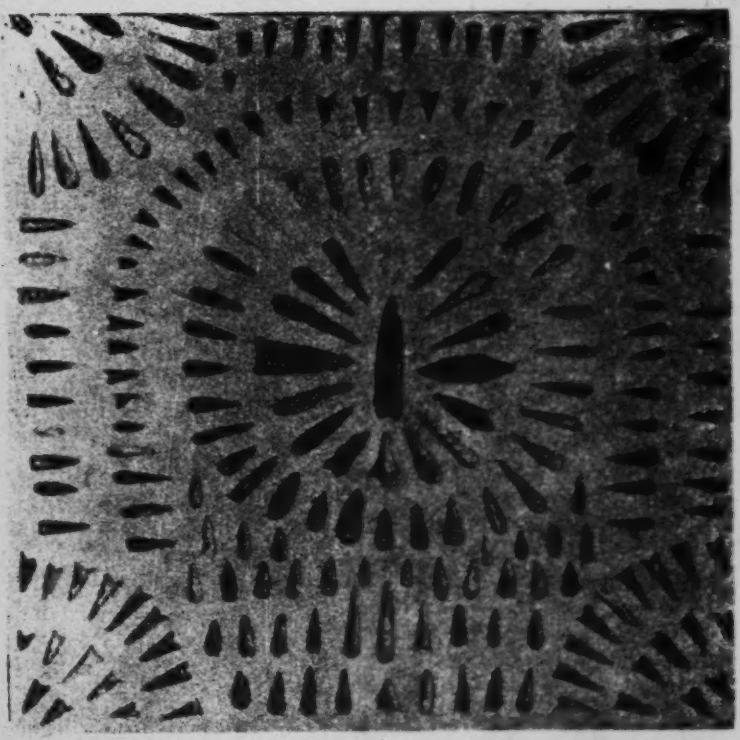
THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the *Tulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

115
124
[172]



Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tubohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

159
361

I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the finger-nail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55-56, 1926.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

136
did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east. [439]

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12] 136 172

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products. [321] 439 [436]

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple. 105 [262]

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi- 105 184

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 42 B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

*161 199 [101] We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

*161 162 192 There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 43A]

*161 162 192 there are several hundred skeletons excavated from habitation sites in central and northern California, the ages of which have been determined and which constitute a fair cross section of the native population during the centuries immediately preceding invasion by the white man. Of these skeletons 22.6 per cent represent persons dying under the age of twenty years, and perhaps 10 or 15 per cent persons dying under the age of ten.

*161 162 797 Further light is shed by the baptism records of the missions San Jose and Santa Clara (these are discussed in greater detail in a later paragraph) which list gentile baptisms according to village and distinguish between men, women, and children. In the two missions, from approximately 1805 to 1833 there were baptized a total of 5,217 persons from villages in the valley region. Of these 930, or 17.8 per cent were children and 1,939, or 37.1 per cent were listed as men. The sex ratio is 0.826. Evidently the natives captured and brought to the missions do not give us a completely true picture of the composition of the aboriginal population, despite the large sample at our disposal. It is highly probable that (1) the natural sex ratio was nearly unity and (2) many of the men were killed in warfare or escaped the clutches of the convert hunters. Therefore we are justified in setting the number of men equal to that of the women. If we do this, the population represented by the 5,217 conversions was actually 5,626, of which men and women each constituted 41.8 per cent and children 16.4 per cent.

*161 162 Finally, we have figures from Zalvidea (MS, 1806) with respect to villages at the extreme southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. (These are discussed subsequently in connection with the population of that area.) At two of these, after adjusting for disturbed sex ratio, he found respectively 13.5 and 9.6 per cent children. However, Zalvidea's account states specifically that in these villages he carries the age of childhood only through the seventh year. If he had counted as children those under ten years of age, the percentages would naturally have been higher.

The data just set forth render it abundantly clear that the children constituted between 10 and 20 per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary figure of 15 per cent. If we apply this factor to Bubal the result is not less than an aggregate of 1,333 persons, much greater than the value set by Moraga in 1806.

*161 162 797 With respect to the suggestion of Gifford and Schenck that the number of inhabitants of Bubal had been augmented between 1806 and 1814 by refugees from the missions the following points may be noted. In the first place, it has been possible to show (Cook, 1940) by means of the mission censuses that in 1815 the cumulative total of fugitives reported by all the missions in the colony amounted to 1,937 persons. Of these a great many who ran away in the earlier years were deceased. Many never went to the valley at all and the remainder were distributed from Sacramento to Bakersfield. It is highly unlikely that as many as 300 would be concentrated at one village such as Bubal. In the second place, the majority of the fugitives who did reach the village or its vicinity were former inhabitants of the locality who were merely returning to their old homes rather than coastal Indians, who would have constituted real refugees. On the whole, therefore, and this conclusion applies throughout the valley, true increase of population by immigration of foreign fugitives was negligible.

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

● 173 Then he continued his narrative:

648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text continues top of page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain [826] for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] "B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[46] Gayton and Newman, 28.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca´wis. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf,
657 live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy
work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes;
[461] pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all
winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut
159 tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch
173 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high;
648 wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat
on river take white man across water. Then lots white man
come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutumatu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief, Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Then Tomkit talk Major Savage. He tell him, "It's summer now; it's hot; it's long way Kuyu Illik, Kings River, where Choinimne live; it long way Nutunutu Indian; lony way Chauchile Indian; long way *Kahwatchwah* Indian. Take long time see all them Indian. I think maybe take my men three, four weeks see 'em. They run long way; they sweat lots. Why you want us do this? What they gonna do that paper we got sign?" 159 173 648

I hear all this. Tomkit say, "You be next chief, Pahmit. You hear what white man say."

Then Major Savage he tell Tomkit. Major Savage, he say, "I big medicine man with big father at Washington. You haf do what I say. I hurt you if I want to. I make all your people die. I make all fish go out river. I make all antelope, all elk go 'way. I make dark. You do what I say, nothing hurt you. But you no hurt me. You shoot me with bow, arrow, I live. I do all thing I tell you 'bout. You shoot me with pistol, you no hurt me."

Major Savage have nice six shooter. My people never see six shooter before. They see rifle; they see pistol. One, two my people know how shoot 'em.

Major Savage put white handkerchief side oak tree. He load six shooter one, two, three, six bullet. He put powder; he put paper; he put bullet; he stand close tree. He shoot handkerchief, one, two, three, six time. Every time he make hole in handkerchief.

My people all stand 'round close, see. Major Savage load six shooter 'gen. We see him put powder, paper, bullet. Then he give our man. "Now, you shoot me. You shoot me; you no hurt me. You no kill me. Don't you 'fraid. You go 'head, shoot; you no kill me." Then he stand close our man. Our man shoot, bang! Then Major Savage he grab in air with his hand. He don't fall down. Our people look each other. They say he big medicine man. Then our man shoot 'gen. He shoot six time. Major Savage, he grab in air six time. Our people all come close, look. Then Major Savage hold out hand, open it. We see six bullet our man shoot. Major Savage catch 'em all his hand.

My grandpa, Tomkit, he see that. He b'lieve 'em. I see that. I b'lieve 'em, too. All my people see that. They all think Major Savage big medicine man. They all think they better do what he say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Then Major Savage he talk. He tell us, "Now you do what
173 I say. You bring chief all Indian tribe here. You bring 'em
648 here ten days now. You bring two Indian each tribe. You bring one chief; you bring one *moke* for me. I want one wife each Indian tribe."

My grandpa, Tomkit, he send men bring all Indian chief; tell all Indian chief bring one Indian wife Major Savage. Indian chief all come Kuyu Illik. They bring Indian wife Major Savage. I think they bring seventeen. I think some run 'way. I think seven stay work for Major Savage.

After all chief come Kuyu Illik, one, maybe two days, big man from Washington come with paper. Lots 'em come. I think they fifteen, maybe twenty horse-back soldier. They three soldier on four horses wagon. They stop wagon Kuyu Illik on big open place south my grandpa's house. All Indian crowd 'round, look. All chief set 'round on ground.

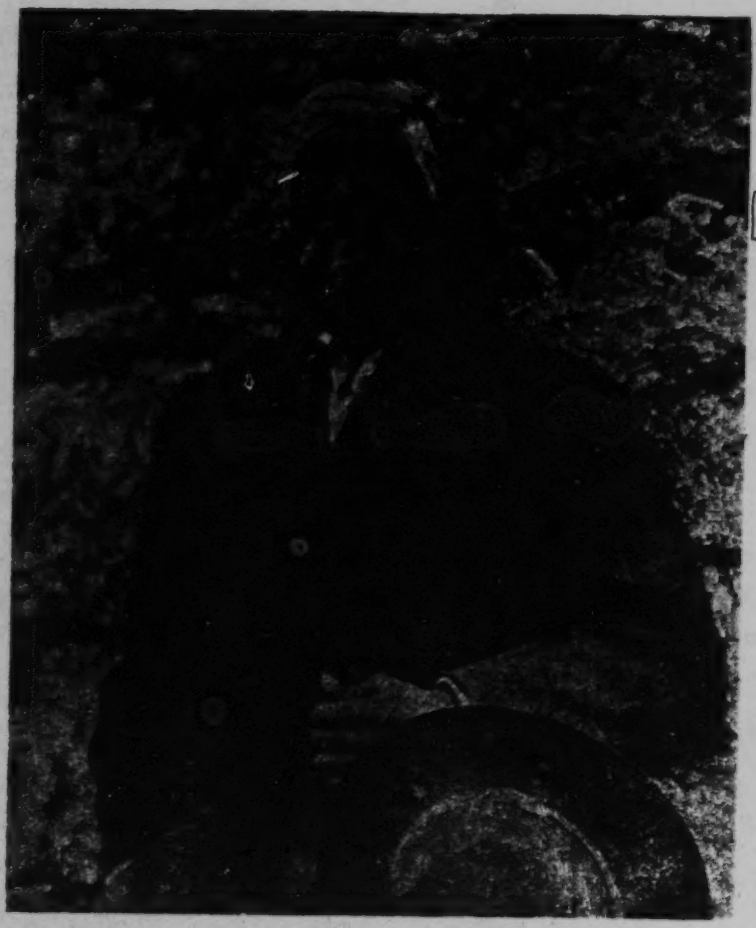
Some soldier take three big box out wagon. They put 'em in open place, each one up top. Then Indian get on top, way up high. He talk our people. That Indian belong our people long time 'go. When he little boy, Spanish preacher take him Mission at San Juan. At San Juan he learn read, write, talk like white man. Big white chief call him Charlie. Our people call him *Yo'-ho*. White chief talk him. Then Yoho talk us long time. He talk, 'n talk, 'n talk. He turn 'round, 'n 'round, 'n 'round on box. My people all hear him. He say we got give big Father at Washington all our land. We got go down valley, live. He say big white Father at Washington send us clothes; send us flour, send us blanket, send us horse. He say big white Father send us teacher, so our people go school like white man.

Our people no like that. They think all right send things. They no like go down valley. No acorn there; too many Indian there. They think have fight with Indian there. My grandpa, Tomkit tell Yoho. Yoho talk long time big white chief.

Then Major Savage he go wagon. He bring whisky; he bring tobacco. He tell all Indian set down, they gonna smoke. Major Savage fill tobacco pipe. He make one puff, he give pipe Indian. All Indian make one puff. All white chief make one puff.

Then Major Savage give 'em lots whisky. Then Yoho talk long time 'gen. Our chief all set 'round, listen. Then they make sign mark on piece paper. *Co-toom'-se*, chief with *Chuck-*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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[142]

Pahmit in 1929, aged about 100 years, by the wall of the old stone guardhouse at Fort Miller. Pahmit helped to build this wall about 1854.

chan'-se. He sign 'em. My father, *Dawk-taw,* he chief with Dumna tribe Indians. Some people call him *Tap'-pah.* He sign 'em. My uncle, To'-mas, he chief *Kit-cha'-ye* tribe. He sign 'em. Lots Indians sign 'em. Take long time. Then white chief go 'way.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Major Savage go 'way. He go Kings River. White man
173 there shoot Major Savage like our man shoot 'im. Major Sav-
648 age he die. Ha! Ha! Why he no catch 'em bullets?

Then white man come; they mine gold in river. They shoot Indian. Soldier put Indian in jail; they whip Indian. They run all Indian 'way from village Kuyu Illik. They burn all Indian house.

They smooth ground where Indian house burn. They play music there. Blue clothes soldier march, march, march there. They make Indian dig dirt, mix mud; make adobe brick; make white soldier big house. White men call big house Fort Miller. They take Indian by tree over river. They hang 'em there; they cut rope and dead Indian fall in river. My grandpa, Tomkit, he tell white soldier, "You better look out." He tell white miner, "You better look out. Indian spirits no like you do this. Pretty soon bad things happen you."

Then high water come wash 'way all white man's store; wash 'way lots white man; wash 'way lots, lots Chinaman. Then pretty soon white soldiers all go away. My people think Indian spirit make 'em go. They glad. They dance. They
[165] sing. Not many Indian left. Lots Indian die whisky; lots Indian die bad white man sickness. Just few Indian left. Indian live Kuyu Illik 'gen. White miner still whip Indian; still shoot Indian.

Then by 'n by, white man all talk fight. They say long way off, white man shoot white man. Lots white man go long way off, fight. Then white soldier come back Fort Miller. This time white soldier pretty good man; they no shoot Indian, they no whip Indian too much. Some Indian work for white soldier; white soldier give 'em flour, give 'em tobacco, but Indian pretty near all gone. White soldier stay this time maybe three, maybe four years. Then all go 'way. I never see no more white soldier.

159 My father, Dawktaw, gone. My grandpa, Tomkit, gone. My uncle, Tomas, gone. I big chief now, but no got Indian tribe. Just me; just my sister left. My sister got one boy, got one girl. I blind; I no see. I no see maybe ten, fifteen year. I got one boy; he got three, four, baby. We work hard, we don't have 'nough eat. Big Father at Washington no send flour; no send horse; no send clothes; no send blanket, like white chief say when Indian sign paper at Kuyu Illik.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the narrator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
[173] lieved to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

1: Gayton E.-S (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

177 known to have been recently adopted by the
Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque
hooded twined cradle which are now made by
Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved,
I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts
foothills is a craft derived from the Western
Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval
frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches
of white landowners along the foothills. Some
Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of
their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers
or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life
shows in this existence, save for the continued
use of acorn foods and the few implements
needed for their preparation, and basketmaking,
an art which flourishes because of tourist
trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language
and kinship terms are in use; family totems are
retained, and official functions are aberrantly
performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the
life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers
and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and
Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which
follows, the reader should be familiarized with
the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley
in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the
environment of the upper and lower foothills
has changed but little, whereas the great
valley floor was unbelievably different in the
past from the completely dry, hard plain it is
today. There is no better way to present the
picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses
to speak for themselves. There were many
travelers in the area who left records of their
experiences with the troublesome mire of the
tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration
for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada;[6] but no
account so well fits our purpose as that of
Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850,
made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4]Cf. Teshopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.U. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be [174] avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden
171 pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

*1917
193

A striking instance of the failure of dialectic comparisons to shed any light on the origin of Yokuts words is furnished by the numerals four and five. These words are undoubtedly derivative, four, hat-pañi or hoto-ponoi, being certainly formed from poñoi or ponoi, two, and yit-einil, five, from yet, one. This being the case, it might be supposed that in so great a number of dialects as have been examined, and these belonging to six distinct groups, there would be a certain number which showed forms for four and five containing the elements two and one in combination with other elements than the dialects previously known, or containing the same elements in a phonetic form that would make them identifiable with stems of known significance. This supposition is however not a fact. The twenty-one dialects show forms for these two numerals that are in their elements absolutely identical and that present variations which are clearly only phonetic, that is to say, in themselves meaningless. It is therefore clear that, while it cannot be doubted that these two words are composite in origin, this original composition yet goes back to an earlier stage of the language; and that in its present stage, as proved by their unity in the most diverse dialectic groups, these composite forms are regarded and treated by the language purely as radical stems. The same fact is emphasized by the words for fourteen and fifteen, which are formed from the abbreviated stems for four and five by the addition of the suffix -am. As stated in the presentation of Yaudanchi, the abbreviation of these two numerals before this decimal suffix runs counter to their etymology, the second element of each being, as it were, deliberately cut in two and the final portion lost before the suffix. Hat-pañi becomes hate-p-am, and yit-einil yit-e-am. These two forms hate-p-am and yit-e-am have been found not only in Yaudanchi but in five other dialects, representing all the principal groups of the family; and their forms in these six dialects are, except for variations in the quality of their vowels, absolutely identical. Here again it is clear that the derivational process has long since become crystallized, and that the derived form is treated by all dialects alike as a radical unit. In other words, while there is some etymological derivation in Yokuts, the process is a completed rather than an active one, and the fluidity of

[194]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi

n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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[174]

197*
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114

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 126 a] Wukchumni

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
much, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate''ŭ or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
[417] assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the ranchería I
counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
[361] makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
[252] the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
175 came from another rancheria.

The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
525 upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 154 a] Dumna

251 Of interest to our current ethnography is
175 Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra
262 Miwok) the caches in native granaries included
175 principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.

From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 A few remarks are made on numbers of men.
726 In the first engagement on a high peak up the
175 Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

[p. 154 b] Dumna

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

[722]

At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

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[33]Ibid., 31, 32.

[34]Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Couse, On the Trail, 287).

[35]Dunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36]Dunnell, 125.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have them.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wesča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

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how the Kahwatchwah got fire. He told me lots more things 'bout his people, but I guess I forget 'em. It's too long ago."

During November and December of 1815, Sergeant Jose Dolores Pico made an excursion into the Joaquin after Indians who had run many horses away from Mission San Juan Bautista. In his diary-report covering this expedition, Pico mentioned several Indian names which may be the names of Indian tribes, of villages, or of headmen of villages.

Pico stated that his party traveled easterly from San Luis Gonzaga, which is located definitely enough to be positively identified as present San Luis Gonzaga Rancho Headquarters at the east mouth of Pacheo Pass. Leaving San Luis in the evening and traveling eastwardly, the party arrived about midnight "at the creek called San Jose."

At first thought one might decide that the San Jose Creek mentioned would be the well known Sanjon de San Jose in the vicinity of San Jose School, Kings County. But between evening and midnight they could not possibly have traveled that far, a distance of seventy-five miles, airline, and at least ninety miles by known trails. The nearest point on that channel, now known as Fish Slough, southeast of Mendota, is fifty miles airline from San Luis, and about sixty-five miles by the old trail.

Pico's party certainly did not travel at more than five miles an hour, or at most, twenty-five miles between seven P. M. and midnight. This would have taken them to about the present Santa Rita Rancho, directly east from San Luis. They probably traveled at a rate of about three miles an hour. One can be certain that at midnight they were somewhere between San Luis Camp (seven miles north of present Los Baños) and present Dos Palos.

The Pico force rested from midnight until "time to fall upon the rancherie of the *Che neches*." The name used could have been that of the local chief, the tribe, or the village. One would suppose it was the name of the tribe, but experience has taught that the name of the tribe was seldom obtained by such parties. Most often they designated villages and even tribes by the name of the local Headman, who was well known to them and who was on their "must" list.

Four leagues away (anywhere from nine to fifteen miles, according to the accuracy with which such expeditions estimated distance) was a "rancherie called *Nopchendies*." The

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direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim*." 175

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission." [251]

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages. 101 103

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

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101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
101 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
103 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which
648 decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, "*Oh-rays-teem'-bah,*" meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

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were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.] 175 127

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo - - - - .

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name. 114 127

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend. 127

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up 101

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184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
101 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
101 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
181 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
184 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

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"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." [142 262 342]

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [491]

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101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at 184 one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

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"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152 522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [181] [648]

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tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

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175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
[262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of
[181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far
184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné*, *Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes. 175

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence. [164] [132]

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream. [137]

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to
131 four other large groups which once occupied almost half of
619 what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok*
131 (Me'-walk).. These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life
[171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the 103 Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinehiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F 172 streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

raising clouds of dust on the prairie. Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley." 175 202

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party. 202

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah,* an aged *Koyeti,* I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people. [619]

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[124] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
+161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.31C]

175 affected in a uniform manner throughout and a sufficiently
*161 clear line can be drawn between aboriginal and postcontact conditions. In the central valley the white influence was very gradual, beginning at or near the year 1770 with the entrance of the Spanish missionaries along the coast and the infiltration of a very few foreigners into the valley. The volume of invasion increased slowly over the next three decades, but the effect was intensified by the escape of numerous mission neophytes into the valley. The years after 1800 saw repeated incursions by the coastal whites who overran the floor of the valley from the Sacramento River to Buena Vista Lake. Meanwhile the foothill and mountain tribes were permitted to remain fairly intact. With discovery of gold, however, these groups lost their immunity and were rapidly destroyed. Therefore, even though we oversimplify, we may say that the aboriginal population persisted in the valley proper up to 1770, in the lower foothills up to roughly 1810, and in the higher foothills and more remote canyons of the Sierra Nevada up to 1850.

127 Our sources of information cover only the period
114 during which the demographic status of the natives was undergoing change. No written record exists that describes conditions as they might have been found prior to 1770. The only possible substitute would be an examination of the habitation sites left from prehistoric times, but archaeological research in the area has not yet progressed to the point where an adequate quantitative estimate of population is available. There are three primary bodies of data to which we have access, all falling within the historical period between 1770 and 1850.

The first of these derives from the serious effort on the part of the Americans, who between 1848 and 1852 were entering the region in large numbers, to determine the quantity of natives surviving in the central valley. This task was performed by such men as Sutter, Bidwell, and Savage, together with several Indian commissioners, and army officers sent out by the government. To their reports may be added the statements contained in the local county histories published in the era of 1880 to 1890, as well as in many pioneer reminiscences.

A second major source of information consists of the ethnographic studies made within the past fifty years, among which should be mentioned the works of Kroeber, Merriam, Schenck, Gayton, and Gifford. These investigators depended principally upon informants who were elderly people in the decades from 1900 to 1940. Their memories, together with their recollection of what had been told them by their parents, carry back, on the average, to the period of the American invasion or just before it. Hence their knowledge of truly aboriginal population would be valid for the hill tribes only; yet data

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

[952]

797 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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1: Gayton E-5 (192 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 The civilization described herein, then,
131 is that of the early youth of living informants and that of their parents and even grandparents,
177 for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
131 peoples experienced the dismay previously
suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders
increased in numbers. Still, after the hos-
177 tilities of 1851 and certain dislocations re-
sulting from attempts to reservationize the
natives, a balance of peace between Indians and
whites was established and Yokuts life went on.
The villages in the foothills resumed their
habits and the displaced Indians from the
fertile strip between the lake and the foot-
hills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
131 intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them.
177 Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
manifested by both the Penutians and Shosho-
648 neans, although in differing degrees depending
on how far these natives were thrown together
because of pressure from a common enemy, the
American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870,
diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono prose-
lytizers, was the first social affair in which
these two groups mingled freely, and even then
mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to
be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are
largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter.
To analyze both cultures for the segregation of
items into culture-historical compartments is
a formidable and intricate task which I do not
propose to undertake here. Yet some indication
of the major features of the question may be
given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and
characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed
Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual
Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna
Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the
Western Mono only as introduced performances.
Probably few Wobonuch or Wakaachi had witnessed
them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they
were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating
613 the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected
619 by the whites, is the social organization com-
621 mon to both cultures. This includes (1) the
177 basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the
613 practice of redeeming the totem animal by
177 purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the up-
778 land Monachi culture and that of their valley
177 neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 On the side of material culture a more
439 even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved,
[174] I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4]Cf. Teshopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Dayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yıt
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syın, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
752 plant was an introduction of the white people.
A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hın tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ın
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iyın). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [177] reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, 657 strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-323 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´ʔɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the 838] latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other-764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

[P. 49 c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deer-
[854] skin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and 438 claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- [223] wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare 439] wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the [222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a short- age in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y The Tachi from the lake bought burden 439 baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was east- Y ward, of commodities westward.

M Very little that is definite can be 177 learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant [191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- [105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other in- formants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and cultural- ly richer Yokuts neighbors and that they dis- appeared entirely during the flux and pressure Y of white encroachment.

The Eastern Mono, called Mona´či by the 439 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. 648 In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
512 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulaba].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´niš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´´ʿts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po´) surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nʿt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 <u>Paint</u>.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yʿn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohum; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and
[77] eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

A´ṭu (manzanita berries) were used only
272 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just
262 for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by
335 means of one set of cords. The cradle frame (with its permanent mat) was called a'hi·'li·č; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭ·ñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps
[439] Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home'ṭ·n (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoi·č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo'ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi'yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi'diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

525 Dice game.--This game (huču´wič) was played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216] [177]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wí-a-tak, or ho-mai-éh, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´wan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Fages (p. 75) mentions dice of small shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

525 Women:

oi yo no´ ma na — ho we ha´ na·

Men:

hoi lo wi´ le — hoi yo ho´ wi le·

Women:

me´ wal he yo´ — ha we hin nim

Men:

min lo we´ ta pi — soi li´l hin nim

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mi soi yo — ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he´ne´´wia. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[219]

524 Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as dalak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[220]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

[177] Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

[177] [219] Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[220] Ibid., 540.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and 843 morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 843 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle 854 for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat
[553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbit-skin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was
[853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the
[314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deer-skins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro-
[177] duction of European blankets the steamer sur-rounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no´mčɨn, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčɨn, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names [551] were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´wɨs) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

175 769 161 [361] [342]

I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

[561] [252]

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 769 574 525

The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 177 [532]

Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
769 at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville, and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
535 Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´m:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:ś) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[28a] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[28a]The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
668 and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
796 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red."
In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A´pawič, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them [then].

668 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
796 J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text continued on top of P. 133b, ---- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text continued in middle of P. 133b, ---- Analyst]

668 The dance was called soto· ´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a— Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Wakaachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi ´hao (Michahai)
2. takša ´myu (Michahai)
3. buči ´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o ´to
5. bo ´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto ´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[864] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[386] The first (bi´'ič) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lič) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.---All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[387] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.---A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ža). The pieces used

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[386] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[387] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 143 b]
Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's 439 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

796
535

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·'l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

[224]

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

[302]

[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 157 a] DUMNA

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (sam:s), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´y:n wa´tiy: to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´l:t a´mam hača´ka':č" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭ:pni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭ:pni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his ṭ:pni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or 177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who 821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol:č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 <u>Jimsonweed ritual</u>.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) 276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya'hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (spla'oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

795 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
669 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

272 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[35] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
251] The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [35]The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Tokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono[1]." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go
492 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope (a ja´quima, presumably). But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared
[177] with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish
[482] were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
● 177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one month after the birth of the first child (but
852 not after subsequent births) a celebration was held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
846 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled
852 by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was
783 brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 194 b] Chuckchansi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether [861] they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 196 b] Chuckchansi

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[157] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178 established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] p. 383.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 b] Chukchansi

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. [177] The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono [439] and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

Y W [574]

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´s.p); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Y [322]

Warfare

W Y 726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

W Y [177] Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

W Y [556]

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ˊ'iwa'ti ˆnwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu ˊmi nati ˆnwa tsatsa ˊmo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869]

During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.252 c] Western Mono N525

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobomuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
131 was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Koboniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this *spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams.* Thirty or more miles to the north they held Wollo ("planting place," "sowing
● [177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
[582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'iuta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowiasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus [illegible] valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
161 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo
177 to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

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or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process. 161 177 797

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain. 161 177 161

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this re- [177] ligion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread

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 776

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a 177
group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: [782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüüshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshick gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

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YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with
262 a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket,
[251 pounded into flour, and cooked.
343] Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de-
[415 scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregu-
324] larly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulonun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple-
[415 ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among
177] whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

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285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em- [525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living 177 Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

172 The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re- 361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 462 [491]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls. 436 172

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F[illegible] Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as p[illegible] being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded t[illegible] *ntimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves. 487 439 [172]

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California. 487 439 172 [177]

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaelogical evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast. 487 439

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[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the principal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were [142] shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under
[237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers
might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red,
[301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were
hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being car-
ried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the
rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and
[301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a
pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of
flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and
302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be
291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), sup-
ported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn
much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains In-
dians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It
was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and
breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two
ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were
held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the
breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While
the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee
string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the
breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small
apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design
[531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be
left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh,* and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

[137] We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in
the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San
Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com-
[177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of
the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have
824 them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 in a shinny game, often placing the ball on a small mound of earth resembling a golf tee. We are told that in some instances the ball was buried in the earth and that the two who started the play were required to dig it from the ground with their clubs before striking it.

I remember well that when I was a boy in the San Joaquin Valley I visited relatives who used this last method of starting the play in shinny. It was with great surprise that I afterward learned that the Indians had used the same method many years before, and that we had probably obtained it from them. Many pioneers have been surprised to find primitive Indians playing shinny. Few of them ever realized that it was originally an Indian game and that the whites first learned it from the Indians. [177]

On May 2, 1943, I for the last time interviewed the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of Bakersfield. He told me of playing shinny with the Yowlumne Indian boys who lived in a village located in Bakersfield between where the Santa Fe passenger station and Mercy Hospital are now located. It is typical of the pioneer accounts of Yokuts shinny: "I remember that I used to play shinny with the Indian children. They used a block of wood about the size of a tennis ball, and almost any old stick they could find for a club. They were surely hard to beat at shinny, and were as rough as could be in their play. I have always been amazed that the Indians learned to play shinny so well so soon after the white people came here."

In playing the game most like ours, which was called *Daht'-k'hoo Nun-coo'-ish*, the goals were established about four hundred yards apart and consisted of two holes in the ground. The play was begun in the middle of the field, equally distant from each goal. Sides were chosen and the play began. One side attempted to take the ball to one of the goals and the other side tried to take it to the opposite goal. The game might continue for four hours and was ended as soon as the ball was goaled by one side.

The game most commonly played and called *Kahdahduitch* (Kah-dah-doo'-itch), was in the form of a race, and was elaborately staged and carefully managed. A paid umpire was necessary in conducting this game. He was dressed in Indian finery, consisting of feather headdress and feather skirt. Compared with one of our present day football officials, he would have been a striking figure. [292]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer. 224

"After men began to hunt with guns and could kill a deer at long range, stalking had to be discontinued, as several Indians were mistaken for deer and were shot. Such hunting was always dangerous, even when there were no guns in the country. [177]

"An old Monache Indian once told me of an experience he had had, which I think is interesting. He had stalked a deer for several hours and had finally approached close enough so that he was preparing to shoot.

"Just as he was about to draw the bow he saw something move. He glanced to his right and there on a big rock, as he said, 'There's one mountain lion, he's going to jump right on me. Fool 'em deer too good—fool 'em mountain lion.

" 'Deer go one way, horns go one way, bow and arrows go one way, Injun go one way. Injun no more fool 'em deer!' "

TULE FISHING RAFTS

Pioneers who were on Tulare Lake in the early days say that loose tules used to float on the surface of the water and were drifted by the wind along the lee shore of the lake into thick, floating mats. These mats were sometimes three feet or more in thickness, thirty to fifty feet across, and from fifty to more than one hundred yards in length. 501

When hogs were placed upon the lake shores to fatten, the tule mats caused a great deal of trouble. They were buoyant enough to support several hogs. Sows with young pigs liked to nest on these mats. During the night it was not unusual for the wind to change direction and drift the mats some distance from shore. Then it was necessary to wade, or row a boat into the lake and take the sow and pigs from the mat.

After the mats had accumulated windblown dust and sand and trash they became known as floating islands. At time of low water they would rest upon the ground, but at time of high water they would separate from the bottom of the lake and float away. It is believed that it was from these floating tule mats and tule islands that the Indians first learned to make fishing rafts, and also the rafts which were used on the rivers. The fishing raft varied in length from ten feet to probably twenty, and in width from six feet to eight feet. They were probably from two to three feet, or more, in thickness and were lashed

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not processed]

CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first
285 considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is
the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the pre-
531 historic designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown
with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake
531 was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winat-*
531 *un*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of
825 the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were
776 not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such **doctoring**. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by **Jesse G. Pattee**.

159 769 [775] Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 767 769 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:
539]

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)

Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weazel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

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754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mots aštawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and
[823] ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said
[177] to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

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It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex?

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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182 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present
177 study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political
182 and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were
622 the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western
769 slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamate, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

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The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791
chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796
arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302]
either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177]
Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535
inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177]
from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181
a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648
take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177
of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302]
appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

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Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585
virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435
anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate- 834

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

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Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civilization", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

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As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aboriginal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

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Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All 197*
these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta- 193
Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of 171
them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive consonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects 197*
through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the 197*
radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is 177
becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

*197 dom not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total
● 177 vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in
*197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree
193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead.
551 This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and
768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration.. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of
193 the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un-
192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t·i, varied occasionally to t·e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt·im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ünu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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PHONETIC RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 194 The phonetic changes and equivalences of the Yokuts dialectic groups are few and simple. There are only three affecting entire groups with any frequency. These are, first a change of usual l to d, confined to the Tule-Kaweah group, within which it is universal; second the occurrence of ö and ü in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups; and third the occurrence of ñ in the Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, and Poso Creek groups. It will be seen that all these phonetic specializations are confined to the Foot-hill division and that the northernmost group within this division, the Kings River, is free from them and agrees phonetically with the groups of the Valley division. While the first of these three mutations, the change of l to d, holds universally in the dialects in which it occurs, the substitution of the other sounds, ñ for n and ö and ü for e and i, is only partial in the dialectic groups in which they appear. But obversely ñ, ö, and ü are universally replaced by n, e, and i in those groups in which they do not appear.

The change of l to d in the Tule-Kaweah group requires no particular discussion. The fact that it is confined to only one of the six groups in the family, and that one a small group, shows this d to have been almost certainly a comparatively late development from a more original l. It is possible that this change of l [177] to d is due to Shoshonean influence, for the Mono division of the Shoshonean family entirely lacks l. The case for this supposition is however not very strong, for the Kings River and Northern Yokuts groups are also in contact with the Mono and have retained l, whereas within the Tule-Kaweah group, which has made the change to d, only the tribes on Kaweah river, such as the Wükchamni, are in contact with Shoshoneans of the Mono division, the Tule river tribes, such as the Yaudanchi, having been in closer touch with the Shoshoneans of the distinct Kern River group, whose dialect contains l.

Of course d, corresponding to t as g does to k, appears in all Yokuts dialects irrespective of whether or not they possess l.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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As regards the second principal phonetic peculiarity, the appearance of ö and ü and the so-called impure vowels in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups, it is almost certain that Shoshonean influence must be reckoned with. This ö and ü, and perhaps other impure o and u sounds, are characteristic of the Shoshonean family, being found in all its dialectic branches except the southernmost of those in southern California. The Shoshonean family occupies almost the entire territory extending along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, and thence south and westward through southern California to the ocean. The four purely Californian families with which the Shoshoneans come in territorial contact along this stretch, the Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Chumash, all show these impure ö and ü sounds. Moreover these four families are, so far as known at present, the only ones in California that possess these sounds. The case could not well be stronger for the territorial continuity of characteristics due to interinfluence. It is rendered still stronger by the circumstance that one division of the Miwok or Moquelumnan family, which is separated from the remainder of the stock, and out of reach of direct Shoshonean influence, in the northern Coast Range of the state, appears to lack these ö and ü sounds in question. Yokuts would appear to have been influenced less than the three other stocks, since the great majority of its dialects, including many of those in the foot-hills in direct contact with Shoshoneans, lack the ö and ü. The two dialectic groups possessing ö and ü probably had closer relations with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any other groups excepting that on Poso creek. The Tule-Kaweah group was in contact with both the Mono and Kern River divisions, and the Buena Vista group in close proximity to the Kern River, Kawaiisu, and Serrano divisions, besides being in direct contact with the northeasternmost Chumash. Why the Paleuyami of Poso creek, who were probably more intimately associated with Shoshoneans than any other Yokuts group, should lack these sounds is difficult to understand. The Paleuyami dialect, however, often pronounces its vowels, especially i, e, o, and u, with a quality somewhat different from that which they have in other dialects; i and u especially are open to the point of sounding impure. In the dialects lacking ö and ü, e and i always

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 194 177 replace them. The other impure vowels, which, as has been stated of Yaudanchi, are frequently only induced by ö and ü, are replaced by the ordinary simple vowels in other dialects. Whether ö and ü are original in the words in which they occur, or only subsequent modifications of o and i, is not certain; but the great preponderance of dialects lacking ö and ü, and the proximity of the dialects possessing these sounds to Shoshonean territory, makes the latter explanation more probable; so that in this respect also the Valley and Kings River dialects seem to represent a more original state of the language than the southern Foot-hill groups.

The sound ñ, occurring in the three southern Foot-hill groups and replaced in all others by n, is the most difficult to understand. The evidence for influence of other families is not very strong. Mono and the other Shoshonean divisions in contact with the Yokuts, excepting the Kern River group and some of the southeastern Mono, all lack ñ, as does Chumash. This fact would accord with internal circumstances which tend to show that this sound is an original one in Yokuts. If this is the case, the ñ occurring in the Kern River division of Shoshonean is probably due to Yokuts influence.

*197 194 Whereas ñ is invariably replaced by n in the Valley and Kings River dialects, n of these dialects is replaced by ñ in only a certain number of words in the three southern Foot-hill groups. Of a hundred Valley or Kings River words containing n medially, about forty southern Foot-hill words have ñ; of one hundred containing n finally, about twenty-five in the Foot-hill group replace it by ñ; of one hundred beginning with n, not more than five or ten show initial ñ in the southern Foot-hill groups. While there is thus a marked tendency for ñ to appear finally and especially medially, it is clear that its appearance is not entirely or directly due to its position in words. An examination of its relations to the vowels of the words in which it appears also brings out no definite conclusions. There is thus no apparent internal cause for the appearance of ñ. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that a stem containing ñ and appearing in several of the Foot-hill dialects invariably shows ñ and not n in all the dialects of these groups in which it occurs, makes it probable that this

*161 discussion of the population about 1850. It is preferable to discuss the entire region as a unit and, when necessary, pass to indirect methods of estimate.

The Pitkachi on the San Joaquin are mentioned in 1806 by Moraga, who allows 200 persons to their rancheria. The tribe appears again in the baptism record of Soledad Mission (MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley) according to which 205 Indians from "Picatche" were baptized from 1821 to 1824 and another 18 in 1831. An additional 23 came from rancherias in the vicinity, a total of 246. Another rancheria, Capicha, is referred to by Pico in 1815, who said it was uninhabited at that time, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. As late as 1853 Wessels said that the Pitcache, together with the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, numbered 500 to 600 souls. Kroeber mentions three villages remembered by modern informants.

If 246 Indians were baptized in one mission, the tribe as a whole must have numbered at least four times as many, or 1,000. If two fair-sized rancherias are mentioned by the Spanish observers, the entire tribe may well have possessed four or five, which again implies a population of 1,000. If there were approximately 300 survivors in 1853, by comparison with other open valley areas the original population must have been fully three or four times as great, or perhaps 1,200. If three rancherias were known to modern informants, they must formerly have been important places with anywhere from 200 to 400 people, again indicating a total of 1,000 for the tribe.

Concerning the Hoyima there are two references, one by Pico in 1826 and one by Rodriguez in 1828. Pico states merely that he attacked the rancheria and captured 40 gentiles and 1 Christian, a fact which in itself would not furnish a very significant clue to population. He also noted "mucha guesamenta y cueros casi frescos de caballada que habian matado."

The account by Rodriguez is more circumstantial. This soldier went along the San Joaquin River in late April of 1828. On the 24th he sent a group of men to scout the "rancheria de los Joyimas, que es adonde an comido la caballada." At dawn the next day they attacked the village, "que estaba en medio de los dos brazos del rio" (the San Joaquin west or northwest of Fresno). He captured 26 Indians and 27 animals (horses). Another 60 or 80 horses escaped "en el monte." At about this time a gentile captain came from a rancheria designated Guche or Getche, depending upon how one deciphers the handwriting of the manuscript. He "vino a los Joyimas a comer caballo." The rancheria named here is probably that of the Heuchi on the Fresno River. This gentile said there was another rancheria "mas arriba" at which there were horses. Rodriguez sent Simeon Castro to investigate. He found no one at the rancheria mentioned but went on 2 leagues to another rancheria, likewise deserted but containing the carcasses of 100 dead horses, which had been slaughtered and were about to be eaten. It was noted by Rodriguez that: "Estas 3 rancherias son una misma que es la de los Jaimes." It was also remarked that the rancheria was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. From this account it is clear that the Joyimas had at least three villages, Allowing somewhat over 300 persons each, the population of the group would reach 1,000.

● 177 The slaughtered horses open up an interesting field
*161 of speculation. It is clear that by 1828 large segments of
262 the aboriginal population had entirely given up the sedentary ancestral mode of life in favor of an existence based upon stock raiding. To do this it was necessary to recast

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
262 order to catch the horses for food other horses were essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
[25] preserved, according to general practice, it was sufficient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*16 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
[10] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
[31] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
*16 important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*16 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

*[61] way to the Colorado and Garcés found at least one deserting soldier living with the Indians. It is quite possible that decline of population had already begun as early as 1776.

After traveling 4-1/2 leagues Garcés found another rancheria (no. 5), at which he spent the night of May 2-3. This must have been somewhere near the hamlet of Woody at the southern boundary of T25S, R29E. On May 3 he moved another 2-1/2 leagues, still north, to reach the White River near or slightly to the west of the village of White River in T24S, R29E. Here he camped at a rancheria (no. 6) of 150 souls. On May 4, having reached his farthest point north, he visited another rancheria (no. 7) half a league east. At rancheria no. 6 he found an Indian who was a fugitive from the coast and also heard that two Spanish soldiers had been killed for molesting Indian women. The contact with the whites [179] was therefore clearly established. Stephen Powers (1877), who was in the San Joaquin Valley in the decade of 1850 says that "on White River there are no Indians, neither have there been any for many years." Here again is an indication of depopulation at a very early date.

On May 5 Garcés started to retrace his steps southward, reaching at 2-1/2 leagues the previous rancheria (i.e., no. 5). From here he must have diverged somewhat eastward of his northbound trail for at 2 leagues he saw another rancheria (no. 8) "to the east" which he had not seen on the way up. This probably was toward the eastern side of T26S, R20E. Tnen, he says, he went southeast 3 leagues to Poso Creek. This would put him on Poso Creek near the center of township T27S, R30E, a point about 9 miles airline above his place of crossing on May 2. Here he found a rancheria (no. 9), the chief of which told him about another rancheria (no. 10) to the east where a Spanish renegade lived with an Indian wife. The following day, May 6, he started out again south or southwest and got lost in the hills of upper Poso Creek. In these hills between Poso Creek and the Kern River he found another rancheria (no. 11) of "more than 100 souls." This was probably in the northern part of township T28S, R30E. Finally on May 7 he reached the Kern 1 league above his first crossing. His first crossing had been accomplished 2 or 3 miles below the mouth of the canyon hence he must have come out very close to the mouth. He then went downstream to the rancheria where he had crossed (no. 1) but he did not stop here. He continued down the river for 2 leagues to a rancheria he had not seen before (no. 12) and which had "some 150 souls."

Two leagues downstream from rancheria no. 1, or about 3 leagues below the mouth of the canyon would have put him at a point roughly 5 to 6 miles east-northeast of Bakersfield, not at the site of the city, as is supposed by Coues (1900, p. 299). On May 8 he went 3 leagues south-southwest, then turned and traveled 6 leagues southeast and east to the Tehachapi. These distances and directions plotted on the map place him just at the mouth of Tejon Creek.

To summarize the rancherias mentioned: Garcés saw four villages on the Kern in territory of the Paleu- [361] yami or Yauelmani (nos. 1, 2, 3, 12), six on Poso Creek or minor watercourses to the north thereof (nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), all Paleuyami, and two on White River (nos. 6, 7) in the territory of the Kumachisi.

The size of these villages has been subject to some debate. Garcés cites two with 150 persons and one with 100, but Gifford and Schenck think that he specifies population only for the largest places. The other nine would therefore be smaller. These authors, however, put the average village size at about 60 (750 people in 12 villages),

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo paʔa seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

Other songs of this sort are the Weli Weli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the Morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choyniani and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] 178 533 songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas [171] the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the [196] ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also [171] the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a 127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for [126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of [177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho- 184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of
122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

T Y 103 of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

T 161 The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

Y T ●177 The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

T 285 323 276 342 Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

T 343 515 501 It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

T 764 The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

T 616 776 231 In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

T [773]

T 171 606 177 [551] In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

T 171 601 177

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the *tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration* for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4] Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5] Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 395.

[6] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

769 Although Pohasa was an important captain,
178 no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi
616 moieties:

In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 J.A. said she did not remember much about
668 the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what *they heard from the supernatural world. They* did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ı lkın. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epıs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people *eat too much meat and grease.*"

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring 825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Tokuts N529
[P. 196 a] Chuckchansi

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[157] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the established practice [probably about 1860,
● 178] after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] P. 383.

Other songs of this sort are the Weli Weli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the Morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choynimni and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] 178 533 songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the [171] Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the [196] ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern [171] California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
[182] come, and so on. The explanatory element is frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings [312 River was much as it is now (save for oases of 311] agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134 ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of [161 access. There are no less than seventeen 36] rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, in- [648 cluding those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the low- [181 er part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[15]Ibid., 257.

[16]Ibid., 258-260.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected
586 from a wife. The husband was entirely within
837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse
[579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As
[181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and
[767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´wəš).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwəš; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´šən, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´təl) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called šə´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

---

[15] This.

W
Y
787 the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

W
Y
[821]
[778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

W
Y
787
782
181

The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

W
Y
[778]

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

W Y 787 782 181

so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776

The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tʼpni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828

As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha ʼbawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has all dream experience; people who mept in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuci*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. *It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links* stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the larger valleys, though they were the first to crumble at the touch of the Caucasian, elaborated a more complex culture than the hill tribes; and the Yokuts were a lowland people in a greater measure than any other stock in California. 17/ 18/

But it is also evident that wherever the soil of history is really penetrated in California a rich variety of growths is found. If a little mountain group like the Yuki, placed between more highly civilized nations, has been able to evolve feature after feature of cultural distinctness, there is every reason to believe that the same would prove to be true of nearly all the California tribes, if only we really knew them; and a large, compact, and prosperous block of people like the Yokuts would be exceptional only in having carried the development of their originality somewhat farther than the majority. 18/

It so happens that in the long stretch of land between the Maidu and the Luiseño no tribe has yet been exhaustively studied with any array of information. It is therefore inevitable that the present account of the Yokuts, the first rendered in any detail, scattered as that is, should reveal many novelties. But there is nothing to encourage the belief that if the Miwok, the Tübatulabal, the Serrano, or the Salinans had happened to be chosen, there would have been any notably less quantity of interesting peculiarities revealed; not to mention that for the Pomo and Chumash, little known as they are, we have every indication of a civilizational richness greater, if anything, than that evinced by the Yokuts.

In other words, the exact understanding of the Indian history of California still lies before us. Some foundations may have been laid for it in the present work. The outlines were sketched for all time 40 years ago by the masterly hand of Stephen Powers. But the real structure will be a gift of the future; and its materials can only be assembled by investigations far more intensive, as well as continuous, than those yet undertaken.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe defi-
nitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit-
[268] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi-
[197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means
he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an
interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of
their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long
one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and
environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he
is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy
of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the
Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley. 172 361

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people. 101 [797] [648]

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States. 101 131

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages. 101 131 619 103 361

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east. [181]

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
101 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
101 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
181 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
184 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] [522] [48]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [61] [619]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 609 648 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left behind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp; checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—*'Esperate Carrajos'*—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 648 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accustomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the [262] mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, *'Manadas'*. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far [181 more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which 184] carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné, Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 white settlers before such data was gathered. When such work was begun, gaming had almost passed out of existence, and as a result, rules, names and other details had been forgotton. However, it can easily be seen from the amount of information presented upon these pages that the Yokuts were not the sullen, [181] undemonstrative people we imagine them, but were, instead, a laughing, carefree, gaming race.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the T*ulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik*, long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:
539]

Toke'-uh lih'-muh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

It is the nature of the Yokuts to look to someone for counsel and advise. In the old days the chief of the tribe was the person who acted in the capacity of general advisor. It is believed that he held his position through his natural ability and through the tendency of the majority of the people around him to come to him for advice. 181

Members of the tribe were inclined to wait for the chief to determine when to gather the various foodstuffs, and when to move from one seasonal location to another. It is said by some pioneers that the chief often told his people where to build their houses, and sometimes when and whom to marry. If the foregoing describes conditions in general, the Indians, however voluntarily, were too much ruled.

Unless suggestions are made to the ordinary Indian, he is unable to meet a new situation, one to which he is a stranger and untrained, but he is quick to act upon the suggestion of anyone whose advice he values. This is probably not so true of the families of chiefs or headmen, who commonly inter-married between tribes. They were more versatile, had more initiative, and were better able to adjust themselves to the great upheaval caused by the coming of the white man.

Because of this need of leadership Indians have been accused of being lazy. According to the standard of the white man this is in many cases quite true. But I have known many exceptions, especially where Indians have had the guidance of dependable and well meaning whites. The Indian sees no earthly use for a large percentage of the things white people do, so, when left to himself, he doesn't do them.

About the disappearance of the Indian there is much to be said. Since the first great blow delivered by the white man, which took from the Indian his water, game and land and beseiged him with epidemics of disease and with poverty, the Indian has not been disappearing with any great rapidity. The foregoing sketches have shown that there are several hundred Indians left along the Sierra foothills. Most of these are not full-bloods and, of course, many are not Yokuts. 181 165 [161]

It is true that the dissipating type of Indian is disappearing, in fact he always has been. With few exceptions, the more sober, industrious individuals are surviving. The majority of them are self sustaining and are raising families. 181

It is believed that several generations will pass before all of the full-blood Yokuts Indians are gone. This is due to two

[text continues on p. 279]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure. [8]

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived. [161]

One of the common criticisims of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day. [8] [515]

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet." [484]

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

181 515 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, [609] and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 648 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 515 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing them- [291] selves every little while; they take great care of their hair and 302 do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels [291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 657 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
181 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
[756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
622 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
756 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
[577 expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
182 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
622 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
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tepːkː[72]	seal
naha ʼʼatː	otter
kːyo ʼkːutː	badger
hoiː	deer
či ʼuː	cottontail rabbit
tsa ʼpalː	jack rabbit
mamːlː	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tcːmtcːm)[73]; rattlesnake (ta ʼmhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (ʼsakaka); Steller jay (tikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (wa ʼtswats, duck; u'lui ʼlum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (yːtswahats), and the other (la ʼptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohːl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage [613] (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[72]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tepːk was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[73]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telanni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known W Y [426] to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lakena´nsč, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4]

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident.

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus:

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

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182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
114 and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
805 with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
132 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa´o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent 769 dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental 796 features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

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thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weasel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

[825 436 177]

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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
182 tioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are
153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time, too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and
182 came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed
787 to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things,
825 and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and
152 Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the
182 dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between
787 tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security"
825 perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote). 152 182 787 [757]

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28] 182 155

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as: the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul- 182

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

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182 ture, but the impact of externals is there and cannot be expunged from a plenary consideration of the factors affecting integration (or the lack of it) in a total culture.

So extreme have been the controversial views on the determination or non-determination of culture by environment that we have eschewed the problem where the more flexible or intangible portions of culture are concerned, leaving Wissler's query on the effect of external stimuli on the mind of man still unanswered.[29] Since few would doubt that primitive cultures are adjusted to their local environments, it would seem well to move toward an analytic examination of the specific kind and degree of articulation we may find in a variety of cultures, or of divergences in basically identical cultures in a similar environment (e. g., Maidu, Miwok, Western Mono, Yokuts, along the central segment of the Sierra Nevada foothills). Culture as a spatial and temporal continuum should present new formulations of integration as analytic attention moves from culture to culture geographically and historically, and the environmental ingredient at each phase may offer some clues as to the relative persistence of the nuclear patterns.

Santa Cruz, California

29 Kroeber's previously cited *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* deals with cultures in gross and as categorized by our "culture area" systematization; emphasis is on terrain, ecology, population, economic surplus, and culture climax.

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men he chose. The others were likewise from chiefly lineages. By this time the old life had so completely disappeared that these persons had little to do save make arrangements for mourning ceremonies, which were still continued in an aberrant form. Motsa paid little attention to such duties as his position required, rather utilizing his prestige for his own benefit. Of the other two men appointed, George García, a Wolasi, soon moved up to the foothills; Joaquin, a Tachi, preferred to let the old régime disappear rather than try to carry on alone. The informant says these two men used to talk to Motsa and ask him "not to act so mean," but they could do nothing to stop him for they feared him just as every one else did. If Motsa had lived in a social setting of the old cultural type one can imagine him carrying on his intrigues through a powerful doctor as was the wont of chiefs. 622

Wasapël (Brown Wilson), Motsa's son, is today living at the Lemoore ranchería. He is called tiya (chief) but does not function as such because the old social order has entirely disappeared. Only the lineage rank is remembered. In no respect is he said to resemble his malicious father but is regarded as a good, hard-working, thrifty man. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible to obtain Wilson as an informant. His version of his father's activities would in all probability make an interesting check against Josie's imputations. However, how much is fact and how much prejudice in this informant's tales of Motsa, is of no moment in the present discussion. All our accounts of the activities of malicious doctors and chiefs which are given here represent native attitudes toward these men as a class rather than as individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

The political life of Yokuts and Western Mono as presented in the foregoing pages leaves one with the impression that the condition was unsatisfactory from the point of view of its average citizen. A discussion of this social system may be profitable: first, it should be viewed as a practical political scheme, and secondly, as a cultural mechanism. 182

1. By a practical political scheme I mean a system which kept social order to the advantage and comfort of the majority, not from a general, humanitarian, or idealistic point of view but in terms of this particular culture. The civilization of the Indians of California has always been regarded as low, that is, extremely simple. It is,

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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181 756 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely, or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness 181 754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted [756 626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 622 756 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public [577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

182 622 The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any 182
of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other 622
chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels 622
and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified [692]
legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion [623]
of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy 622
did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance 627
to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking news- [203]
papers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect [558]
in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors 182
in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens 626
were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] [825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

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It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex?

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex

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182 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present
177 study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political
182 and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were
622 the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western
769 slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamatc, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

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The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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the Yokuts to develop very similar social systems within two different environments. In subsequent papers we hope to show that alternative systematizations are also possible for groups with the same basic ecological adaptations.

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melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa see

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xó paʔa see(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [122] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on [182] a highly generalized level. This bareness and [193] simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is 193 practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[p. 8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of Yokuts language. One wonders if thought processes, habituated to precise grammatical forms, [182 195 153] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths [114] in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the young as historic fact--this was the way land
[869] was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a
●184 Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
609 bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particu-
436 larly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (čɛ́·mčɔ·m) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

526 The pole and stick game (aiki´w:č) was for
616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´w:č) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, [167] by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to T:lwey:t and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´w:č as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-
825 klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); Cali-
fornia jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general)
(hehe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko´wo´-
k‹ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); Cali-
fornia [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in
old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker
[Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat);
northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird
(tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird
(tolo´heno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk
(po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka);
crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane
(u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m‹k); chicken hawk
(sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h‹l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wuk-
262] chumni, and other foothill people did. The
ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "it mean, lives in the
ground, makes no honey and just raises young
ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap‹´si, which was eaten
with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o)
was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'
ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night"
moth (toino´´‹n ant'sa) were distinguished,
while a very large spotted moth was called
"eats dead people" (tatahe ta´´ats) and liter-
ally was believed to do so. Butterflies in
general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was
called metaphorically "big bee" (mat‹k lo´k'o),
and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively
"little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha
wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes
(kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t‹l), and the
water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A.
Small ants, either red or black, were called
by the same name (ke´n‹ts); tree ants (ha´sa')
"smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which
made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´‹ts
ken‹ts).[58]

The tarantula (tu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k‹´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

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[58] J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´´‹ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´‹ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun:ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took [231] it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, ● 184] it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the [779] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatia´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutununi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[134] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut]

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the lake peoples.[154]

285 The oval house was also frequently built in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this 342 form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod though they did not reach the extreme dimensions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts were erected and a ridgepole laid between them. Side and end poles with pliable tips were braced in the ground at the periphery of the floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with the conical house, horizontal side braces were lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

These were tied to the framework and, in expectation of stormy weather, were bound down by a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was left, the smoke merely escaping through the rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole. [184] The oval house of the Central Foothills was not usually divided into compartments as it was in the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in size than the thatched or mat-covered type. Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark house may serve here, as this structure was not well known to Wukchumni informants.[155]

A bark house of similar type (conical) is called samish. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering,

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[154] Handbook, 521, 522.

[155] Ibid., 522.

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nep), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hič). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, [237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which 285 is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[301] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used ex- 335 clusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated [184] cradle by ethnographers,[302] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[301] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[302] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The [683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Wakasachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

796
539
533

koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

[756] [184]

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

796
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...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tıs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonık, although J.B. had seen Ma´mıl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
769 mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñıt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowıš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´mıts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[sh] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[sh] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

668 The dance was called soto·´tow·d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept, [269] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had [184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

131 The following Chukaimina and Michahai
361 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h·ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846b At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[386] The first (bi´'ˌč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lˌč) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[387] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ša). The pieces used

[386] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[387] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens [illegible] bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns, Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to
262 separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing («pla´o'iša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not
184 covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipeč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

ṭe·pin i te´i (ṭ:pni)

1: Gayton X-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 158 b] Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
276 the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[753 ● 18] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co'kon:k and Pušl:l:n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [747] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one ● 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of 276 tobacco (po ʔ'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [783] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. [204] E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[676] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped
535 around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
756 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
302 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n ṭ:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 Snake ritual.--This was not performed
796 north of Kings River: "the best doctors were
always that way [south]." But in spring every-
751 one wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ˈšs) of drinking jimson-
weed (ta ˈñai) was held each spring by the
276 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ˈyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes
[292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ:pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yateˈ:č) was present: he
[554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

164 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, con-
● 184 sisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.V. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and
262 carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to M.W., when pine nuts were wanted many years ago, the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end;
[324 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog.
[184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Keehayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Cratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex-
[533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 Concerning residence after marriage, there [184] was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

231 Pets.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to
184 combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said N.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were [621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, [787] not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the [184 426] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
787 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young [887] person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates [184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

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peda´wi: west by south
pañá´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W
Y
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192

Seasons:
ta˙´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to˙´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y
[184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W
Y
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Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W
Y
825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušl·l·n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W
Y
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The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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Y
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Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

W Y 769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W Y [767 783] 574

W 769 574

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao´šiko).

W Y 769 184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

W Y 769 184

Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

W Y 769 [533 767]

During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´milıt. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u´narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically 616
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes [184]
north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

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727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

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881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or
[787] men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

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796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
756 hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

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Chapter 85.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

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517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101 103 131 361

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

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184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
101 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
101 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
181 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
184 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at 184 one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [281] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about 137 the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were 361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a [342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves 291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] [522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [181] [648]

3: Latta -Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
[262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of
[181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far
184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné*, *Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Yokuts bead money and three types of measurement used by various Yokuts tribes to denote one Chok, or unit of money. At the left is shown the measurement extending around the hand. At the center is the measurement extending from wrist to finger-tips. At the right is the measurement around the hand foreward of the thumb. The Indian woman at the left is wearing strings of bead money around her neck and in her hair.

Between the Wukchumne, *Pahdwishi* and *Kaweah*, the *Chok*, or unit of measurement of bead money—in other words, the Yokuts dollar—was the distance around the hand, measuring just outside of the thumb. Among the *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne), distant only twenty miles from the Wukchumne, it was the distance from the tip of the longest finger to the first wrinkle in the wrist. Incidentally, these two distances are almost equal. Some of the Yokuts tribes measured the chok around the rim of the hand. Ichow explained that in such cases the hand was placed flat on the ground and the beads measured around the hand from the last joint of the thumb to the last joint of the little finger.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

for anyone in the tribe. This type of structure brings home to one more forcibly than any phase of their culture the fact that the primitive Yokuts were all city dwellers. Country yokels were probably unknown among them. 342

The *Yowlumne* of lower Kern River, as well as the other tribes to the east of the tule lakes, built structures somewhat like that described above, but much shorter, and kept each family separated by partitions. [184]

One of the most interesting descriptions I have ever received of this Yowlumne house was given in 1943 by the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of the City of Bakersfield. Here it is:

"When we first came here [Bakersfield in 1863] the Indians were living mostly in brush shelters, four posts with poles across them and brush piled on top. There were one or two tule houses. They were not round and not square, but were sort of oval shaped; about ten feet wide and fifteen feet long with a small door in the middle of one side. They had round ends. They had two posts inside, and a short ridge-pole. I never paid much attention to them, but I believe they had poles leaned against this ridge pole. The tules were stood on end around this pole framework. I don't think the tules were made into mats. I think they were stood around the framework loose. Maybe they were tied down to the pole framework.

"The ridge of the house was not closed tight. There was an opening in the ridge in the form of a slot about eight inches wide and about six feet long.

"I was in these tule houses a number of times, but I remember very little about them. I do remember that there were strings of acorns and dried fish hanging from the pole framework. There were also baskets and bags of all kinds of Indian things on the ground inside. Everything was so smoked up inside that you couldn't tell what most of it was."

The *Yowlumne* of Kern River, the *Wechikit* of Kings River and probably the *Apaichi* north of Kings River built a small tule house of an oblong shape. The ends were rounded, but almost vertical. A short ridge pole was erected on two upright crotched poles. Poles were leaned against this ridge. This left not the wedge-shaped house, but a rounded affair, probably much like the one described above by Thomas A. Baker.

There was only one door. In some instances there was no ridge pole. The poles were then bent all the way over and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"Sides were chosen and one person selected from each side to roll the disc. These two persons stood about twenty or thirty yards apart and at each end of the game court. They rolled the disc back and forth between them. 526

"The game was to throw a pole through the disc as it rolled by. For each pole thrown through the disc two points were awarded to the side having the lucky, or accurate player.

"If the pole passed only partly through and knocked the disc over, it counted only one point. The players lined up on each side of the course where the disc was rolled. They laughed and yelled and made a great deal of noise at this game and did all they could to rattle the opposing players when they were about to throw a pole.

"This was a great deal more exciting game than you might think just from reading about it. When the disc was rolled across the court as many as thirty or forty poles would go flying through the air and the biggest problem in the game was to dodge the poles that came from the other side.

"They kept the score by calling it aloud much as we keep score in a game of horseshoes."

Like many other Yokuts games, the arrow game varied slightly from tribe to tribe. The *Wukchumne* on the Kaweah River played the game with wooden pointed arrows and a disc similar to that described by Mayfield for the pole and hoop game, but somewhat smaller. They described the disc as being about a foot in diameter and having a hole in the center approximately two inches in diameter. This disc was rolled back and forth between two men, one at each end of the gaming court. The players lined up on opposite sides and shot arrows at it. [184]

The disc was rolled six times, one point being awarded for each hit, a hit consisting of striking the disc with the arrow. The contestants who obtained the most hits in the six rolls won the game. The Yowlumne called the game *Taw-poi'-un* and the hoop *Taw'-poi*. The game court was called *In*. The scorekeeper was called *Trih-pa'-itch*.

Mayfield described a similar game as played by the Choinimne. This one used instead of the willow-bark disc a perforated stone about the size and shape of an ordinary doughnut. His account of this game follows:

"For another game a small perforated stone was rolled instead of the disc. This stone was about three or four inches in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 196 not processed]

CHAPTER XII

STORIES AND CEREMONIES

THE BOYS' INITIATION CEREMONY

881 Undoubtedly one of the most interesting customs of the Yokuts Indians had to do with their initiation of the young men into the tribe. Among small tribes it is probable that this was not held at regular intervals, but was performed at any time when a young man was considered to be of an age mature enough to take up the full duties of citizenship. In larger tribes it appears that in order to reduce the number of times that the initiation ceremony would have to be performed during the year, it was held only once and at a regular season. At that time several young men would be initiated.

[184] Old Yokuts men state that some tribes required the initiate to kill a deer single handed before he would be taken into the tribe. An old *Wukchumne* stated that his people often required the boy to break the ice and bathe in the Kaweah river before he would be admitted. This test is also reported from the *Yowlumne*. These are the only reported requirements which involve a test of courage or hunting ability.

881 Among scientists the initiation performance among the southern Yokuts was known as the *Toalache,* or *Jimson Weed* 276 *Ceremony.* The plant used was the Datura Meteloide. The southern Yokuts called this plant *Tani,* and the ceremony *Tani-yu'-wish.* The ceremony was centered about the drinking of a tea made from the root of the Jimson weed and the period of intoxication which followed, during which the unwritten work of the tribe was imparted to the new members.

The Jimson weed will be readily recognized by natives of the San Joaquin as a large, low, bushy bluish-green plant which at the proper season of the year produces a large white bell-, or trumpet-shaped flower. This flower is about six inches in length and three inches across at the opening. It is possessed of an objectionable odor. The root when reduced to a tea is a strong narcotic.

For several days before the drinking of this tea the young men refrained from eating any solid food. Acorn soup or other liquids were the only things partaken of during this week of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used red, white, and black, and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
524 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
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Y W 323

cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükehumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükehumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

Y W 171 184 323

The Patwisha and Wükehumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Toi'in na ki'wic nim ki'am si'ei, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50*d*, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97*b*.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
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charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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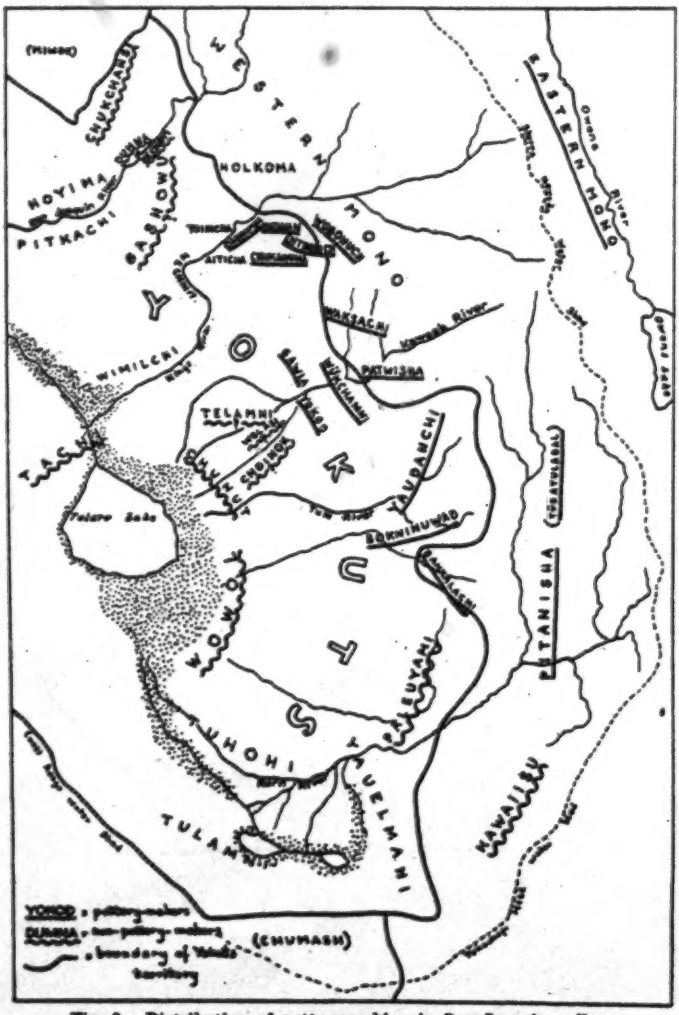

Fig. 2. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

361 In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. 184 There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at [574] ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

136
did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing ad- [439]
ditional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large 136
archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake 172
to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea [321]
shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done 439
some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from [436]
salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people 105
who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a [262]
relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the 105
lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts 184
to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [184] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific
769 coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the
551 custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of
184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally
769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River
551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same
[553] time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.
Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.
Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.
Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.
Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.
Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.
Djemshak.
Tukchuchu.

PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a 127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for [126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice-Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of [177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho- 184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of 122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

[p.14-A]

171/538 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestionably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono, yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo, Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein his rôle is often at least daring if not undefeatedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that [184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill or mountain country. How far he was popular with Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi, Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the mythology recorded from these groups is hopelessly incomplete. With these people it is possible that Coyote or some other held a more elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutanumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced mutsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Bowman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prelogue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 143 c] Choinimni

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western
Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore
Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves su-
186 perior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the
[197] valley, the upland Monachi were found to be
treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield fami-
ly. However, with characteristic fairness,
Mayfield said that this might be due to his
family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that,
had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the
Monachi, these Indians probably would have been
the friends and the Yokuts would have proved
equally inimical.[3]

What is clear throughout is this: that
619 utmost friendliness prevailed among all the
Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along
423 these waterways, particularly with regard to
fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt
the north bank of Kings River to be theirs,
between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toi-
hicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to
occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D)
during the spring salmon run. These neighbors
remained there while the fish dried, which they
then took home to store. Similarly there were
the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and
acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the
eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there
was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable
foods; probably for that very reason, nothing
[574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal
visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni,
Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined
on such occasions.

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual
574 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they
484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An ex-
cursion to the lake on tule balsas is described
[501] by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them
supplies and equipment for camping. The large
574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills,
502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the
484 river waters were broad and placed, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3]Ibid.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the dance would, if possible, be moved into a large [792] dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who [439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of 276 tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 501 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin 481 River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at 516 this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186 their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wan. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ıkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 172 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [185] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 484 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

[P. 56a] Wukchumni / Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine Y acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- [223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with 439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the [222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a short- age in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was east- ward, of commodities westward.

● Y

M Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe 177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. ● [191] He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- [105 wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other in- formants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and cultural- ly richer Yokuts neighbors and that they dis- appeared entirely during the flux and pressure Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʼči by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. 648 In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʼtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuicha (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hoache.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshon- 101
ean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 131
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103] in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoechiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191 197] as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103] Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221] ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191] ●
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically [611]
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND NAMES

YOKUTS LANGUAGE

The most fascinating feature of any primitive people is almost certain to be their language. Primitive language has many characteristics which appear peculiar to persons who speak written languages. Most noticeable of all features of primitive language are the many sounds which do not occur in modern tongues and which are difficult for us to produce. 191

Primitive sounds consist of clicks made by the teeth, grunts, clucking and snapping with the tongue, and blowing through the throat. In the Yokuts dialects a coughed H is met with. These sounds are also sometimes accompanied by grimaces. In addition there are practically all of the sounds included in a civilized language. We are told that the dialects of some of the tribes of South Africa contain almost all of these primitive sounds. One word may involve, in addition to gutturals, a click of the teeth and a snap of the tongue. 194

Primitive people are generally able to reproduce practically all of the sounds of a civilized language, but it is surely amusing to hear a person who speaks a modern language attempt some of the more involved primitive sounds. It brings quite forcibly to one's mind the fact that the tendency of civilization has been to simplify the sounds involved in languages.

Consider for example the *K'hoo'-sheem* (north) of the Yokuts. The first syllable was pronounced with the mouth and throat open and was accompanied with cough and a blowing sound deep in the throat. When a white person opens his mouth and throat, the sound stops. The writer practiced for many months before he could say K'hoo'-sheem correctly and loud enough to be heard ten feet away. An Indian could yell it so as to be heard distinctly two hundred yards away.

The word *T'hoo'-k'wheel* (west) is even worse. It is accompanied by two coughs, with the throat open. When attempted by a white person, it generally results in two almost noiseless efforts.

The word for distance is most interesting. In many Indian tongues it has the same characteristics. If you ask a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak*, I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko*, (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt*, the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool*. It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

[P.6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike formation."
196 no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-
825 klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); Cali-
fornia jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general)
(hohò´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-
k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); Cali-
fornia [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in
old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker
[Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat);
northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird
(tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird
(tolo´heno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk
(po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka);
crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane
(u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m:k); chicken hawk
(sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h:l).

The following were not identified but were
described with considerable accuracy by J.A.;
dubious descriptions are given with the in-
formant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai),
housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wuk-
262] chumni, and other foothill people did. The
ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the
ground, makes no honey and just raises young
ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap:´si, which was eaten
with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o)
was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'
ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night"
moth (toino´'´:n ant'sa) were distinguished,
while a very large spotted moth was called
"eats dead people" (tatahe ta´'ats) and liter-
ally was believed to do so. Butterflies in
general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was
called metaphorically "big bee" (mat:k lo´k'o),
and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively
"littIe white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha
wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes
(kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t:l), and the
water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A.
Small ants, either red or black, were called
by the same name (ke´n:ts); tree ants (ha´sa')
"smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which
made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´'´:ts
ken:ts).[59]

The tarantula (tu´muñ) was "a widow a long
time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was
called "bear" (noho´'o). J.A. does not think
they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans
sometimes make them fight." A large white
spider (ko´lol k:´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho)
"just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[59] J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
[192 there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times.
828] Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk,
etc., were called both loco and alete´'´:ts by the other
Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible,
"crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A.
insisted that alete´'´:ts is not a native word, but I can
find no Spanish source for it.

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
262 salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by
[263] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times
[412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to
accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens.
However, all agreed that deer meat was more
often roasted than boiled, and that this was
done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia.
M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ta´tu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni´e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were
the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock
salt which was in strong solution or pulverized.
The strips of flesh were hung over tree
branches where they were not in too hot sun,
and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
323 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[NS]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests
were watched at sundown; often three or four
were located near each other when the returning

[NS] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
[263] also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of
192 nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we
cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original
"kawa."

802 11. ti'uv yɛt 100. yɛt pɛč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pɛč
21. poñoi ṭi'uv yɛt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

805 Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronunciation of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.
821
192

Times of day.--

sala´lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala´dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te´yao ču´ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču´kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču´ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu´šu ču´ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne´wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a´wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni·u´ši: evening (M.P.)
toi´yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta·ɛ´nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o´piu: day, light (M.L.); u´piu: day, light (M.P.)
he´če u´piu: today (M.P.)
šala´dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati´opo´do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo´do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda´o: Monday
pu´ne´uñɛč: Tuesday
supe´a´ta: Wednesday
hai´´obata: Thursday
yɛča´o: Friday
ča´odɛtpi: Saturday
no´mčɛn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o´piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo´da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi´yo opo´do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u´pɛs: moon (M.L.); u´pɛš (J.B.)
hača´m u´pɛš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

[209] Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

805 hiam mapɛ ́nši u ́pɛš: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai ́šu u ́pɛš: old moon (J.B.)
821 u ́pɛs tawi ́či: waning moon [lit., dying
moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi ́tɛl: now dying, said
of waning moon (M.P.)
192 kamu ́tu u ́pɛš: dark of moon [lit.,
lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u ́pɛs [or opo ́do] kai ́'iyu doi'ye ́di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he" u ́šɛt nanu ́nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 Stars, constellations.--

192 toi ́tɛs: any star (M.L.); čo ́teč: any star (J.B.)
tawa ́nɛt: morning star (M.L.); tawa ́nɛl: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipɛ ́čnɛm hi ́am ti ́ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo ́d apo ́d, a ́mɛd nɛm).
ni ́ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)
goi ́yumɛ: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]
hoda ́otšɛd: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho ́dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

823 met i ́dɛk: a large stream, such as Kaweah River
192 po ́čuč idɛk: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek
pa ́'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kɛd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
ḱomu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyɛd pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 <u>Directions</u>.--These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´tu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pɛn: up
a´dɛd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mɛts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wɛč; to the west, tokɛlyu´wɛč; to the south, humtɛ´nɛn.

do´mtu i´dɛkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dɛkao: downstream

805 <u>Seasons</u>.--Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The
824 choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 909]

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three
821 kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.
ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.);
May (J.B.)
192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.);
June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).
wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)
tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wəš), one played with a ball (o´dəd) and one with a hoop (wuku´wəč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wəš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tət), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwəšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

[525]

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

616 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."
825 As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

It is clear that the moiety was not a
616 basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture,
825 M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi´(relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616
825
192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
   ṭu´´ud: rattlesnake
   ñahō´´ō: grizzly bear
   ṭa´´ₛšwide´ₛt: black-and-white woodpecker
   du´hun: cinnamon bear
   aho´´ot: weasel
   sañsañwide´´ₛt: tree squirrel
   po´´hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahō'ō got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´´iyu: coyote
   a´ḍja: fox
   tu´ned: wildcat
   wahu´sₛt: cougar
   iwe´yₛt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´´i: dove
   so'o´no: pigeon
   hₛ´mₛd: quail

No comment.

616
825
192

4. ṭu´hɩt: eagle
u´wɩk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´´ɩt: tree squirrel
aha´´ot: weasel
po´´hot: ground squirrel
hə´ñhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɩp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wə´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234]This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gáshowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yaš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lal (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lak (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nan homoti
823 (to go south); to´xal (west; toward the plains): toxal tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxal pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tal (directly down, also downhill); tanan atal (to go down); atal tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pan (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipan wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mat (to run); witi´nat (to fall down); haswa´nat (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lat (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswa´nat (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Bunnell, 122.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca'was. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.

462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

821 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
773

u´pɨš: sun
toiyu´nam u´pɨš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɨš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).
E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačɨt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čɨn čano´´onɨt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yɨt u´pɨš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɨn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɨpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

825 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
386 follows:
822

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors
192 got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

386 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the 822 ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green (black in earlier times?), and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn, etc.
11. yɛ´čam	
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on [616] each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts [237] were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 213 c] Western Mono NS25

Y M 101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y M 192 A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

M Y 361 231 M Y [487] The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

M Y [887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O´polo´o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´ (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

M Y [484]

[155] Ibid., 586.

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ǎa' string into which chicken-hawk down had been
237 rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bⁱ, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´bⁱ, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W The skirt was made by either men or women,
Y but the headdress was made only by men. An old
292 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
462 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he
435 sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done
with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
301 ed point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat
304 stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

W Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
W S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.
Y

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192 o čᵉk (red), toiye´'i očᵉk (white), and mutakei´wᵉk očᵉk (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

W
Y
262
[252]

lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.--B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

W
Y
262
192
136

Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu´huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iña´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´waš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´a´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čkat: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´buk: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik´digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wihutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´ara: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či"au´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´čo´č: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 224 a] Western Mono NS25

W
Y
262
192
136

čuču ´ʼai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini ´ša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu ´mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču ʼi ´na: Oregon junco
muči ʼuoi ´na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti ´t:š: Audubon warbler?
so ʼo ´wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho ´mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či ´p:t: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi ʼoi ´´ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara ´rapa: kingfisher
šo ´šo ´: little green heron
wa ´k:ts: blue crane
ko ´d:to: sand-hill crane
ka ´hi: grouse
kura ´vi: duck (kind?)
la ´la: geese
huihui ´mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai ´ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü· ´y:m: fly
čokoi ´´ica: wasp
pe· ´na: yellow jacket
hu ´biwa: bumble bee
naraposta ´ pe ´na: hornet
ta ´beko ʼot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu ´ñ:p: tarantula
mu ´ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu ´lu: brown lizard
kumče ´ča: black lizard
wasu ´´i: a large "brush" lizard
musi ´gi: rattlesnake
paso ´go: water snake
kolo ´lki: King snake
o· ´koko: bullfrog
kuai ´aki: a small frog
a ´natza ´na: water dog
ta ´l:m: speckled trout
e ´bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po ´lhoi: sucker
aiya ´go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai ´h:t: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta ´k:ts: minnows
a ´ñya: turtle

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262

Trees and shrubs:
pohue ´dop[a]: valley oak
ya ´kap[a]: post oak
wi ´´up[a]: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša ´ba: live oak
tikai ´ya: acorns of all oak species
a ´psoab[a]: manzanita
to ´nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no ´jib[i]: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso ´poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo ´haba: "Jack" pine
pane ´wan:p: sugar pine
pone ´diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu· ´bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

W
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192
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tu·ba: piñon nut
wa·p: cedar
sana·uap: fir
o·'pa°dra: yucca ("cactus")
o·'b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b¹p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't¹p: slippery elm
napa·'ap°: alder
soho'p°: cottonwood
tanapo'nip°: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s°hu'b°: small willow
se·'nowiyap: elderberry bush

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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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[415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono´ci (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P.227a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwa´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nač) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'eša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, 'niša´n nan wan upuš nam (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawanač or site´lši tawanač." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

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An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu ´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

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221

The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´kan, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

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821

B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

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Times, stars, nature:
tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´šso´š: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

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823
192

Directions:
pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

W Y 823 192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r•: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192

Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y 773 821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puši·l·n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

W Y 622

Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Tokuts N529
[P. 236a] Western Mono NS25

The Transvestite

W Y 838 [767]

The male transvestite (tono čɨm, Michahai; tai ʼyap, Wakshachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

W Y

[787] 767]

The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočɨm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W Y [773]

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

W Y [767]

Wakshachi Age Categories (B.O.)

W Y 561 192

na ʼna hua čiči: newborn boy
hu ʼpi hua čiči: newborn girl
na ʼnači: boy about two years old
si ʼi ʼsači: girl about two years old
hua wuha na nači (or si ʼisači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na ʼnop na ʼnači: boy five to ten years old
hu ʼu ni mo ʼnanop: girl five to ten years old
moa ʼbi na ʼnop: youth twelve to twenty years old

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 236b] Western Mono N525

W Y 561 192

moa ˈbi hu'u ˈpi na ˈnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ˈbi ti ˈkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu'u ˈpi ˈtu ˈsmoge: young woman having borne children
moa ˈbi na ˈnany·p: man forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi nana ˈpi'·p: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi moa ˈbh·l·p: old man
moa ˈbi hube ˈči'·p: old woman

Death

W Y 763

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night.

W Y 764

Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ˈkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ˈči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation---The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ˈlšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ˈlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao'i ˈči (person dead); pučo ˈn tao'i ˈči (man dead); muṭi ˈhoi tao'i ˈči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial---According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ˈnoluč (tawa ˈtaa šonaluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts. 101

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical. [192]

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation. For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable [132]

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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

 776

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans 177
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: [182 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tililshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echegut!
See me, Pitsurint!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Uksit!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about
● 192 two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

778 Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The following incident will probably impress upon the reader something of the immensity of the growth along these rivers. In the search for cottonwood timber to make the ox-carts already mentioned, a tree was cut which surpassed in size anything of its kind I have ever seen along San Joaquin streams. The tree was a cottonwood, more than five feet in diameter, and measured, as it lay upon the ground after being felled, 115 feet in height. The trunk of the tree was perfectly straight and free of all branches for twenty-four feet. 137

This is certainly remarkable for cottonwood growth, but I have been assured that many of the oak trees which were cut for rails and log houses during the '50's and '60's measured eight feet in diameter and were straight as an arrow for more than thirty feet. Some of these trees undoubtedly stood more than 170 feet in height.

Believing the Indian names for the various San Joaquin Valley landmarks and natural attractions will be of interest in connection with the sketches in which they are mentioned, an effort is being made to insert them in their proper places. As the names varied somewhat from tribe to tribe they are all taken from the Wukchumne tribe, which once occupied the little valley of Lemon Cove. 192

Following is a list of the Indian names involved in this sketch. They were thought to be too bulky for inclusion in the text of the article.

Ash—*Wah'-shick*
Basketry grass—*Chaw'-kish*
Basketry root—*Hoo'-pud*
Blackberry—*Mah'-mid*
Cottonwood tree—*Dah'-pah*
Grape—*In'-suh Naw'-tip*
Hemp—*Shock'h*
Nettles—*Tro'we*
Oak tree—*Trah'-tah*
Tule—*Suey'-yow*
Willow, black—*Shah'-dum*
Willow, button—*Ki'-one*
Willow, common—*Shock'-otch*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill.* It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel. 194 192

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we.* It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry. 193 192

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood. 171

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila.* However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit,* Wukchumne, *Kaweah, Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne, Chunut, Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip.* The Wukchumne call this *chadip.* They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik,* name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon. 197

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 551 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

● 192 Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

197 The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it is safe to substitute an "l" whenever a "d" appears in the following Wukchumne words. 197

The San Joaquin Valley was called *Chaw-daw'-no*. The Wukchumnes recognized the great central valley as a geographical unit and spoke of various valley landmarks as being "*Wah kayo Chaw-daw'-no* (Away down the valley)". Tulare Lake was known as *Pi-ah'-se*. Some tribes are said to have simply called the lake *Mi'-ak Ill'-ik*, or Big Water. 103

Along the Kaweah River all of the prominent landmarks were named. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shin*. Yucca Point was called *Kah'-wid*. Yokohl Creek bore the name of *Yo-kod'-o*.

The great granite bluff on the Sierra skyline known to us as Homer's Nose was called *Top-aw'-shuh*, or leaning place. Sawtooth Peak was *Kah-did'-it*. A more complete list of Wukchumne place names is given elsewhere in this volume.

The following list of names will give some idea of the extent of the Yokuts vocabulary and of their close contact with every feature of the landscape, as well as with the native plants, birds, and animals. 192

Blue jay	*Trah-ush'-nah*
Black bird	*Chouk*
Buckeye	*Top'-pong*
Blackberry	*Mah'-min*
Breakfast	*Wah-ah'-dua*
Badger	*Tuh'-now*
Bee	*Hi'-neh*
Bumble Bee	*So-way-way'-heh*
Bear	*Mo-ho'-o*
Coyote	*Ki'-yu*
Cottonwood	*Dah'-pah*
Crow	*Ah-duh'-wut*
Chamese	*Co'-toon*
Cherry	*Shup*
Chipmunk	*Che'-we'-yeh*
Chaparral	*Tah-dow'-ud*
Cottontail	*Tay'-yoo*
Cedar tree	*Chow-uh'-puk*
Cat-tail	*Tro'-wuh*
Castle Rock	*Lung-no'-tim*
Cone, pine	*Chung-o'-kish*
Duck	*Hi-eh'-neh*

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192 Deer	*Hoey*
Dust	*Poo-troy'-tuh*
Doctor	*Trok-oh'-din chi'-yeh*
Dinner	*Duh-yohn'-mi*
Eagle Ridge Point	*Oo'-toy yah'-shid*
Eagle	*Tro'-khud*
Earthquake	*Woke-ed'-pahn*
Fly	*Pah-new'-ski*
Goose	*Cu'-su*
Gopher	*Oon'-cut*
Gooseberry	*Show-ship'-in*
Gravel	*Pun-in'-huck yah'-kow*
Hill (by Lemon Cove Depot)	*Ti-up'-in'-ish*
Horned Toad	*Toe'-tuht che'-uh*
Hornet	*Choe'-chup*
Hospital Rock	*Pah'-din*
Hawk	*Shaw'-shuck*
Ice	*Pu'-yung*
Lizard	*Con-cha'-chuh*
Lion	*We-hay'-sit*
Mortar	*Coi'-wus*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow*
Mocking bird	*Vop-sin'-its*
Meadow lark	*Jah-kod'-uh*
Magpie	*Aw'-chutch*
Mosquito	*Kaw'-scrope*
Mud	*Tuh-puk'-ud*
Mohogany	*Home'-nuh*
Maple	*Wah'-shick*
Moon	*Oop'-esh*
Oak tree (valley)	*Trah'-tah*
Oak (black)	*O-uh'-shun*
Oak (maul)	*Truh'-kah*
Oak (blue)	*Sue'-tut*
Oriole	*Taw-taw'-ish*
Pestle	*Pahd'-uh-way*
Pine tree	*Id'-gnid*
Quail	*Ho'-mud*
Rock	*Yah'-kow*
Slick Rock	*Pod'-now*
Jack rabbit	*To'-pul*
Road runner	*Oi'-oi*

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Rat	*Tu'-mau te'-much*
Rattles (from snake)	*Hang-ah'-sid*
Rattlesnake	*Trah'-ud*
Raccoon	*Ket'-chuh*
Shell (periwinkle)	*Chah'-wik*
Shell (abalone)	*To'-trud*
Shell (Pismo clam)	*Hu'-mana*
Shell (soft mussel)	*Che-u'-nim*
Cave	*Dop'kaw*
Sunflower	*Wah'-suh-wi*
Sagebrush	*Show'-vom*
Thank you	*Wook'-nud een'-sheesh*
Tule	*Suey'-you*
Turtle	*Sah-wah'-kits*
Terminis Beach	*Coach-nah'-mew*
Tarantula	*Law-la'-nuh*
Trout	*Pah'-chick in-tahd'-im*
Trout (Kern River)	*Pas'-nit in-tahd'-im*
Venice Hills	*Kaweah*
Venice Hills Indian Village	*Kaweah*
Water (singing)	*Tum-mu'-dah idik*
Water (still)	*Yung-mu'-dah idik*
Water (shallow)	*Ah'-tah idik*
Water (deep)	*Wah'-ah idik*
Water (shining)	*Wah'-ah muh'-tah idik*
Waterfall	*Wo-ho'-dah*
Whirlpool	*Wool-l-l-wah'-dah idik*
Willow (button)	*Shook'-hotch*
Willow (common)	*Sha'-katch*
Willow (black)	*Shah'-dahm*
Woodpecker	*Pah-dah'-dut*
Weasel	*Po-haw'-ut*
Wild cat	*Tong'-ud*
Worm (measuring)	*Haw'-nick haw'-nick*
Worm (glowing)	*Chaw'-eh chaw'-eh*
Whirlwind	*Moy'-yuk*
Wind	*Te-duh'-shuh*
Weed (tumble)	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yellow hammer	*Tro-peese'-nuh*
Yellow jacket	*Traw'-coy e'-seh*

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NUMERALS:

1. *Yaet*
2. *Pu-noy*
3. *So-uh-pin*
4. *Hop-pu-noy*
5. *Yach-e-nil*
6. *Chu-luh-pe*
7. *Num-chen*
8. *Mu-nosh*
9. *Nah-nip*
10. *Treo*
11. *Treo yaet*
12. *Treo pu-noy*
13. *Treo so-uh-pin*
20. *Pu-noy treo*
21. *Pu-noy treo yaet*
22. *Pu-noy treo pu-noy*
23. *Pu-noy treo so-uh-pin*
30. *So-uh-pin treo*
31. *So-uh-pin treo yaet*
33. *So-uh-pin treo so-uh-pin*
50. *Yach-e-nil treo*
100. *Treo-treo,* [or ten tens]

192 The above list represents approximately one-twenty-fifth of the Wukchumne words collected by the writer, which in turn represent half of the complete vocabulary of the Wukchumne. They present only the common names which have not already been presented elsewhere in the text and serve to indicate how complete was the Yokuts vocabulary.

YOKUTS WILD FLOWER AND PLANT NAMES

824 One of the most amazing things concerning Indians is their extensive knowledge concerning their environment. This includes not only a knowledge of the geography of the country in which they live and the use to which the many things about them can be put, but also a vast fund of cultural information which to many persons of the white race seems useless.

The average Indian possessed a remarkable store of information about the varieties and species of plants and flowers with which he was surrounded at the different seasons of the year. The writer knows several educated Americans who have studied for years the wild flowers and plants of California, but

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

824 identify it among all other plants. If it was poisonous they
114 knew that, and were careful not to mix it with other plants being gathered. This knowledge extended to the birds, animals and even to the surrounding rocks. This meant that for each thing identified the mother and daughter knew approximately ten related facts. The number of facts furnished to this noted scientist numbered many thousand. Of added interest is the fact that the data furnished by the daughter checked accurately with that furnished by the mother, a record never attained by white school teachers in formal education. What educated person belonging to the "superior" white race has an equal store of information about his immediate surroundings?

192 In the belief that the names of the various wild flowers
824 and plants common in the San Joaquin valley will be of interest to readers, the following list is appended:

Amaranth, California	*Choi-ni choi-ni*
Brodiaea, Purple Harvest	*Ho-lo'-wih*
Brodiaea, twining	*Kang-wah wid-dah*
Baby Blue Eyes	*Ah-du'-trun shesh-eh*
Bush, Button	*Cu'-chuy*
Brickellia	*Kaw-wats-ah'-puh*
Bush, Silk Tassel	*Shin-way*
Bamboo or cane	*Kod-kid*
Columbine	*Dum-tin'-un in-dip'-its*
Calycanthus occidentalis	*You-mut*
Daisy, Yellow	*Chaw-wung*
Ericameria	*Chaw-dud'-pot*
Fern, Great Chain	*Mun-no'-kits*
Fern, Maiden Hair	*Le-wit'-tah*
Flax, blue	*Kah-wah*
Fern, California Golden	*Yaw-kow'-ho*
Houses, Chinese	*Tawk-haw'-daw*
Honey Suckle, wild	*Ti-you la-ou*
Harebell-Satinbell	*Tah-pu'-you*
Lotus, Hill	*Shah-dum'-its*
Lily, Leopard	*Yah-am'-yuh*
Mustard	*Tro-mud*
Mistle Toe	*Taw-do*
Milkweed	*Chet-tik*
Milkweed, woolly	*Che-tik*
Milkweed, narrow leaf	*Shock*
Monkey flower	*Chow-ahcu'-dah*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was the practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Fungus, Indian Paint	*Prah'-tah In-o'-poke.*
Fungus, Large mushroom shaped	*Caw-ho'-mik.* Dried and then stewed.
Grass, dry powdered salt	*Al'-leet,* or *Ah'-dit.* Eaten as a seasoning and as candy.
Gooseberry, prickly	*Shaw'-ship in-wah'-yeh.*
Gooseberry, red	*Tong'-e*
Grape, wild	*In'-suh naw'-tip*
Lettuce, wild (Miner's Lettuce)	*Haw'-dum.* Eaten raw with salt.
Lichen, stag horn	*Puh-tri'-chuh*
Lucidum, Ganodenna	*Shok-nud'-uh.*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow.* Used for sweet wine.
Milkweed, tall	*Hung'-uts hung'-uts.* Used for chewing gum.
Nightshade, purple	*Paw-mo'-i-ush.*
Onion, wild	*Sung'-co.* Eaten raw.
Rush, scouring	*Suk'-kaw sick-id'-it*
Strawberry, wild	*Dum-tin'-in mah'-min.* Eaten raw.
Salvia Columbarial	*Kaw'-wah.*
Tobacco, Indian	*Sahw'-kaw.* Smoked and eaten.
Tree, Alder fruit	*Hi-eh'-nen.* Eaten raw, or dried.
Yucca	*Kah'-wid.* Tender shoot baked or roasted.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. 198 This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono 128 culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The original data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same [192] sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds. 104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	ə: as in English about
i: as in English pique	ñ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	te: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	': glottal stop
ai: as in English thy	

Other letters have sounds as in English.

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525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher
777 of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

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	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

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834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
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|10| one old man who was able to give me, through a Spanish interpreter, his numerals, but nothing more. Following are the ten numerals:

[802 192]

One.	kil'-leh.	Six.	tukh'-tu.
Two.	cho-yo'-chi.	Seven.	po-ko'-i-chin-tin'-li.
Three.	u-yat'-ai.	Eight.	pus'-in-tin'-li.
Four.	chu'-i-chau.	Nine.	hōs'-che.
Five.	loap'-chin-tin'-li.	Ten.	chi'-wa.

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LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in 193 different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more 192 pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost endless variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

*197 It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity 193 but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families 71 of California, especially those in the large Central morphological group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however,
177 the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in
*197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree
193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead.
551 This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and
768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of
193 stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un-
● 192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloe.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ïnu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

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The usual Yokuts term for smoke is mod-ak. In most Northern dialects this disappears to be replaced by a stem tsehan, which reappears in Yaudanchi as tcehen with the meaning of fog. The same stem, tcehen, replaces the usual word for cloud, k'ädai or k'ilei, in Wükchamni, Aitichа, and Choinok, while in Tachi the stem ceel, which usually has the meaning of rain, appears for cloud. In place of this stem ceel, which is the customary one in the Valley dialects for rain, xotoo is characteristic of the Foothill dialects. But in certain special Foot-hill and Valley dialects, such as Tulamni, Gashowu, Tachi, Chunut, and Nutunutu, a stem gono, meaning fall, appears. 197* 193 192

The usual stem for medicine-man is ant-u. The Northern dialects show a stem teic, which is the radical having in Yaudanchi, and apparently in most other dialects, the meaning of make. The medicine-man is he who makes.

In Paleuyami the usual Yokuts words for head and hair, ot-o and dool, are replaced by a form t-uk, which is nothing but the Foot-hill and Northern stem teuk, meaning in these dialects brain.

Such instances could be indefinitely multiplied, and were the Yokuts languages known more thoroughly an even greater number of radical diversities could no doubt be explained in this manner than is now the case. At the same time there is evidently a large element of diverse stems whose origin cannot be explained in this way. Such stems may also once have taken their rise through dialectic shifting of meaning, but the process and the fact can no longer be traced or determined.

To illustrate the degree of uniformity and diversity of the stems in the several dialectic groups of Yokuts, a comparative vocabulary of a few selected terms is here given. The fuller vocabularies from which this table is drawn will be presented in a future publication dealing specifically with the tribal divisions and dialects of the family.

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	Four	Nine	Woman	Nose	Tongue	Blood	Rope	Fire
Tulamni	tapaši	wuteat	muk 'ee	t-ūšak	alkhes	hōpa	cawāyan	uelt
Khometroli	tapaši	wuteat	muk 'ee	t-ūšak	alkdie	hōp	cawāya	uelt
Paleuyami	hetpeši	lik 'iyi	xatacu	t-ešik	talāpie	hīha	cawāyin	uest
Yeudanchi	hatpaši	nāuip	muk 'ee	t-ūšūk	tadnat-	hōpa	poapon	uelt
Wākchamni	hatpaši	nāuip	muk 'ee	t-ūšūk	tadnat-	hōpa	potpon	uelt
Chukaimina	hatpami	nāuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	takrit-	hōpa	poapin	uest
Michahai	hatpami	nāuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	madat-	hōpa	poapin	uest
Aitiche	hatpami	nāuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	takrit-	hōpa	poapin	uest
Choinimni	hatpami	nāuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	madat-	hōpa	poapin	uest
Goshoru	hatpami	nāuip	guyolum	t-inik	takrit-	hōpa	poapon	uelt
Chukchami	hatpami	nāuip	muk 'ēla	sinik	takma	pāyaz	āai	eelt
Keehayi	hatpami	nāuip	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takrit-	pāyaz	āai	eelt
Dumna	hatpami	nāuip	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	āai	eelt
Chauchila	hotopoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	hāyan	eelt
Wechilhit	hotpoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	hāyan	eel 't
Natunuin	hotpoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	cauic	eelt
Tachi	hotpoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	hāyan	eelt
Chunut	hotpoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	poapon	eel 't
Wo 'lasi	hotpoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	poapon	eelt
Choinok	hotpoai	sopoahot	muk 'ēla	t-inik	takmat-	pāyaz	poapon	eelt
Yauelmani	hotpoai	sopoahot	gāina	t-inik				

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	Rock	Wood	Dog	Grizzly	Eat	Bus	See	Cry
Tulamni	xuln'l	te'lmut	tsiem	biawas	luy	kötŝu	o'l	hebet-
Khometwuli	odonin	hinoc	tsiem	dagatma	luy	kötŝu	o'al	hebet-
Pulenyami	xelul	etio	tciene	t'esei	na'	lokin	ŝiles	ah-an
Tondanchi	yuhan	hît'ne	teèjej	ŝohoo	day	dawit	ŝka	ah-in
Wölchamni	yuhan	gbyote	teèjej	ŝohoo	day	dawit	ŝka	ah-in
Cuukuinina	yuhan	hit'le	teèjej	nohoo	nahn	hawit	èka	waxil
Michahai	yuhan	hit'le	teèjej	nohoo	nahn	hawit	èka	waxil
Aiticha	yuhan	hit'le	te'ŝeee	nohoo	nahn'	hawit	èka	waxil
Choinimni	yuhan	hit'le	te'ŝeee	nohoo	nahn'	hawit	èka	waxil
Gashoiru	cilil	hit'le	te'ŝeee	nohoo	nahn'	yawite	èka	waxil
Chulrhanni	cilel	hit'ee	teèxn	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	[waxil]
Kechayi	cilel	hit'ee	teèxn	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	waxil
Damna	cilel	hit'ee	teèxn	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	waxil
Chauchila	cilel	hit'ee	bôue	[nohoo]	luy	lhim	tai-	[waxil]
W'rchilhit	cilel	hit'ee	bôue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Xutunutu	cile'l	hit'e'e	bôu'e	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Tochi	cilel	hit'ee	bôue	nohoo'	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Chuxut	cile'l	hit'ee	bôue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Wo'lani	yuhan	hit'ee	bôue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Choinok	yuhan	hit'ee	teèjej	nohoo	xat	lhim	[eil]	[waxil]
Tsuclmani	cilil	hit'ee	bôue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil

[1] Or hiwaŝ?

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Of about two hundred and twenty-five common words on which there is sufficient material for comparisons in the vocabularies obtained, one hundred and fifty, or fully two-thirds, show two or more distinct radicals in the totality of dialects. Of the remainder, forty-three, or barely a fifth, go back to the same radical in all six dialectic groups. In the case of about thirty words only one stem appears in the dialectic groups from which there is material, but information is lacking in regard to one or two groups. As these are usually the specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, in which divergent radicals most frequently appear, a certain part of these thirty words would no doubt have to be added, were the information complete, to the one hundred and fifty showing two or more stems. In any case it is clear that at least two-thirds of the most common linguistic ideas, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals, and excluding only personal and demonstrative pronouns, are expressed by diverse stems in one or more of the six structurally so closely united dialectic groups of Yokuts.

The respective proportion of words showing uniform and diverse stems is very different in the several classes of words. The figures are given in the accompanying table. It will be seen that the numerals are conspicuously uniform. Only the word for nine differs; but for this there are four distinct stems. Of next greatest uniformity are adverbial and interrogative pronominal stems. The proportion of uniform stems does not vary very much in the different classes of nouns and verbs, being twenty-seven per cent for verbs; thirty-two per cent, the highest proportion, for parts of the body; twenty-nine per cent for the names of a few of the more important artificial objects; twenty-four per cent for natural objects, including the cardinal directions and names of plants; and twenty-two per cent for mammals. Words denoting birds and animals other than mammals, indeed apparently show a very high frequency of uniform stems, amounting to about one-half, but this circumstance is due to two factors; first the accident of an unusually large number of gaps among these words in the vocabularies from the more specialized dialects; and second the greater predominance in this class than in others of onomatopoetic terms. It is notable that the proportion of

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words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing. 197* 192

	Identical Items in all groups	*Identical Items in all so far as known*	*Different Stems*	*Percentage of total formed by identical stems*
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	21	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	29	24
Mammals	2	3	18	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	40
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the composite nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical. [802 171]

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*197 woman's breast, bone, tears, sweat-house, boat, road, north, south,
● 192 night, fire, water, panther, skunk, condor, goose, fish, house, far, who, what, where, drink, give, and laugh. The following are radically alike in all the dialectic groups from which there is information, but may show different stems in those groups which are not represented in these words in the vocabularies: Lips, navel, ankle, faeces, urine, sinew, arrow-point, hail, star, leaf, tobacco, plains oak, manzanita, polecat, otter, beaver, bald eagle, magpie, blackbird, bluejay, mountain quail, pigeon, woodpecker, yellowhammer, road-runner, crane, kingsnake, lake trout, spider, up, and stand. As stated, most of the names of birds are onomatopoetic. The words which show radically different stems in one or more of the dialectic groups are too numerous to be listed, but include nine, person, man, woman, child, old man, old woman, father, mother, chief, friend, head, hair, tongue, neck, hand, fingernail, belly, back, foot, heart, blood, liver, brain, skin, house, bow, arrow, pipe, meat, name, west, sun, moon, day, cloud, rain, snow, smoke, ash, ice, earth, world, stream, mountain, rock, salt, wood, willow, tule, dog, bear, coyote, wolf, fox, wildcat, deer, elk, antelope, hare, rabbit, ground-squirrel, gopher, raccoon, badger, bird, eagle, buzzard, horned owl, raven, crow, humming-bird, quail, lizard, frog, fly, worm, white, black, red, large, small, good, bad, all, much, down, to-morrow, yesterday, no, eat, run, dance, sing, sleep, talk, see, kill, sit, lie, walk, and cry.

To determine the relative degrees of affinity or specialization of the several dialectic groups, computations have been made of the number of stems they respectively have and have not in common with other groups. The Kings River group of the Foot-hill division shows similarities to the Valley division, and was therefore compared with both the groups of this division as well as with the nearest group, the Tule-Kaweah, of the Foot-hill division. Excluding on the one hand words possessing identical stems in the four groups, and on the other hand words showing stems peculiar to the Kings River group, the Kings River group agrees with the Tule-Kaweah group fifty-four times and differs from it thirty-three times; and agrees with the Northern and the principal Valley groups respectively thirty-five and thirty-three times and differs from them fifty-two and forty-eight times. The

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proportion of words of the Kings River group going back to the same stem as the corresponding words in the Tule-Kaweah group is thus about sixty per cent., whereas the proportion between Kings River and the two Valley groups is only forty per cent. While the Kings River group makes the nearest approach within the Foot-hill division to the Valley division, it thus clearly belongs with the Tule-Kaweah group to the former. 197* 192

Within the Kings River group the Gashowu, spoken on Dry creek between Kings river and the San Joaquin, shows the most specialization, and many of its differentiations are in the direction of the forms found in the Northern group, which is on the San Joaquin. A computation, however, shows forty-six stems agreeing with Kings River forms and differing from Northern forms, and only twenty of opposite affinity. While Gashowu therefore has something of a transitional character, and must be regarded as the one of all the Foot-hill dialects approaching most nearly to the Valley division, it yet belongs distinctively to the Kings River group.

Chauchila, which, as the only plains dialect in the Northern group from which there is material, may be taken as representative of these, differs in a number of cases from the foot-hill dialects in this group, and in these cases almost always agrees with the forms of the main Valley group. The proportion of its agreements and disagreements with these two groups—the main Valley and the Northern as typified by the dialects spoken in the foot-hills—is nearly equal, but somewhat in favor of the Northern group by about nineteen cases to fifteen. The sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the plains, to which besides Chauchila the isolated Chulamni of the region about Stockton is known to have belonged, as well as probably Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, and Wakichi, thus formed a true transition between the principal Valley group and the sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the foot-hills: Chukchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna. Of course all these groups and sub-groups, the principal Valley, the Northern of the plains, and the Northern of the hills, belong to the Valley division.

The Northern group, including both its plains and foot-hill sub-groups, shows the following result on comparison with the other five groups of the family:

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Northern Group.

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Group	Identical stems	Different stems	Percentage of identical stems
Buena Vista	16	55	23
Poso Creek	24	47	34
Tule-Kaweah	35	58	38
Kings River	54	37	59
Valley	61	27	69

In addition there are thirty-six words in which the majority of the Northern dialects show stems peculiar to themselves. It is evident from this table that the Northern group forms part of the Valley division, that within the Foot-hill division its nearest relative is the Kings River group, to which it is contiguous; and that the Buena Vista Lake group is apparently the most specialized of all Yokuts groups.

Finally a computation was made as to the respective degrees of specialization of Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake, the most modified groups, and their relationship to other groups. Paleuyami, representing the Poso Creek group, showed thirty-eight words radically distinct from the corresponding words of other dialects, or, if words are excluded which were not represented in all groups, thirty-two. The two dialects representing the Buena Vista Lake group showed sixty-seven words of radical distinctness, or, omitting the words not fully represented in all dialects, fifty-five. The relation of these two groups to the other groups of the family is shown by the following table. In this table the thirty-two to thirty-nine and fifty-five to sixty-seven stems peculiar respectively to the two groups in question, have been included in the series of figures expressing the number of words found showing stems different from those of the other dialects.

	Buena Vista			*Poso*		
	Stems in Common	Stems Different	Percentage in Common	Stems in Common	Stems Different	Percentage in Common
Buena Vista				29	71	29
Poso	29	71	29			
Tule-Kaweah	38	83	30	54	55	50
Kings	24	93	21	43	67	39
Valley	18	95	15	38	60	37
Northern	12	105	10	29	76	27

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194

sound goes back to the period when these three groups, and perhaps all the groups of Yokuts, were not yet fully differentiated. As the three southern Foot-hill groups are now so much specialized, they cannot have been separated very recently. It is therefore clear, first that ñ is almost certainly a sound of some antiquity in the dialects in which it occurs, and second that it may have been an original general Yokuts characteristic which has been lost in these three of the Yokuts groups that now contain the greater number of dialects.

Other than these three dialectic equivalences there are none in Yokuts that are general enough to be of much comparative significance in our present knowledge of the language. In a few words l and y correspond interdialectally. Usually the Valley group shows y.

[192]

English	*Pose*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
where	hell-	hel	hido-	hilo-	hilo-	hiyo-
teeth	tilo	tell	tedi	tell	tell	teyi
white			teodod	teoyoyi	(djolol)	djolol
tule	hololis				kayis	
bunnard					Chunut:	got-ela
					Yauelmani:	kot-oya
bow			dayap	dalip		t-alap

There is some irregular accordance between t, t·, and tc. Some of the principal instances are shown in the following table. It will be seen that the Valley dialects show most tendency to palatalize t sounds formed at the teeth in other dialects. While t and t· sound much alike to the untrained Indo-European ear, they are quite distinct to the Yokuts, and it seems strange that these equivalences between them should exist. It is however significant that these equivalences of t, t·, and tc are on the one hand infrequent and on the other hand not always in the same direction, although in the case of any one word all the dialects of one group are usually a unit in regard to the sound they show.

[192]

English	*Pose*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
one	yit	yit	yet	yete	yet	yet, yete
belly	t-et	tecte	t-et-			tet-
bow			dayap	dalip[1]		t-alap
earth				xetel	xetsel	xet-el
sweat			demkun	t-amun	temak	t-opex
rabbit	tin		tin	ten	tra	tein

[1] Some dialects: d-alip.

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*197 194 Several instances of equivalences of t, t·, and ts between Yaudanchi and Yauelmani have been given in the discussion of the phonetics of the latter dialect.

There are some correspondences between s and t·. In most words there are only one or two dialects which sporadically show one of these sounds in place of the other.

[192] Mouth: cama; Gashowu, t·ama.

Eye: caca; Gashowu, Choinok, t·at·a.

Nose: t·inik; Chukehansi, sinik.

Beard: Southern Foot-hill, d·amoe, djamoe; Kings River group and Valley division, damut·.

Testicles: Tule-Kaweah, hoñoe; Valley, honot·, honoe.

Badger: t·aniu, t·anau; Choinimni, sanau.

Fish: lopit·; Chukehansi, lopis.

In a few cases x and k correspond. The usual form for finger-nail, xeeix, becomes keeik in the Tule-Kaweah group. Horn, usually koyee, is xoyee in Gashowu and Dumna. In the Valley division the demonstrative stems indicating proximity are hi and ki, in the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division ke, and in the three southern Foot-hill groups xi, or xe and xi.

As has been said in the discussion of Yaudanchi, it is not quite clear whether s and c are two distinct sounds in Yokuts or only one. If distinct, the two are certainly much alike. There is some individual variation. Women especially are apt to pronounce s and ts much more sharply and clearly than men, from whom c and ts are more frequently heard. There is probably also some slight dialectic difference in this respect, as in certain Valley dialects, such as Yauelmani, s and ts are almost always heard.

While, as has been shown, radical differences between dialects are much more conspicuous in Yokuts than phonetic ones; and while regular phonetic mutations between dialects are but slightly developed; there yet are, as might be expected, many stems that, in an apparently irregular fashion, assume more or less different forms in the six groups and even in individual dialects. Only, these differences are neither very striking nor of such nature or degree as to have any appreciable significance in the present state of the study of the language. The kind and

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate. 197* 194

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiteu, bèmanduts, bèmamteui, bèmax, gâmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable. 197* 194 192 ●

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit-iu; Poso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Poso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, olok'; Chashowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teoga, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hoga; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Poso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gölüyi; Kings kilet·, kelit·; Choinok, helawat; Northern, hedjil; Chashowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns, 197* 193

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elementary parts and the possibility of their free combination so characteristic of many American languages, is entirely wanting. 197*

The following are the principal derivational suffixes apparent in the comparative vocabularies. 193

-ate, -ite, diminutive; Yaudanchi *-hate*, apparently a plural of adjectives when used substantively. 197*

akd-ate, child in Michahai, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Dumna, from azid, daughter, child. 193 192

got-ete, small in Northern dialects, from got-i, large.

meta-ots, small in Buena Vista, from stem met-, large.

gu-ite, beads in Wükchamni.

-ie, -ue:

Tail: Foot-hill, gut; Valley, gut'-ue.

Liver: dip; Kings River, dalap-ie.

Arrow: t'uy-oe; t'ui, shoot.

Woman: Valley, muk'-èla; Foot-hill, muk'-ee.

Tongue: talxat-; Poso and Buena Vista, talap-is, alad-is.

Thigh: k'oh-ie, k'ow-i, gow-i.

Sun, moon: Valley, o'p; Kings and Tule-Kaweah, up-ie, up-ue.

Wood: hit'-ee; hit'-el, ash.

Ash: Tule-Kaweah and Poso, hap-ae.

Sand: Tule-Kaweah and Kings, wak'-ae.

Digger-pine: ton, Tule-Kaweah, toñ-ae.

-il, -ul:

awaie-il, awate-il, chin; some dialects, awae, awadji.

teimee-il, eyebrow; some dialects, d-imit-.

gepe-il, shoulder; some dialects, gapesi.

kuyo-e-il, knee; kuyo, ankle.

cayat-el, foot, in Paleuyami.

haep-el, Choinok; haepay-al, Yauelmani; has-oski, Tachi: lungs.

getañ-il, gatsiñ-il, bow, in Paleuyami and Buena Vista.

humn-ul, quail.

hit'-el, ash; hit'-ee, wood.

-ui, -teui:

Navel: teutkue; Buena Vista, tautus; Yaudanchi, teudoe-ui.

Knee: upue; Choinimni, poe-ope-ui.

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*197 Kidney: tsiliuxai; Tachi, tsilamg-ui.

193 Hummingbird: bèmamgute, etc.; bèmam-te-ui, dèmam-te-ui; Tachi, ho-ho-te-ui.

192 Butterfly: wal-ap-te-ui, dab-ā-dap-te-ui; wal-wal, butterfly, dap-dap, leaf.

-na:

Snake sp.: delita-delita-na.

Hummingbird: kum-kum-na.

Horned owl: hi-hi-na.

The most conspicuous indications of composition or derivation other than by these suffixes are found in the following words:

Four: hat-pañi, hoto-ponoi; poñoi, ponoi, two.

Five: yit-einil, yit-ienil; yit, yet, one.

Man: Buena Vista, kohoto; Tule-Kaweah, kouhte-un; Kings, bute-on.

Woman: Foot-hill, muk'-ee; Valley, muk'-èla

Girl: Northern and Valley dialects, various, gai-na, woman, girl, gai-ta, girl, little girl.

Old man, old woman: mox-elo, mok-djo, mok-nite, mote-ate, mote-odo; Poso, nem-halatei, nem-a, large.

Father: no-pop; Tule-Kaweah, na-tet; no- is possibly originally the possessive pronoun of the first person; cf. mother, no-om, na-jaj.

Sweat-house: moe; Poso, mue-añ.

Pipe: baum, etc.; Poso, bam-uñ; other dialects, euk-ut, euk-mai.

Belly: balik, olok', luk'-in.

Sun, moon, day: o'p, op-odo, up-ie, op-di, ob-ol-iu.

Snow: ponpon; some Valley dialects, hayau; Poso and Buena Vista, eaway-an.

Large: Tule-Kaweah, met-; Valley, mat-ek, may-ek.

Jackrabbit: Poso, tok-coc; Yaudanchi and Yauelimani, tuk-uyun; tuk, ear.

Rabbit: tiu, telu; Poso, yem-tsou.

Flat tule: got-; Poso, gata-wei; Buena Vista, gata-iwi.

Dog: tcee-ee; Northern, tee-xa.

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*197 be considered as a duplication of an entire stem or word-element. If however such words are not composite, then the process is to
193 be regarded as merely a phonetic reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Such forms as pud-pud-ui and yip-yap-ut are examples. Third, there occurs a process that has the appearance of final reduplication. This differs from the two preceding methods in that the reduplicated portion of the word seems never to contain more than one consonant, whether this be initial or final. Thus we have ine-ie and wile-li. Fourth and finally, there are a few words showing duplication or initial reduplication with a shifting of the vowel of the second of the reduplicated syllables to a position between the two duplicating syllables. Thus poe-o-pe-ui, knee, undoubtedly related to a form upue found in other dialects; and dab-ā-dap-teui, butterfly, probably related in origin to dap-dap, leaf. This form of reduplication also occurs, as has been mentioned, in connection with grammatical reduplication in the verb. It is infrequent as an etymological factor. Reduplication of the first two types, or full duplication and initial reduplication, is the most frequent, thirty-five or forty instances having been noted, mostly of the first of these two classes. Final reduplication has been found in about twenty-five words.

Duplication.

*197 Man: nò-no, V, N.
Eye: ea-ea.
193 Heart: hon-hon, hoñ-hoñ.
● 192 Arrow: g'el-g'el, P.
Earthquake: yel-yal.
Cloud: p'ia-p'ai, BV.
Snow: pon-pon.
Ice: gañ-geñ, P.
Ocean: hòu-ho, N.
Leaf: dap-dap.
Duck sp.: k'ui-k'ui.
Snake sp.: dèlam-dèlam.
delits-delits-na.
Butterfly: lau-lau.
wal-wal.

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Worm: k'ewaa-k'ewaa, N. 197*
wek-wik, V. 193
Hawk sp.: wate-wate. 192●
Mallard duck: wat-wat·.
Duck sp.: con-cen, P.
Duck sp.: ox-ox, BV, ox-ux-um, P.
Road-runner: ol-ul.
Goose: la'-la'.
Bluejay: t-ai-t-ai, etc.
Horned owl: him-him, etc.
Magpie: ote-ote.
Walk: tin-tin, P.

Initial Reduplication.

Lips: yip-yap-ut·, yibebit·, yebit·.
Lower leg: pud-pud-ui, bul-bul-ui.
Long beads: tca-tca-yal, BV.
Thunder: mi-mi-at·.
Stand: wo-wu-l.
Turtle: koi-koy-ot.
Bird: we-wu-taoi, V, wi-wi-tai, P.
Horned owl: hi-hi-na, him-him.
Small owl: gu-go-tcup.
Hummingbird: kum-kum-na, K, ho-ho-teui, Tachi.
Duck sp.: ox-ux-um, P, ox-ox, BV.

Final Reduplication.

Father: no-p-op, na-t-et.
Mother: na-j-oj.
Throat: so-lo-lo, K, N.
Fingers: xal-al-nit, xal-il-it, K; xapal, V, T, BV.
Foot: dad-at· (?).
Mountain: dul-ul, dul-au; gop-up-at, BV.
Plain: wal-al, V.
Rock: nil-il, N, V, P; odox-ix, BV.
Tule sp.: kol-ol-in, P, koy-na, koy-in, N.
White: djol-ol, teny-oi.
Good: ine-in.
Lie: ban-an·.

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*197 Dog: tooe-oe, FH.
193 Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
192 Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: eo-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poe-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ô-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: eap-ä-eip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-ä-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

*197 For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are re-
194 viewed in the following table.
193

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ô, ü	ô, ü	e, i	ô, ü	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ae	?	-ae	-ae	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wie	-wie	-wie	-wie
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gem	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	men	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	xi	xi	xo	ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ho	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a"ha"	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	obom	obom

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i: 197*

hika	hèpa, hêpa	
hig'a	hèxa	194
giza	gèza, k'ìza	
yit	yet	
k'ami	k'amu	

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	nut, notu
mut-ka	mud-ak
humful	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat-	lopit-
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
zotai	zotni
gato-wei	got-

Grammatical Forms. 197*

Pronouns: 193

S 1	na, na'ru, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'ru, poss. mon.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xin, xon, xion; ho, xoin, go-awo; ta, ta-in (or ta-on, his). 197*

hem-ta, what? 193

wat-ontex, who? 192

Verbal forms:

hiem tayon-ai, it is (already) night.

na-an ti ma, will you eat?

tana na na-an, I will eat.

hel ma tawaos, are you thirsty?

ama na tawaos, I am not thirsty.

helin ma tantwi, where are you going?

k'ururu-ji, xai-ai.

loih-in.

wud-oyita, hatam-in, dancer, singer.

ui-ui-wih-ritu, road-runner.

ho', wiwel, tintin, sit, stand, walk!

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Paleuyami
Tulamni
Khometwuk

*197 Miscellaneous:
193 kumui-tsin, all; wazu-tsin, many.
192 natei-gun, my friend.
tok-mon, your ear.
citsil-hal, door.

BUENA VISTA GROUP: TULAMNI AND KHOMETWULI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nik
S 2	ma	man	min
D 1 ex.	nak		
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 ex.			nimak
P 1 in.	mayi		
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Aman, they, is a Valley form. Yaudanchi lacks it.

Demonstratives:

xi, this, plural xi-ean; xi-ta, here, xi-tem, there.

xuntu, that, plural xunte-e-an; xuntu, xunto, and xata were also given as equivalents of Yauelmani he-in, this one's, his.

ta, that.

han-wil, what?

Forms of nouns:

ma, ma-al, eye, probably eyes, in other dialects eaza.

mik'-al, "ear," probably ears; in other dialects tuk.

This -al is evidently the occasional Yauelmani plural-collective suffix of inanimate nouns -hal.

Cases: locative, hulse-in, tsiljuts-in, tsupan-an; possessive, gut-cya-n.

Verbal forms:

lui', eat! (imperative).

luy-an, hiy-ca.

luy-an, tawate-ac.

haa-l, tana-al, tawate-al, xahayaw-al, oho'-l, gume-al.

ma'lac-ite, hiwat-ate.

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Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aitícha

WUKCHAMNI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 ✗ 193 192 ●

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-ā; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: t-i, t-en.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-āad, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wuc, hoyo-wuc; cañ-cañ-wid-eitc, kux-wud-eitc.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; ma, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:
nihin-au, dul-au.

Numerals:
yete-am, eleven, poted-am, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:
tah-an, nah-an, xo-on.
tawat-a, dead.
yuwanwacs, marry.
hayu-ac, waxal-ac, tawat-ac.
luha-itc, moccasins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	man	nim
S 2	ma		min
S 3			imin

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Aitichа
Choinimni
Gashowu

*197 Demonstratives:
193 ke, this, objective ki-n.
192 gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:
hoiteuc, tawat-a-e.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:
nim-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganiu, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:
[807] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:
wan-ăc, elk-ac, xahi-ac, ikă-ac, taut-a-e, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xout-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

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Gashowu
Kechayi
Dumna

197 *
193
192 ●

Demonstratives:

ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?).
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu.
ta, that.
han, what?

Numerals:

[802]

yetcam, eleven; potedom, cophiom, hatepam, yit-team, teol-pom, nomteom, munteom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen.

Verbs:

tah-an.
wan-aac, wan-ei; ika-ac, eka-ei; hatam-ic, xahi-ac, hoito-ic, tauta-c, xoo-oc, k'anuw-ac, heut-ic, waxal-ic, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ôn-oc (luk'in).
daw'hali-xo.
haya-wic-ac, teaplu-wic.
kam-ini, teic-ini.
xo-mi, wowul-mu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mân		

Demonstratives:

hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
hân, what?

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Dumna
Toltichi

*197 Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ła; ut'u, tree, ut'ò-a, timber.
193 These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other
192 dialects that are grammatically known. Nònei, plural of nòno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

euteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak^d-ste, child; poyod-ste, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ste, small, apparently from got-i, large.

[802] Numerals:

yetcan, eleven, potedom, twelve; copiom, hate'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihimga, run, holoe-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tae-an (taie), see.

tanyte-a-xon.

teapli-wie, moccasin; dat-la-wae, stepping-ceremony.

hacav-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

114 A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the
+197 San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect,
193 a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical.
[802] First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
DUMNA

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*197

If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

*197
193
● 192

The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

[802]

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nka	yet
2	hio	punai
3	mayo	shopin
4	ámin	hatopanai
5	hio	yitoainil
6	otel	ta'olipl
7	nakate	nonte'in
8	ta'ólomak	mon'oo
9	wá'dito	shaip
10	wadi'ta	ta'ian
person	wokate	yokoto
man	wo'wili	shaai
woman	mak'hwa	mak'hla
child	k'ow-ita	ak'á-ate
ear	xuk'	tuk
eye	xuxa	mun
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xuma	cama
hand	p'ulon	b'onoo
foot	ta'uan'	dadate
back	hatuow'	gadai, ostoo

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
Dumna
Chukchansi

197 *
193
192●

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
house	ckuc, ckuc	ckuic
snow	k'limin	k'luim
berries sp.	wuxuin	tauhti
sun	xupin (hot)	xupil, up
fire	ccit, -ccit	ccit
water	lwix	lilk
creek	wak'ai	wakai
earth	xowai	xotui
world	ho'gil	holki'
dog	hkun	tcbun
grizzly bear	wuc'o	nohoo
coyote	x'niu	kniu
deer	xow	xoi
elk	xongui	xorgui
eagle	wo'ccal	wi'ccui
bracard	x'ots	hots
rattlesnake	wat-it-	uat-it-
small fish	wapit-	lapits
salmon	gkwazit	gkyazit
eat	xat-ga	xat-ga
drink	ugua-ga	ugua-ga
sleep	wozi-ka	woi-ka
talk	wat-ka	yet-ka
run	wuxiu-ka	lhim-ga
stand	xwoxwi-ka	woxui-ga
sit	howor-ka	holoc-ga
greeting	xuwanan	hawana
where?	xiw'on	hilou
where are you going?	xiw'on an tan'i(n)	hilou an thas
his	xu'in	auin

CHUKCHANSI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nim	nan-an
S 2	na	nin	
S 3		auin	auan-an
P 1 in.	nai		
P 3		auanagun	

The locatives nan-an, by me, and auan-an, at him, were translated "here" and "there." It is not probable that the hypothetical objective of the third person singular, auan, to which auan-an points, has any actual existence. Yaselmani

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chukchansi
Chauchila

*197 amam-in-wa, them, has the same hypothetical base, and this base does not occur in Yauelmani.

193

● 192 Demonstratives:

hi, locative he-u.

[ki, not obtained], locative ki-n-eu.

Nouns:

op-in, sun's.

nasi-n, rattlesnake's.

hoyim-h-an, of the Hoyima.

teaueil-h-an, of the Chauchila.

The locative in -u, -au, -iu is frequent.

Verbs:

-ka, imperative: winis-ka, hulos-ka, xat-ka, woi-ka, gun-ka, taic-ka, adj-idj-ka; heu-ne-k, pana-k.

-xon, continuative: yuneun-xon, quakes, honhon-xon, breathes, paix-im-xon, menstruates (honhon, heart, payax, blood).

-an, past: tac-an, panai-an.

-it, passive: tuy-han-it, be shot.

-wie, reflexive: dani-wis-an, dui-wae, puxpux-wae.

-in, intransitive: heu-n-en, thus, heu-ne-k, do thus!

CHAUCHILA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 in.			magin
P 1 in.	mai		main

Demonstratives:

he, this, poss. he-n-in, loc. he-u.

ke, that, loc. k-eu.

wat, who, some one.

hileu, where?

Nouns:

nopop-in father's.

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Chauchila
Hoyima
Wakichi

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193
192

Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -ɨ-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels af the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ac-ac-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: daue-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-e-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, hoyo-wuc, lon-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo naxon dut, Chauchila hileu nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

haulen dut, Chauchila hileu nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

haul ma dut, Chukchansi haual ma du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi heu-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wakichi
Dumna
Wechikhit
Nutunuta

*197 wi-hin, say.
193 wiy-ähin, said; Dumna, wiy-än.
ut-upa ma wi-hin, Dumna ma ti-ma wi-hi, did you say it?
● 192 hau hin duta, Dumna hawä an ditz, what is the matter?

Wakichi, Pitkat-i, and Heyima were said to use buua, not tekxa, for dog. This would include these with Chauchila, Chulamni, and probably Henchi in the valley half of the Northern group, as contrasting with Chuckchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna of the foot-hill half of the same group.

Pronouns:

WECHIKHIT.

S 1	na	nim
S 2	ma	min
S 3		amin
D 1 ex.		numbgin
D 1 in.	mak	
P 1 in.	mai	
P 2	mân	

Demonstratives:

hehi, this, hetam, here; ga, that, gau, there; wat-oku, han-uku, hiye-uku or hiye-uk, who? what? where?

Nouns:

p'an-in, world's.

Verbs:

holue-k, sit! wan-ka, give!
taut-a-xo, kill; teow'-xo, work.
tân, go.
-in suffix: xat-en, lihim-en, hatm-en, wipil-en, tezal-en, ail-en, ugu-on, woy-on, wow'l-on.
-wie reflexive: tanyu-wie, hoyo-wee, ôat-in-wae.

NUTUNUTU.

Pronouns: na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.

Demonstratives: hehe-n, apparently possessive; hetam, here; gau, there.

Verbs: xat-k, ugun-k, eil-k; wooi-xo, huite-in, taow-xo.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim	197 *
S 2	ma	mam	min	193
S 3			amin	192 ●
D 1 in.	mak		makin	
P 1 in.	mai			

Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, poss. ke-in, loc. ke-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

		[802]
11 yètc-am	16 teolp-cun	
12 batad-om	17 nomto-om	
13 copi-om	18 mune-am	
14 hotep-om	19 coponhot-min	
15 yite-am		

Nouns:

tatei, pl. tateètcayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxòxayi.
teunut, pl. teunòtati.
(wimiltci), pl. wimèlatci.
(weteixit), pl. witeèxatci.
(wowol), pl. wowòwoli.
(nutunutu), pl. nutanî-ie-a.
witep, child, pl. witip-ate, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -e-xo.
Preterite: -ahin.
Future-present: -in.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
N529 Yokuts N529
Nutunutu
Chunut

*197 Agent: -ite.
193 (Future passive): -nite, -nit.
192 Reflexive: -wie.
Causative: -la.
Future particle: min.
Negative particle: ohoun, ôm.

Tachi phrases:

hô-in pûne	his dog.
pune-an dadat.	dog's foot.
min mai oy-in ûwo	shall we move across, we shall move to the other side.
hiiata ôm na min hot'-ô-xo hoyowoe	(?) not I your know name.
hiek ma xo hôtei	where you live now?
hô-u nô xo toxii	there (this-at) I live west.
ôm na mam eii-ahin hiâmi	not I you saw long.
hiek ma ta	where you go?
hô-u na tan nim tee-n	there I go my house-at.
hik min tei	where your house?
hô-u na nô-n nihet-in nim tee-n	there I live older-brother's my house-at.
ôm nim t-a yitip-hai nhoe	not my (?) children younger-brother's.
e-oybl-in pli	antelope's road, milky way.
yokote	person.
yokteo-ite	somebody.
nhteo-in, mohala-n	man's, woman's.
xocima-n	of the northerners.
the-ite	a kind of medicine man (maker).
nohot-ite	ceremonial clown.
yêt-an	all (one-at).
dat-in-wae	rattlesnake ceremony (making-step, = dal-da-âite).
munol	jimson-weed (tanai).
munuy-uwne	jimson-weed-drinking-ceremony (tany-uwie).

CHUNUT.

Pronouns: na, I, ma, thou, mak, we two.

Demonstratives: hetam, here, apparently from stem hi; ki, this, ke-u, there; ga, that; wat-uk, who; han-uk, what, hiye-uk, where.

Nouns: toino-in op, night's luminary, moon.

Verbs: The imperative ending was usually heard as -ga. The continuative -xo appears in oho-xo na I like; -an in tah-an; -wie in hoyo-woe; -ite in tsalai-wiy-âita.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LASI. 197*

Pronouns found are na, mạ, mak, nim, min, amin. 193
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, hia. 192
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyðku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
zat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-ètte, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

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197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

[126
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[115]
[115]

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Yaudanchi

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1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxäle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yõuyahè
wlähè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yõuyalfè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wlähè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükchamni.

wita	t'öpük	yo	nahaate
said	beaver	and	otter

wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me

ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
then	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	golońkil	t·öód
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake

am-nan	piteiu[1]
not me	touch

a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do

dok'on	teixae
belly-full	(lie)

doxmadhin	t·öód
(reach-pile)	rattlesnake

am-nan	piteiu
not me	touch

wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said:	not you	anything	can-do

tiñelhan	ma	t·öód
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake

[1] Handle, catch, take, step.

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Yaudanchi

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dok'on belly-full	teixac-ma (lie) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do!
yapkanhin many-trees	t·ödd rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixac (lie)	
a-ma not you	haa anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·ödd rattlesnake	
te'ododin white	ma you	ceca eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. 193
Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative 539
from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

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6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

wèhò yòhò
weho yoho

na kiltcau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagawiw
(lovelihin)

widâta not'
meet

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ẽwe
who brave!

yèhu
yeha

xomòt-i mây-a tân-iyo
south we go

yèha
yeha

pinèt'iux na tcay-e
oak I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kè na
(sound) (sound) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipui
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nâyu
sacu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
weho yoho

nan-a ge ma ha wiihin
me you (do not mind)

èkak tcan-a witcèpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ẽka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not 539
witeep but witop. Tean-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of to for t, from tan, Yaudanchi taß, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that 533
his father said to him: 539
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192

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulan
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (perverse)

piwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (perverse)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form biwaeß and Tulamni biawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xo t'uit'al dupit·
where this about fish!

wi xi min ta wateam shōdad
well, this your that feather-hand-ornament is-posting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònon
(name of something)

teuyuak ma ha tais tāaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (rules)

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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

533 539 192 14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

yileyalè
earthquake

sillika — uim — teieau
see — my — emergence-at

walāliu — teoxil-a — māyu
at-open-place — eagle

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam — wiliteyau — muyukun
you — (in-front-of) — whirl

yèhā
yeha

uyayet — ke — teèkèyn — māyin — p'aanin
(mourn-for) — that — string — our — world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na — kalu
I — coyote

naan — kalu
we — coyotes

ama — p'au — widji — taeki
then — earth — told — these

ama — p'au — widji
then — earth — told

a-ma-nan-hi — k'uyak'tad
not you me will — scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaliu-na — yawud
coyote I — (do-thus)

ama — na — t-ipinit — lòlènae
then — I — from-above — (twirled)

kaliu-na — yaud
coyote-I — (do-thus)

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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu wita
coyote said

hanham-na kaiiu-na
what-am I? coyote I

wi idkau-un na
well, water-in I

hanham-na
what-am I?

kaiiu-na
coyote I

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu nau t'ui eik'an-nim
here me shoot side-in my

kaiyuwin mam ta t'uyoe
coyote's you that arrow

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a nan
who me

t'uyon
shoots!

t·ipinit
from-above

t'uyon
shoots!

yèiteai
arrow

t'uyon
shoots!

wèhèn
when

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyin naan
return we

nòtu naan xuyin
east we return

tahiteipau
to-Tehachapi

p'aanin
land's

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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22. Mountain-sheep song.

'hiyeu-na	ukunumū	
or: hideu-na	ukun	
where I	drink-will	
wa	na	dòmto	ukun
far	I	mountain-at	drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama	wateimji	oteote	t·ipin
Then	swung-in-his-hand	magpie	high
muyukju			
whirled			
wateimin	oteoteo		
swinging-in-his-hand	magpie		

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu	nan	he
oyuy	nan	xe
road-runner	me	here
limini	mai	
dawit-sa	mak	
let-run	us-two	
hiam-ā	na	teokonit
hiam	na	teokit
now	I	am-hit
teokunau	nim	
teoxhau	nim	
feather-belt-in	my	

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait·	hāhi	dawit	yaudau
otter	(said):	"run	in-brush!"
dahaud-na	yaudau	dawit	
hear I:	"in-brush	run!"	

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yokol dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-ma	taxin	
again	do you	come!	
wa	ha	mai	kitewin
far	something	we	will-go
wa	na	kitiu	
far	I	go	
todomit	na	idkin	
do-ni-find	I	water's	

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)
hāini	hamāna	
(fly	what-we!)	
mòxumxai		
(Pleiades)		

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan	
return	to-me! (we!)	
xoiyu	nan	
return	(bis)	
ama	nim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling
t·awe	nau	
beat	me	
dokoi-nim		
game my		

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
naamtayo	
lauiyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t·awat·e	beat

533 30. Another.

539 yahī lulumai
192 yahīmai lulūmai
mwawa kunama
tanlyo
yapīwipiwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalīkiyo
t·awat·i t·awat·

31. Another.

hila ma tā	you
hayāwiyu	(ridicule)
lākoyowani	(ignorant)
wantin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsimi	cold
hòsiwimine	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanā-na-ma	hear
hòsimi	cold

33. A prayer for good fortune. Yanelmani. Evidently a
782 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
788 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart
786 and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yanelmani. The r occurring in pitsariut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

silkawil	nan
782	
silka-nan	tōseiut
192	(—maker)
silka-nan	bamāeiut
539	
silka-nan	yonāxait
	(—crusher)
silka-nan	etèpat

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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782
192
539

silka-nau pitsariut
see me name

silka-nau tsukit
see me name

silka-nau ukat
see me name (looker!)

yòt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·au t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

mainyin lomto
with-the-large mountain

mainyin silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

mainyiu witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·au polut-nim
together body my

ucuk-nim
heart my

yèt·au-ma-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·è·pani
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

daak
day

yò-ma
and you

toino
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nan-silèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·au ki
together this

p'nan
world

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tönsayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Töushlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasayutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Bamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaltin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yuhhahhalt

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave	me	with-a-little	sun
anò	nan	yòt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heneit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

8:Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts. 775 1920 539

miin	ma	ðyin	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
ohom	ma	heba	xoyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shoshonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an 197*

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

[p. 6-A]

193 tain notions that are generalized. Although
196 English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of applications and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs
196 which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ḱubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wipwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

[P.6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[885] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill.* It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we.* It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila.* However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit,* Wukchumne, *Kaweah, Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "I" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne, Chunut, Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip.* The Wukchumne call this *chadip.* They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik,* name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

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*1917 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes [101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [768 in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the 551] universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this ● 193 linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

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For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. 101
The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokots. 193
Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular.

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole 101
claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory.

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling 101
themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yoweehani, who inhabited the foot- 121
hill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect 121
alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication.

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LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in 193 different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more 192 pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost endless variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

*197 It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families 193 of California, especially those in the large Central morphological 191 group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

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these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All 197*
these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta- 193
Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of 171
them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive consonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects 197*
through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the 197*
radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is 177
becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however,
197 the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in
*197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree
● 193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead.
551 This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more fre-
768 quently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of
193 the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un-
192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t·i, varied occasionally to t·e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt·im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'äns or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

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The usual Yokuts term for smoke is mod-ak. In most Northern dialects this disappears to be replaced by a stem tsehan, which reappears in Yaudanchi as teeheñ with the meaning of fog. The same stem, teeheñ, replaces the usual word for cloud, k'ädai or k'ilei, in Wükchamni, Aiticha, and Choinok, while in Tachi the stem ceel, which usually has the meaning of rain, appears for cloud. In place of this stem ceel, which is the customary one in the Valley dialects for rain, xotoo is characteristic of the Foothill dialects. But in certain special Foot-hill and Valley dialects, such as Tulamni, Gashowu, Tachi, Chunut, and Nutunutu, a stem gono, meaning fall, appears. 197* 193 192

The usual stem for medicine-man is ant-u. The Northern dialects show a stem teic, which is the radical having in Yaudanchi, and apparently in most other dialects, the meaning of make. The medicine-man is he who makes.

In Paleuyami the usual Yokuts words for head and hair, ot-o and dool, are replaced by a form t-uk, which is nothing but the Foot-hill and Northern stem teuk, meaning in these dialects brain.

Such instances could be indefinitely multiplied, and were the Yokuts languages known more thoroughly an even greater number of radical diversities could no doubt be explained in this manner than is now the case. At the same time there is evidently a large element of diverse stems whose origin cannot be explained in this way. Such stems may also once have taken their rise through dialectic shifting of meaning, but the process and the fact can no longer be traced or determined.

To illustrate the degree of uniformity and diversity of the stems in the several dialectic groups of Yokuts, a comparative vocabulary of a few selected terms is here given. The fuller vocabularies from which this table is drawn will be presented in a future publication dealing specifically with the tribal divisions and dialects of the family.

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate. 197* 194

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiteu, bèmanduts, bèmamteui, bèmax, gûmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable. 197* 194 192

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit·in; Poso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Poso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, olok'; Gashowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teuga, teuk; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hogn; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Poso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gälüyi; Kings kilet·, kelit·; Choinok, holswat; Northern, hedjil; Gashowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns, 197* 193

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*197 especially the personal ones; and, second, the verbal suffixes of mode and tense.
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PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

In at least seven-eighths of the Yokuts dialects the personal pronouns are remarkably uniform, the extent of the variations being shown by the two full tables previously given of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani forms. In the great mass of dialects there are no variations of moment from these forms, and the more elementary forms, such as the subjective, objective, and possessive of the singular of the first two persons, na, ma, nan, mam, nim, and min, are absolutely identical. The third person shows more variation. In all dialects it lacks subjective and objective singular forms. The possessive, his, in all Valley dialects is amin, clearly related through analogy to the possessive of the second person, min. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River dialects show the form nearest the Valley form, namely, imin. The Tule-Kaweah group has an, made familiar from Yaudanchi, while the Poso Creek and Buena Vista forms are not known. There is a further difference between the Valley and Foot-hill divisions in that the former possesses subjective forms of the third person in the dual and plural, amak and aman, which at least the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division lacks. These subjective Valley forms of the third person are, however, not true pronouns. They are not used as the equivalent of English "they," but merely as an indication of number, frequently with nouns as well as verbs, so that they equal in function the Yaudanchi number-particles tik and tin.

The Poso Creek and Buena Vista groups show the greatest peculiarities in the forms of their pronouns. Their singular subjective and objective forms are indeed identical with those of all other dialects: na, ma, nan, and mam; but their possessive forms vary from the usual ones,—principally through the introduction of a k sound into the forms for the first person. Poso Creek says gen for "my," Buena Vista mik. Poso Creek has men for the possessive of the second person, while the Buena Vista group has the usual min. It will be seen that while the forms used in these two groups vary from all others, and from

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each other, there yet is within each dialect a parallelism of form between the first and second persons, similar to the parallelism existing in all other dialects: Poso Creek, gen and men; Buena Vista, mik and min; other groups, nim and min. 197* 193

The k appearing in the possessive pronoun of the first person of these two southernmost groups is interesting because it would seem to be due to the influence of extraneous linguistic stocks. K is the radical element expressing the first person in the Chumash languages, with which the Buena Vista dialects were in immediate territorial contact. K is also found in the pronouns of the first person in the Kern River branch of the Shoshonean family, the branch of the family with which the Paleuyami of Poso creek were undoubtedly in closest relation. The general Shoshonean radical indicative of the first person is n, which appears in the Kern River dialects with the addition of k: nögi or nöki, instead of usual nä. It is scarcely to be supposed that the two southern Yokuts groups directly borrowed their k pronominal forms from the adjacent Shoshonean and Chumash stocks. Such borrowing is both highly improbable on general grounds and unlikely because these Yokuts dialects show the k only in the possessive pronoun, the subjective and objective elements of the first person being the usual Yokuts n. It is rather to be imagined that acquaintance with languages of contiguous families, and the unconscious influence of these, stimulated or reawakened a tendency that led to the use of these k forms in the affected Yokuts dialects. While such tendencies may seem intangible and vague, and it must be admitted that we as yet know practically nothing of their real nature, there nevertheless is evidence that they existed. It is well known, for instance, that the great majority of the numerous linguistic families of North America have either n or m or both for the roots of their pronominal stems of the first and second persons. This wide-spread agreement can scarcely be interpreted as an indication of original relationship of these families, many of which are as utterly distinct in fundamental structure and general phonetic character as they are totally diverse in their words. Neither can the phenomenon be attributed to accident, for the number of cases is far too great. It can also scarcely be imagined that pronominal

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*197 forms are above all others particularly liable to direct borrowing
●193 in American languages. It is accordingly necessary to conceive of a certain deep-seated tendency, not yet well understood, which either results in the production of pronominal forms in n and m by most stocks, and their adherence or reversion to such forms; or which renders most stocks particularly susceptible to external influence in the phonetic shaping of their pronominal stems. Conditions are certainly very remarkable in California as regards this wide-spread uniformity, as has been previously pointed out.[1] Of twenty-one families now recognized, seventeen or eighteen have m as the primary constituent of their pronominal stem denoting the second person; nine, or nearly half, show n in the first person, and four show k. The distribution of these four families is also instructive. They are Miwok, Costanoan, Salinan, and Chumash, occupying a continuous area in central California practically enclosing the Yokuts territory. As to these four families must be added the contiguous southernmost dialectic groups of Yokuts, and the also contiguous Kern River Shoshonean dialectic group; and as the sound k does not elsewhere in California appear as an expression of the first person, except that in Yurok, far in the north, it is used in combination with n in the form nek; it is evident that this occurrence of k to denote the first person is not accidental, but due to the interinfluence of territorially adjacent stocks. Even if it is held that this argument is weakened by the probable superficiality of the diversity of the families at present recognized as distinct in California, the explanation of this k as due to an original identity of the several stocks possessing it, cannot be accepted, for while some or many of the Californian linguistic families may ultimately prove to be related, this can safely be affirmed not to be true of the stocks here in consideration. Chumash and Salinan are in morphological type and phonetic character quite distinct from Costanoan, Yokuts, Miwok, and the remaining families of California.[2] The large and well defined Shoshonean family can also certainly not be regarded as genetically related to the minor and diverse Californian stocks. It is therefore clear that at least

[1] Amer. Anthr., n. s. V, 17, 1903.
[2] Ibid., 18.

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part of the occurrence of k stems to denote the first person in California is due to the influence upon each other of distinct but geographically adjacent families. 197* 193

DEMONSTRATIVES.

The demonstrative forms are also a ready means of distinguishing the Yokuts dialectic groups. The indefinite demonstrative ta, expressive of reference rather than of distance, but when referring to distance indicating remoteness and not proximity, seems to be used in all dialects without variation; but the forms of the several stems more or less definitely expressing distance vary phonetically. The usual stem of the demonstrative specifically indicating remoteness without invisibility is ka, found probably in all the dialects of the Valley division and in the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. In the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division the similar form gai is used. The two southern Foot-hill groups show somewhat aberrant forms, Poso Creek ko, and Buena Vista xuntu. The demonstratives indicating propinquity are sometimes one and sometimes two in number, but in the latter case always quite similar in form. The fundamental form is perhaps ki, corresponding to the ka indicating remoteness. The Valley division shows two forms, hi and ki, the former apparently indicating greater nearness. The principal Valley differs from the Northern group in using the hi stem in reduplicated form. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River group has ke. The three southern groups of this division all show xi, with the addition at least in Tule-Kaweah of xe. The relation of these forms indicating proximity may be briefly expressed thus: xi forms in the three southern Foot-hill groups are replaced by ki and hi forms in the most northern Foot-hill group and in the Valley division.

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

The structural factors most important in the classification of the Yokuts dialects are the tense and mode suffixes of the verbs. Prominent among these, both on account of the uniformity with which it coincides with the divisions and on account of the readiness with which it is obtained in securing information, is the

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imperative. When asked to translate an English verb stem into their language, the Yokuts, like people of many other linguistic stocks, are likely to give the imperative form. Accordingly, once the imperative ending is known, almost any Yokuts vocabulary containing half a dozen verbs, no matter how inaccurately rendered, is almost certain to be sufficient to show to which division of the family the dialect in question belongs. The Valley dialects throughout use a form -ka, while the Foot-hill dialects all lack any suffix. So far as known this rule suffers no exceptions. The -ka ending, as has been brought out in the discussion of Yaudanchi, does not, like the usual a-suffixes, affect the quality of the stem vowels of the verb. There is therefore some reason for regarding it as being an enclitic particle in the inward consciousness of the language, rather than a true suffix. The -ka ending itself is subject to but little dialectic modification, other than becoming -ga in some dialects, or lightening its vowel until its form is almost -k. Of the known dialects Chauchila alone shows a tendency to vary the a of this ending to harmonize with the vowels of the stem of the verb: -ka, -ku, -ki, etc.

The true tense and mode suffixes of Yokuts are of two kinds. First those which like the future and present -in, the reflexive -wic, and the agentive -ite, appear to be found in all dialects with no alteration except slight phonetic modification; and second the remainder, of which each is confined to certain groups of dialects. Of this class the most prominent are the past suffixes -ji and -ae and the continuative -ad or -al, which are characteristic of the Foot-hill division, and the past -an and continuative -xo characteristic of the Valley division. The scant Poso Creek material does not show the continuative -al, but on the other hand there is no evidence that it is absent. The only exception to the general appertainment of these suffixes respectively to the two divisions is that the Kings River group lacks the -al continuative of the other Foot-hill groups and replaces it by the typical Valley form -xo. In addition to these two classes of suffixes corresponding to the two divisions of the family, there is a verbal form -am, or -mi, of a significance not yet determined, which is characteristic of the Northern and probably also the Kings River dialects, but is lacking in the main Valley and the Tule-Kaweah group.

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A means of determining whether any dialect belongs to the Foot-hill or Valley division, with apparently as much certainty and readiness as by the imperative suffix, is furnished by the negative, no. All Valley dialects have the form ohom, all Foot-hill dialects k'amu, except that the Buena Vista group shows u"hu" or a"ha". 197 * 193 ●

COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

In the discussion of Yaudanchi a particular point was made of the apparent scarcity of evidences of composition and derivation in this dialect, although many of its words were of several syllables and of a length and appearance which in other linguistic families would be almost prima facie evidence of their derivative nature. The statement to this effect was written when but few of the dialects of the family were known to the writer. As the subsequent accessions of material have brought the number of dialects represented by considerable vocabularies to more than twenty, and as these have been systematically compared, it might be expected that evidence of the composite structure or derivative nature of many stems had thereby been obtained to a sufficient degree to necessitate a modification of the statement previously made. This is however not the case, for the collation of the various vocabularies not only fails to explain the origin of the Yaudanchi words, but makes it clear that derivative processes are of small significance in the etymology of all the branches of the Yokuts family. Three or four derivative suffixes are indeed visible in the compared vocabularies; but these suffixes are nearly all derivable from an inspection of the Yaudanchi material alone, are of indefinite significance, are applied to a comparatively small number of words, and make the original meaning of the stems to which they are appended, many of which are polysyllabic, no clearer than before. As has been said before, the lexical differentiation of the Yokuts dialects takes place primarily through the employment of radically different stems, and secondarily through minor phonetic modifications which are clearly not of structural or derivational significance. Etymological differences between dialects are so few because derivation is a factor of negligible significance in Yokuts.

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x197 A striking instance of the failure of dialectic comparisons to shed any light on the origin of Yokuts words is furnished by the
193 numerals four and five. These words are undoubtedly derivative, four, hat-pañi or hoto-ponoi, being certainly formed from poñoi or ponoi, two, and yit-einil, five, from yet, one. This being the case, it might be supposed that in so great a number of dialects as have been examined, and these belonging to six distinct groups, there would be a certain number which showed forms for four and five containing the elements two and one in combination with other elements than the dialects previously known, or containing the same elements in a phonetic form that would make them identifiable with stems of known significance. This supposition is however not a fact. The twenty-one dialects show forms for these two numerals that are in their elements absolutely identical and that present variations which are clearly only phonetic, that is to say, in themselves meaningless. It is therefore clear that, while it cannot be doubted that these two words
[194] are composite in origin, this original composition yet goes back to an earlier stage of the language; and that in its present stage, as proved by their unity in the most diverse dialectic groups, these composite forms are regarded and treated by the language purely as radical stems. The same fact is emphasized by the words for fourteen and fifteen, which are formed from the abbreviated stems for four and five by the addition of the suffix -am. As stated in the presentation of Yaudanchi, the abbreviation of these two numerals before this decimal suffix runs counter to their etymology, the second element of each being, as it were, deliberately cut in two and the final portion lost before the suffix. Hat-pañi becomes hate-p-am, and yit-einil yit-e-am. These two forms hate-p-am and yit-e-am have been found not only in Yaudanchi but in five other dialects, representing all the principal groups of the family; and their forms in these six dialects are, except for variations in the quality of their vowels, absolutely identical. Here again it is clear that the derivational process has long since become crystallized, and that the derived form is treated by all dialects alike as a radical unit. In other words, while there is some etymological derivation in Yokuts, the process is a completed rather than an active one, and the fluidity of

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elementary parts and the possibility of their free combination so characteristic of many American languages, is entirely wanting. 197 *

The following are the principal derivational suffixes apparent in the comparative vocabularies. 193 ●

-atc, -itc, diminutive; Yaudanchi -hate, apparently a plural of adjectives when used substantively. 197 *

ałd-ate, child in Michahai, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Dumna, from axid, daughter, child. 193 192

got-etc, small in Northern dialects, from got-i, large.

meta-ota, small in Buena Vista, from stem met-, large.

gu-itc, beads in Wükehamni.

-ic, -uc:

Tail: Foot-hill, gut; Valley, gut'-uc.

Liver: dip; Kings River, dalap-ic.

Arrow: t'uy-oc; t'ui, shoot.

Woman: Valley, muk'-èla; Foot-hill, muk'-ec.

Tongue: talxat-; Poso and Buena Vista, talap-is, alad-is.

Thigh: k'oh-ic, k'ow-i, gow-i.

Sun, moon: Valley, o'p; Kings and Tule-Kaweah, up-ic, up-uc.

Wood: hit'-ec; hit'-el, ash.

Ash: Tule-Kaweah and Poso, hap-ac.

Sand: Tule-Kaweah and Kings, wak'-ac.

Digger-pine: ton, Tule-Kaweah, toñ-ac.

-il, -ul:

awaic-il, awate-il, chin; some dialects, awac, awadji.

teimec-il, eyebrow; some dialects, d-imit-.

gepe-il, shoulder; some dialects, gapai.

kuyo-c-il, knee; kuyo, ankle.

cayat-el, foot, in Paleuyami.

haep-el, Choinok; haepay-al, Yauelmani; has-oski, Tachi: lungs.

getsñ-il, gatsiñ-il, bow, in Paleuyami and Buena Vista.

humn-ul, quail.

hit'-el, ash; hit'-ec, wood.

-ui, -tcui:

Navel: teutkue; Buena Vista, tsotus; Yaudanchi, teudoc-ui.

Knee: upue; Choinimni, poc-ope-ui.

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*197 Kidney: tailiuxai; Tachi, tailamg-ui.

● 193 Hummingbird: bèmamgute, etc.; bèmam-te-ui, dèmam-te-ui; Tachi, ho-ho-te-ui.

192 Butterfly: wal-ap-te-ui, dab-ā-dap-te-ui; wal-wal, butterfly, dap-dap, leaf.

-na:

Snake sp.: delits-delits-na.

Hummingbird: kum-kum-na.

Horned owl; hi-hi-na.

The most conspicuous indications of composition or derivation other than by these suffixes are found in the following words:

Four: hat-pañi, hoto-ponoi; poñoi, ponoi, two.

Five: yit-einil, yit-ienil; yit, yet, one.

Man: Buena Vista, kohote; Tule-Kaweah, kouhte-un; Kings, bute-on.

Woman: Foot-hill, muk'-ee; Valley, muk'-èla

Girl: Northern and Valley dialects, various, gai-na, woman, girl, gai-ta, girl, little girl.

Old man, old woman: mox-elo, mok-djo, mok-nite, mote-ate, mote-odo; Poso, nem-halatei, nem-a, large.

Father: no-pop; Tule-Kaweah, na-tet; no- is possibly originally the possessive pronoun of the first person; cf. mother, noom, na-joj.

Sweat-house: moe; Poso, mue-añ.

Pipe: baum, etc.; Poso, bam-uñ; other dialects, euk-ut, euk-mai.

Belly: balik, olok', luk'-in.

Sun, moon, day; o'p, op-odo, up-ie, op-di, ob-ol-iu.

Snow: ponpon; some Valley dialects, hayau; Poso and Buena Vista, eaway-an.

Large: Tule-Kaweah, met-; Valley, mat-ek, may-ek.

Jackrabbit: Poso, tok-eoe; Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, tukuyun; tuk, ear.

Rabbit: tiu, teiu; Poso, yem-tsou.

Flat tule: got-; Poso, gata-wei; Buena Vista, gata-iwi.

Dog: teee-ee; Northern, tee-xa.

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REDUPLICATION.

The failure of extended comparative material to show any considerable processes of derivation by composition or affixation in Yokuts is repeated in the similar failure of this material to throw much light on processes of derivation by reduplication. A considerable number of duplicated and reduplicated words are evident, but in a very great majority of the cases these retain their reduplicated form, often with more or less phonetic modification, through all the dialectic groups. Where such a reduplicated form is not shown by one or more groups, it is usually the stem itself that fails to appear in these groups, not the reduplication of the stem. Dul-ul, mountain, and ine-ie, good, exist in these reduplicated forms in all dialects in which they appear at all.[1] In the dialects in which they are not found, they are replaced by the entirely distinct stems lomit and met-, or similar forms. It is evident that reduplication like composition is no longer an active word-forming process in the language, but that the forms which it has produced are usually treated by the language as simple stems.

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Of course the purely grammatical process of reduplication in the numeral and verb to express distribution and iteration, which can be applied at will to any stem of these two parts of speech provided that its significance allows, is of a different character from the etymological reduplication here discussed, and must not be confused with it.

The etymological reduplication found in the Yokuts dialects takes several different forms. First there is simple duplication, usually of monosyllabic stems, as in dapdap, leaf. Second there is a form resembling this, in which the first syllable of a disyllabic or polysyllabic word is repeated, including at times the consonant following as well as preceding the vowel of the duplicated syllable. If the words in which this form of reduplication occurs can be regarded as composite, then the first monosyllabic constituent of the words is entirely repeated, and the process must

[1] At the same time there are found such unreduplicated forms of the same stems as the objective inie-ya and the locative dul-au. Similar forms, such as ol-lu from ol-il and nat-uwduwic from nat-et, are evidence of some tendency especially for final reduplication to disappear before suffixation.

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*197 be considered as a duplication of an entire stem or word-element. If however such words are not composite, then the process is to
●193 be regarded as merely a phonetic reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Such forms as pud-pud-ui and yip-yap-ut are examples. Third, there occurs a process that has the appearance of final reduplication. This differs from the two preceding methods in that the reduplicated portion of the word seems never to contain more than one consonant, whether this be initial or final. Thus we have ine-ie and wile-li. Fourth and finally, there are a few words showing duplication or initial reduplication with a shifting of the vowel of the second of the reduplicated syllables to a position between the two duplicating syllables. Thus poe-o-pe-ui, knee, undoubtedly related to a form upue found in other dialects; and dab-ä-dap-teui, butterfly, probably related in origin to dap-dap, leaf. This form of reduplication also occurs, as has been mentioned, in connection with grammatical reduplication in the verb. It is infrequent as an etymological factor. Reduplication of the first two types, or full duplication and initial reduplication, is the most frequent, thirty-five or forty instances having been noted, mostly of the first of these two classes. Final reduplication has been found in about twenty-five words.

Duplication.

*197 Man: nò-no, V, N.
Eye: ea-ea.
193 Heart: hon-hon, hoñ-hoñ.
192 Arrow: g'el-g'el, P.
Earthquake: yel-yal.
Cloud: p'ia-p'ai, BV.
Snow: pon-pon.
Ice: gañ-geñ, P.
Ocean: hòu-ho, N.
Leaf: dap-dap.
Duck sp.: k'ui-k'ui.
Snake sp.: dèlam-dèlam
delits-delits-na.
Butterfly: lau-lau.
wal-wal.

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Worm: k'ewas-k'ewas, N. 197*
wek-wik, V. 193●
Hawk sp.: wate-wate. 192
Mallard duck: wat-wat-.
Duck sp.: con-cen, P.
Duck sp.: ox-ox, BV, ox-ux-um, P.
Road-runner: ol-ui.
Goose: la'-la'.
Bluejay: t-ai-t-ai, etc.
Horned owl: him-him, etc.
Magpie: ote-ote.
Walk: tin-tiu, P.

Initial Reduplication.

Lips: yip-yap-ut-, yibebit-, yebit-.
Lower leg: pud-pud-ui, bul-bul-ui.
Long beads: tea-tea-yal, BV.
Thunder: mi-mi-at-.
Stand: wo-wu-l.
Turtle: koi-koy-ot.
Bird: we-wu-tsoi, V, wi-wi-tsi, P.
Horned owl: hi-hi-na, him-him.
Small owl: gu-go-teup.
Hummingbird: kum-kum-na, K, ho-ho-teui, Tachi.
Duck sp.: ox-ux-um, P, ox-ox, BV.

Final Reduplication.

Father: no-p-op, na-t-et.
Mother: na-j-oj.
Throat: so-lo-lo, K, N.
Fingers: xal-al-uit, xal-il-it, K; xapal, V, T, BV.
Foot: dad-at- (?).
Mountain: dul-ul, dul-au; gop-up-at, BV.
Plain: wal-al, V.
Rock: sil-il, N, V, P; odox-ix, BV.
Tule sp.: kol-ol-is, P, koy-us, koy-is, N.
White: djol-ol, teoy-oi.
Good: ine-ie.
Lie: ban-an-.

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*197 Dog: tese-se, FH.
Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
● 193 Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
192 Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: co-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poc-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ö-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: cap-ä-cip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-ä-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

*197 For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are re-
194 viewed in the following table.
193

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ö, ü	ö, ü	e, i	ö, ü	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ae	?	-ae	-ae	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wie	-wie	-wie	-wie
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gen	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	men	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	} xi	xi	xo	} ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		hi	hi
That	xuntu	ko	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a'ha'	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	obom	obom

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i: 197*

hiba	hèpa, hŏpa
hig'a	hèxa 194
gixa	gèxa, k'ŏxa
yit	yet
k'ami	k'amu

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	not, notu
mut-ka	mod-ak
humfiol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat·	lopit·
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
xotai	xotoi
gata-wei	got·

Grammatical Forms. 197*

Pronouns: 193

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. men.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xiu, xeu, xien; ko, xota, go-awe; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, his). 197*
han-ta, what? 193
wat-eutex, who? 192

Verbal forms:

hiem toyon-si, it is (already) night.
na-an ti ma, will you eat?
tana na na-an, I will eat.
hel ma tawaca, are you thirsty?
ama na tawaca, I am not thirsty.
heliu ma tanäwi, where are you going?
k'eneu-ji, xai-si.
lolh-in.
wod-oyits, hatam-its, dancer, singer.
ui-ui-wil-eits, road-runner.
ho', wiwel, tiutiu, sit, stand, walk!

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Paleuyami
Tulamni
Khometwoli

*197 Miscellaneous:
193 kumui-tein, all; waxe-tein, many.
192 notci-gen, my friend.
tok-men, your ear.
citeil-hal, deer.

BUENA VISTA GROUP: TULAMNI AND KHOMETWOLI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	mik
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 ex.	nak		
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 ex.			nimak
P 1 in.	mayi		
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Aman, they, is a Valley form. Yaudanchi lacks it.

Demonstratives:

xi, this, plural xi-san; xi-ta, here, xi-ten, there.

xuntu, that, plural xunte-e-an; xuntu, xonto, and xata were also given as equivalents of Yauelmani ke-in, this one's, his.

ta, that.

han-wil, what?

Forms of nouns:

saa, saa-al, eye, probably eyes, in other dialects saca.

suk'-al, "ear," probably ears; in other dialects tuk.

This -al is evidently the occasional Yauelmani plural-collective suffix of inanimate nouns -hal.

Cases: locative, hulas-iu, tsidjests-iu, teapan-au; possessive, got-eya-n.

Verbal forms:

lui', eat! (imperative).

luy-on, biy-en.

luy-on, tawate-ac.

haa-l, tana-al, tawate-al, xahayaw-al, oho'-l, gune-al.

ma'lac-ite, hiwet-ate.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aitícha

WUKCHAMNI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 X 193 ● 192

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-ñ; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: ti, teu.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-ãad, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wue, hoyo-woe; cañ-cañ-wid-eite, kuz-wud-eite.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; ma, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:

ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:

nihin-au, dul-au.

Numerals:

yete-am, eleven, poted-om, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:

tah-an, nah-an, zo-on.
tawat-a, dead.
yuwanwaca, marry.
hayu-ac, wazal-ac, tawat-ac.
laha-ite, moccasins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma		min
S 3			imin

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Aitichia
Choinimni
Gashowu

*197 Demonstratives:
● 193 ke, this, objective ki-n.
192 gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:
hoitcuc, tawat-a-c.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:
nini-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganiu, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:
[807] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:
wan-ic, elk-ac, xahi-ac, ikâ-ac, taut-a-c, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xoot-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Gashowu
Kechayi
DUMNA

Demonstratives: 197 *
ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?). 193 ●
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu. 192
ta, that.
han, what?

Numerals: [802]
yeteam, eleven; potedom, cophiom, hatepam, yit-team, teol-pom, nomteom, munteom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen.

Verbs:
tah-an.
wan-aac, wan-ei; ika-ac, eka-ei; hatam-ie, xahi-ac, hoito-ie, tauta-e, xoo-oe, k'anuw-ac, heut-ie, waxal-ie, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ôn-oe (luk'in).
daw'hali-xo.
haya-wie-ac, teaplu-wie.
kam-ini, teie-lni.
xo-mi, wowul-mu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mân		

Demonstratives:
hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
hân, what?

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Dumna
Toltichi

*197 Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ła; ut'u, tree, ut'ò-a, timber. 193 These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other 192 dialects that are grammatically known. Nònei, plural of nòno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cuteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak^d-ate, child; poyod-ste, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ete, small, apparently from got-i, large.

[802] Numerals:

yetcam, eleven, potedom, twelve; copiom, hato'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyue-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

114 A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the *197 San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, 193 a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical. [802] First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi

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n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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DUMNA

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If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

*197
193
192

The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

[802]

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nis	yet
2	bie	punsi
3	nayo	shopin
4	kmin	hatepansi
5	hie	yitecinil
6	otol	ts'olipl
7	makate	nomts'in
8	te'citomak	mon'ce
9	wâ'dite	nônip
10	wadi'te	ts'lon
person	wokete	yokots
man	wo'wâl	nônsi
woman	mok'bun	mok'ôla
child	k'ow-ite	ak'â-ats
ear	zuk'	tuk
eye	xana	sson
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xama	ssma
hand	p'ôdoz	b'onse
foot	ta'wan'	dad-ats
back	hataaw'	gadai, sotoz

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
Dumna
Chukchansi

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*	197 *
house	ciuu, xiuu	xiuie	193 ●
moon	k'limin	k'laim	
horse sp.	wuxuto	taxiti	192
sun	xapin (hot)	xapil, op	
fire	ocit, -ozit	ocit	
water	iwix	ilik	
creek	wak'ai	wakai	
earth	xowai	xotsoi	
world	ho'g'li	holki'	
dog	hiuu	tcexa	
grizzly bear	wox'o	sohoo	
coyote	x'niu	kaiu	
deer	xow	xoi	
elk	xoxgoi	soxgoi	
eagle	wo'ucul	wi'uual	
bluejay	x'ots	hots	
rattlesnake	wat-it-	nat-it-	
small fish	wopit-	lopits	
salmon	giiwaxit	giiyaxit	
eat	xat-ga	xat-ga	
drink	ugun-ga	ugun-ga	
sleep	wuxi-ka	woi-ka	
talk	wat-ka	yet-ka	
run	waxim-ka	lihim-ga	
stand	xwoxwal-ka	wowul-ga	
sit	howoz-ka	holoc-ga	
greeting	xawaxan	hawaan	
where?	xiw'ou	hilou	
where are you going?	xiw'ou ma tan'i(n)	hilou ma tâne	
his	an'in	amin	

CHUKCHANSI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nim	nan-au
S 2	ma	min	
S 3		amin	amam-au
P 1 in.	mai		
P 3		amungun	

The locatives nan-au, by me, and amam-au, at him, were translated "here" and "there." It is not probable that the hypothetical objective of the third person singular, amam, to which amam-au points, has any actual existence. Yauelmani

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Chukchansi
Chauchila

*197 amam-in-wa, them, has the same hypothetical base, and this base
● 193 does not occur in Yauelmani.
192

Demonstratives:

hi, locative he-u.

[ki, not obtained], locative ki-n-eu.

Nouns:

op-in, sun's.

nasi-n, rattlesnake's.

hoyim-h-an, of the Hoyima.

teaucil-h-an, of the Chauchila.

The locative in -u, -au, -in is frequent.

Verbs:

-ka, imperative: winis-ka, hulos-ka, xat-ka, woi-ka, gun-ka, taic-ka, adj-idj-ka; heu-ne-k, pana-k.

-xon, continuative: yuncun-xon, quakes, honhon-xon, breathes, paix-im-xon, menstruates (honhon, heart, payax, blood).

-an, past: tac-an, panai-an.

-it, passive: tuy-han-it, be shot.

-wic, reflexive: dani-wis-an, dui-was, puxpux-was.

-in, intransitive: heu-n-en, thus, heu-ne-k, do thus!

CHAUCHILA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 in.			magin
P 1 in.	mai		main

Demonstratives:

he, this, poss. he-n-in, loc. he-u.

ka, that, loc. k-en.

wat, who, some one.

hileu, where?

Nouns:

nopop-in father's.

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Chauchila
Hoyima
Wakichi

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193●
192

Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -ł-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels af the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ae-ae-an, way-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: daue-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-e-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, hoyo-wuc, lon-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo naxon dut, Chauchila hileu nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

haulen dut, Chauchila hileu nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

haul ma dut, Chukchansi haual ma du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi heu-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

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Wakichi
Dumna
Wechikhit
Nutunutu

+ 197 wi-hin, say.
● 193 wiy-ähin, said; Dumna, wiy-än.
ut-upa ma wi-hin, Dumna ma ti-ma wi-hi, did you say it?
192 hau hin duta, Dumna hawä an dita, what is the matter?

Wakichi, Pitkat-i, and Hoyima were said to use buuc, not teèxa, for dog. This would include them with Chauchila, Chulamni, and probably Heuchi in the valley half of the Northern group, as contrasting with Chuckehanai, Dalinchi, Keehayi, and Dumna of the foot-hill half of the same group.

Pronouns:

WECHIKHIT.

S 1	na	nim
S 2	ma	min
S 3		amin
D 1 ex.		numògin
D 1 in.	mak	
P 1 in.	mai	
P 2	mān	

Demonstratives:

hehi, this, hetam, here; ga, that, gau, there; wat-oku, han-uku, hiye-uku or hiye-uk, who? what? where?

Nouns:

p'an-in, world's.

Verbs:

holuc-k, sit! wan-ka, give!
taut-a-xo, kill; teow^{a}-xo, work.
tān, go.
-in suffix: xat-en, lihim-en, hatm-en, wipil-en, texal-en, sil-en, ugn-on, woy-on, wow'l-on.
-wie reflexive: tanyu-wia, hoyo-woc, dat-la-wae.

NUTUNUTU.

Pronouns: na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.

Demonstratives: hehe-n, apparently possessive; hēham, here; gau, there.

Verbs: xat-k, ugun-k, cil-k; wooi-an, huita-in, taow-on.

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Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim	197 *
S 2	ma	nam	min	193 ●
S 3			amin	192
D 1 in.	mak		makin	
P 1 in.	mai			

Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, pom. ki-in, loc. ki-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

		[802]
11 yète-am	16 teolp-om	
12 batad-om	17 nouto-om	
13 copi-om	18 mune-am	
14 hotep-om	19 coponhot-min	
15 yito-am		

Nouns:

tatei, pl. tatètèayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxòxayi.
teumut, pl. teunòtati.
(wimiltei), pl. wimèlatei.
(weteixit), pl. witèxatei.
(wowol), pl. wowòwoli.
(nutunutu), pl. nutanî-lo-a.
witep, child, pl. witip-ate, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -e-xo.
Preterite: -ahin.
Future-present: -ia.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Nutunutu
Chunut

*197 Agent: -ite.
193 (Future passive): -nite, -nit.
192 Reflexive: -wie.
Causative: -ia.
Future particle: min.
Negative particle: chom, ôm.

Tachi phrases:

hô-in pûse	his dog.
pune-an dadat	dog's foot.
min mai ey-in âwo	shall we move across, we shall move to the other side.
hiiata ôm na min hot'-ô-xo hoyowoe	(?) not I your know name.
hiek ma xo hôtei	where you live now?
hô-u hk xo tozil	there (this-at) I live west.
ôm na mam eil-ahin hiâmi	not I you saw long.
hiek ma ta	where you go?
hô-u na tan nim tee-u	there I go my house-at.
hik min tei	where your house?
hô-u ga xô-n nihet-in nim tee-u	there I live older-brother's my house-at.
ôm nim t-a witip-hai nâee	not my (?) children younger-brother's.
e-eybi-in pil	antelope's road, milky way.
yokote	person.
yoktee-lis	somebody.
nhtee-in, mokela-n	man's, woman's.
xorima-n	of the northerners.
tbe-ite	a kind of medicine man (maker).
nohot-ite	ceremonial clown.
ybi-an	all (one-at).
dat-in-wne	rattlesnake ceremony (making-step, = dai-da-âite).
munai	jimson-weed (tanai).
munuy-uwne	jimson-weed-drinking-ceremony (tany-uwis).

CHUNUT.

Pronouns: na, I, ma, thou, mak, we two.

Demonstratives: hetam, here, apparently from stem hi; ki, this, ke-u, there; ga, that; wat-uk, who; han-uk, what, hiye-uk, where.

Nouns: toino-in op, night's luminary, moon.

Verbs: The imperative ending was usually heard as -ga. The continuative -xo appears in oho-xo na I like; -an in tah-an; -wie in hoyo-woe; -ite in tsalai-wiy-âita.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LASI.

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193 ●
192

Pronouns found are na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, his.
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyòku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
zat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-èite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

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197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

[126
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[115]

[115]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yandanchi

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dok'on teixac-ma
belly-full (lie) you

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

ma ti-nan haudihi
you (what) me can-do?

yapkanhin t·ööd
many-trees rattlesnake

te'ineu teixac
shade (lie)

a-ma han hawad'i
not you anything can-do

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

te'odwonhin t·ööd
plains rattlesnake

te'ododin ma enea
white you eye

opodnid min
sun-shines-on your

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. 193
Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative 539
from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yandanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

000 But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; '(as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; p̣, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and [182] [193] simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is 193 practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

193 "lead, take the lead," change their vowels in the stems 'ipa·-'an, "he is swimming" and diya·-'an, "he is leading." But the suffix must also change its vowel when it is appended to a stem of the "o" class: parallel to the forms quoted above, the root yo'wo, "go home," undergoes vowel changes and also affects the vowel of the suffix in yowo·-'on, "he is going home."

But all of this shifting and balancing of vowels is completely devoid of any referential function. The vowel changes have a purely formal relevance and carry with them no increments of meaning. They are not like our vowel changes in "sing, sang, sung" or in "man, men," which have a clearly assignable function. They resemble the nonfunctional vowel changes in the stressed syllables of "grateful, gratitude" or "volcano, volcanic." Whereas changes of this type affect only a minute portion of the English vocabulary, in Yokuts they are deeply embedded in the language system and accompany every process applied to the word.

In its organization of morphological elements, Yokuts shows the same disregard for external function. The tightly organized and interrelated classifications of word types and subtypes, of stems, and of suffixes are not based upon any rationale of their conceptual content. These elements are classified according to their phonetic form and the way they behave as morphological units, not according to their meaning.

193 Every language possesses a certain amount of
195 formal machinery that does not generate meaning. Of this type are the occasional vowel changes of English, mentioned above, and some scattered consonant changes ("invade, invasion; equate, equation"). But there is a scrupulous and unremitting attention given to form for its own sake in Yokuts. Throughout its grammatical system Yokuts reveals a degree of neatness and consistency in organization, a formal balance and symmetry, that is rare among languages. Although this formal emphasis contributes feebly to the creation of meanings, it is by no means insignificant as a stylistic factor. Formal movements that take place below the level of tangible meanings carry their own esthetic satisfactions. But they are the most subtle and indigenous aspects of a language; they can never be captured in a translation.

193 The suffixing system, which bears the heaviest burden of functional work in Yokuts, does not provide the means for an elaborate development of concepts within the word. There are no more than a hundred suffixes in Yokuts. Although English possesses about the same number, it does not rely primarily upon suffixation; such techniques as word order, compounding, prefixation carry as much, if not more, of the functional load. Yet, in spite of the fact that Yokuts depends almost exclusively upon suffixes, it is remarkably restrained in exploiting the

[p.5-B]

193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 An instructive exercise that I indulged in dur-
193 ing my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are ab-
196 stract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

[p. 6-A]

193 tain notions that are generalized. Although
196 English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application, and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs
196 which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ḵubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wiṗwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

[P.6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hilwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

[p. 7-A]

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

193 any degree of notional intricacy and richness.
195 A passage of Macaulay's prose, with its long and involved periods, could be translated into grammatically correct Yokuts. But the result would be a grammarian's idle fancy, a distortion of the syntactic idiom of Yokuts. The language is as diffident in applying its means of elaboration in syntax as in suffixation.

Adjectival notions, for example, can be expressed by means of a simple syntactic device. A noun functions as an adjectival term augmenting or delimiting the meaning of any other noun by being linked in parallel series with it, and theoretically any number of such adjectival nouns can be juxtaposed to the noun they modify. The English predication, "he entered the small gray house," could be paraphrased in Yokuts: go·binhin ţew gudew þahlikniw, "he entered the house, the small one, the gray one." But one will search far in a body of Yokuts myths to find any such double use of adjectival terms modifying a noun. With the exception of demonstratives ("this one, that one") and quantifiers ("one, two, all, many"), even a single modifying term is rarely juxtaposed to a noun. Yokuts prefers to make separate sentences of its qualifications. More in line with the stylistic habits of Yokuts would be go·binhin ţew / 'ama' ţa gudi' / 'ama' ţa yow þahlikin, "he entered the house. / And that one was a small one. / And that one was also a gray one."

In the same spirit Yokuts avoids expressing subordinate and superordinate relations between its predications. It possesses particles indicating temporal and modal subordination, such as "when" and "if," and suffixes forming subordinate verbs, but these are syntactic tools that Yokuts employs only on rare occasions. Its favorite device for relating predications to one another is the particle 'ama', that can best be translated as "and" or "and then," an element that achieves only the loosest and most ambiguous type of co-ordination. The great majority of sentences in a Yokuts text begin with this feeble co-ordinator. Occasionally a tighter cohesion is attained by the use of another particle meaning "also, again." But the language seldom goes beyond this in its efforts to connect and relate its predications.

195 These items of syntactic behavior reflect the general tendency in Yokuts to demand a severe simplicity of content from its units of expression. In contrast to English, Yokuts does not pack its individual words with a wealth of meaning, nor does it compensate for the conceptual thinness of its words by an elaborate display of syntactic processes. Notions are sparsely distributed over a sequence of predications, and the predications themselves are broken up into independent, loosely joined sentences.

To the English imagination, rooted in its own habits of expression, the total effect of Yokuts style is anything but stimulating. The mode of expression undoubtedly appears drab, colorless,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before
197 turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills
131 come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick.
[103] (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sibetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

● [194] The Tuhohi, Tobohai, or Tubohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE AND NAMES

YOKUTS LANGUAGE

The most fascinating feature of any primitive people is almost certain to be their language. Primitive language has many characteristics which appear peculiar to persons who speak written languages. Most noticeable of all features of primitive language are the many sounds which do not occur in modern tongues and which are difficult for us to produce. 191

Primitive sounds consist of clicks made by the teeth, grunts, clucking and snapping with the tongue, and blowing through the throat. In the Yokuts dialects a coughed H is met with. These sounds are also sometimes accompanied by grimaces. In addition there are practically all of the sounds included in a civilized language. We are told that the dialects of some of the tribes of South Africa contain almost all of these primitive sounds. One word may involve, in addition to gutturals, a click of the teeth and a snap of the tongue. 194

Primitive people are generally able to reproduce practically all of the sounds of a civilized language, but it is surely amusing to hear a person who speaks a modern language attempt some of the more involved primitive sounds. It brings quite forcibly to one's mind the fact that the tendency of civilization has been to simplify the sounds involved in languages.

Consider for example the *K'hoo'-sheem* (north) of the Yokuts. The first syllable was pronounced with the mouth and throat open and was accompanied with cough and a blowing sound deep in the throat. When a white person opens his mouth and throat, the sound stops. The writer practiced for many months before he could say K'hoo'-sheem correctly and loud enough to be heard ten feet away. An Indian could yell it so as to be heard distinctly two hundred yards away.

The word *T'hoo'-k'wheel* (west) is even worse. It is accompanied by two coughs, with the throat open. When attempted by a white person, it generally results in two almost noiseless efforts.

The word for distance is most interesting. In many Indian tongues it has the same characteristics. If you ask a

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

194 *Wukchumne* Yokuts where he has been he is likely to answer, "*Wah trip-in Kaweah,*" meaning up the river a short way. If he has been gone a day or so and absent over night, he will say in a higher key, "*Wa-a-a-a-h trip-in.*" Should he have been gone a week or more he will turn his head in the direction of his travels, twist his mouth to one side, and, in a still higher key, say "*Wa-a-a-a-a-a-h hah' trip-in.*"

This method of expressing distance was most effectively expressed by William Lewis Manly in his book, *Death Valley in '49*. Upon the meeting of the Manly party with Chief Walker, after they had started down Green River, Walker tried to induce them to abandon the attempt. Making a small ditch, he likened it to the river at the point where the conversation was taking place. Then showing how, as they passed down the canyon the walls grew higher and higher, he raised his hands to some distance to represent the height of the canyon walls farther downstreem. This motion was accompanied by the exclamation, "*E-e-e-e-e*", meaning high.

Then Walker went farther down the ditch and raised his hands above his head, again saying, "*E-e-e-e-e-e*" (higher). Again he repeated the performance, standing on top of rocks and raising his hands as high as possible, saying "*E-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e-e.*" In this way he was able without a single word of English, to clearly and unmistakably illustrate to the travelers the tremendous height of the canyon walls. This account is typical of others related to the writer by persons long familiar with Indians.

The Yokuts to a certain extent, like many other primitive people, spoke a bow-wow language. By this is meant that many of their words were imitative of the sounds or objects they were to represent. This is obviously true of some of our own words. If it were possible for us to investigate many others at their source, it is probable that we would find much of our language of that nature. Lisp, whisper, whistle, blow, stumble, stammer and swoop are typical bow-bow words. The word swoop has the sound of a bird diving after prey.

Let us pause for a moment in connection with this last word, and consider the widely used Yokuts word for the once common red-tailed hawk. It is "swoop" and is drawn out even more expressively than our word, swoop. The Yokuts undoubtedly developed this word through the same process that we developed our word.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill.* 194
It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, re- 192
sembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel.

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we.* It 193
is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. 192
We'-che means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry.

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with 171
language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood.

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon 197
and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila.* However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit,* Wukchumne, *Kaweah, Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne, Chunut, Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip.* The Wukchumne call this *chadip.* They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik,* name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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PHONETIC RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 The phonetic changes and equivalences of the Yokuts dialectic groups are few and simple. There are only three affecting
● 194 entire groups with any frequency. These are, first a change of usual l to d, confined to the Tule-Kaweah group, within which it is universal; second the occurrence of ö and ü in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups; and third the occurrence of ñ in the Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, and Poso Creek groups. It will be seen that all these phonetic specializations are confined to the Foot-hill division and that the northernmost group within this division, the Kings River, is free from them and agrees phonetically with the groups of the Valley division. While the first of these three mutations, the change of l to d, holds universally in the dialects in which it occurs, the substitution of the other sounds, ñ for n and ö and ü for e and i, is only partial in the dialectic groups in which they appear. But obversely ñ, ö, and ü are universally replaced by n, e, and i in those groups in which they do not appear.

The change of l to d in the Tule-Kaweah group requires no particular discussion. The fact that it is confined to only one of the six groups in the family, and that one a small group, shows this d to have been almost certainly a comparatively late development from a more original l. It is possible that this change of l
[177] to d is due to Shoshonean influence, for the Mono division of the Shoshonean family entirely lacks l. The case for this supposition is however not very strong, for the Kings River and Northern Yokuts groups are also in contact with the Mono and have retained l, whereas within the Tule-Kaweah group, which has made the change to d, only the tribes on Kaweah river, such as the Wükchamni, are in contact with Shoshoneans of the Mono division, the Tule river tribes, such as the Yaudanchi, having been in closer touch with the Shoshoneans of the distinct Kern River group, whose dialect contains l.

Of course d, corresponding to t as g does to k, appears in all Yokuts dialects irrespective of whether or not they possess l.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

As regards the second principal phonetic peculiarity, the appearance of ö and ü and the so-called impure vowels in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups, it is almost certain that Shoshonean influence must be reckoned with. This ö and ü, and perhaps other impure o and u sounds, are characteristic of the Shoshonean family, being found in all its dialectic branches except the southernmost of those in southern California. The Shoshonean family occupies almost the entire territory extending along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, and thence south and westward through southern California to the ocean. The four purely Californian families with which the Shoshoneans come in territorial contact along this stretch, the Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Chumash, all show these impure ö and ü sounds. Moreover these four families are, so far as known at present, the only ones in California that possess these sounds. The case could not well be stronger for the territorial continuity of characteristics due to interinfluence. It is rendered still stronger by the circumstance that one division of the Miwok or Moquelumnan family, which is separated from the remainder of the stock, and out of reach of direct Shoshonean influence, in the northern Coast Range of the state, appears to lack these ö and ü sounds in question. Yokuts would appear to have been influenced less than the three other stocks, since the great majority of its dialects, including many of those in the foot-hills in direct contact with Shoshoneans, lack the ö and ü. The two dialectic groups possessing ö and ü probably had closer relations with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any other groups excepting that on Poso creek. The Tule-Kaweah group was in contact with both the Mono and Kern River divisions, and the Buena Vista group in close proximity to the Kern River, Kawaiisu, and Serrano divisions, besides being in direct contact with the northeasternmost Chumash. Why the Paleuyami of Poso creek, who were probably more intimately associated with Shoshoneans than any other Yokuts group, should lack these sounds is difficult to understand. The Paleuyami dialect, however, often pronounces its vowels, especially i, e, o, and u, with a quality somewhat different from that which they have in other dialects; i and u especially are open to the point of sounding impure. In the dialects lacking ö and ü, e and i always

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*197 replace them. The other impure vowels, which, as has been stated of Yaudanchi, are frequently only induced by ö and ü, ● 194 are replaced by the ordinary simple vowels in other dialects. 177 Whether ö and ü are original in the words in which they occur, or only subsequent modifications of o and i, is not certain; but the great preponderance of dialects lacking ö and ü, and the proximity of the dialects possessing these sounds to Shoshonean territory, makes the latter explanation more probable; so that in this respect also the Valley and Kings River dialects seem to represent a more original state of the language than the southern Foot-hill groups.

The sound ñ, occurring in the three southern Foot-hill groups and replaced in all others by n, is the most difficult to understand. The evidence for influence of other families is not very strong. Mono and the other Shoshonean divisions in contact with the Yokuts, excepting the Kern River group and some of the southeastern Mono, all lack ñ, as does Chumash. This fact would accord with internal circumstances which tend to show that this sound is an original one in Yokuts. If this is the case, the ñ occurring in the Kern River division of Shoshonean is probably due to Yokuts influence.

*197 Whereas ñ is invariably replaced by n in the Valley and Kings River dialects, n of these dialects is replaced by ñ in only 194 a certain number of words in the three southern Foot-hill groups. Of a hundred Valley or Kings River words containing n medially, about forty southern Foot-hill words have ñ; of one hundred containing n finally, about twenty-five in the Foot-hill group replace it by ñ; of one hundred beginning with n, not more than five or ten show initial ñ in the southern Foot-hill groups. While there is thus a marked tendency for ñ to appear finally and especially medially, it is clear that its appearance is not entirely or directly due to its position in words. An examination of its relations to the vowels of the words in which it appears also brings out no definite conclusions. There is thus no apparent internal cause for the appearance of ñ. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that a stem containing ñ and appearing in several of the Foot-hill dialects invariably shows ñ and not n in all the dialects of these groups in which it occurs, makes it probable that this

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sound goes back to the period when these three groups, and perhaps all the groups of Yokuts, were not yet fully differentiated. As the three southern Foot-hill groups are now so much specialized, they cannot have been separated very recently. It is therefore clear, first that ñ is almost certainly a sound of some antiquity in the dialects in which it occurs, and second that it may have been an original general Yokuts characteristic which has been lost in those three of the Yokuts groups that now contain the greater number of dialects. 197* 194 ●

Other than these three dialectic equivalences there are none in Yokuts that are general enough to be of much comparative significance in our present knowledge of the language. In a few words l and y correspond interdialectally. Usually the Valley group shows y.

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
where	hell-	hel	hide-	hile-	hile-	hiye-
tooth	tile	teli	tedi	teli	teli	teyi
white			teodod	teoyoyi	(djolol)	djolol
tule	kololis				koyis	
buzzard					Chunut:	got·ola
					Yauelmani:	kot·eya
bow			dayap	dalip		t·alap

[192]

There is some irregular accordance between t, t·, and tc. Some of the principal instances are shown in the following table. It will be seen that the Valley dialects show most tendency to palatalize t sounds formed at the teeth in other dialects. While t and t· sound much alike to the untrained Indo-European ear, they are quite distinct to the Yokuts, and it seems strange that these equivalences between them should exist. It is however significant that these equivalences of t, t·, and tc are on the one hand infrequent and on the other hand not always in the same direction, although in the case of any one word all the dialects of one group are usually a unit in regard to the sound they show.

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
one	yit	yit	yet	yete	yet	yet, yete
belly	t·ot	teote	t·ot·			tot·
bow			dayap	dalip[1]		t·alap
earth				xotol	xotsoi	xot·oi
sweat			dumkun	t·umun	teumak	t·opox
rabbit	tlu		tlu	teu	teu	teiu

[192]

[1] Some dialects: d·alip.

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*197 Several instances of equivalences of t, t·, and tc between Yaudanchi and Yauelmani have been given in the discussion of the
● 194 phonetics of the latter dialect.

There are some correspondences between s and t·. In most words there are only one or two dialects which sporadically show one of these sounds in place of the other.

[192] Mouth: cama; Gashowu, t·ama.

Eye: caca; Gashowu, Choinok, t·at·a.

Nose: t·inik; Chukchansi, sinik.

Beard: Southern Foot-hill, d·amoc, djamoc; Kings River group and Valley division, damut·.

Testicles: Tule-Kaweah, hoñoc; Valley, honot·, honoc.

Badger: t·aniu, t·anau; Choinimni, sanau.

Fish: lopit·; Chukchansi, lopis.

In a few cases x and k correspond. The usual form for finger-nail, xecix, becomes kecik in the Tule-Kaweah group. Horn, usually koyee, is xoyee in Gashowu and Dumna. In the Valley division the demonstrative stems indicating proximity are hi and ki, in the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division ke, and in the three southern Foot-hill groups xi, or xe and xi.

As has been said in the discussion of Yaudanchi, it is not quite clear whether s and c are two distinct sounds in Yokuts or only one. If distinct, the two are certainly much alike. There is some individual variation. Women especially are apt to pronounce s and ts much more sharply and clearly than men, from whom c and tc are more frequently heard. There is probably also some slight dialectic difference in this respect, as in certain Valley dialects, such as Yauelmani, s and ts are almost always heard.

While, as has been shown, radical differences between dialects are much more conspicuous in Yokuts than phonetic ones; and while regular phonetic mutations between dialects are but slightly developed; there yet are, as might be expected, many stems that, in an apparently irregular fashion, assume more or less different forms in the six groups and even in individual dialects. Only, these differences are neither very striking nor of such nature or degree as to have any appreciable significance in the present state of the study of the language. The kind and

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate. 197* 194

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiteu, bèmanduts, bèmamteui, bèmax, gāmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable. 197* 194 192

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, gololki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit·iu; Poso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Poso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, oluk'; Gashowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teoga, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hoga; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Poso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gālāyi; Kings kilet·, kelit·; Choinok, helawat; Northern, hedjil; Gashowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns, 197* 193

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*197 Dog: tese-se, FH.
193 Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
192 Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: co-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poc-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ô-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: cap-ä-cip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-ä-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

*197 For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are re-
● 194 viewed in the following table.
193

	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ä	ä	ä	ä	n	n	n
ä, ü	ä, ü	e, i	ä, ü	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ac	?	-ac	-ac	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-zo	-zo	-zo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wic	-wic	-wic	-wic
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gen	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	men	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	} xi	xi	xo	} ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ko	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a'ha'	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	chom	chom

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Paleuyami

THE VARIOUS DIALECTS.

PALEUYAMI.

Phonetically, Paleuyami is much specialized. Its vowels particularly have been affected, and with an apparent perversity that has an aspect of unconscious deliberateness. Words containing two similar vowels in other dialects, often have one altered in Paleuyami so as to contrast with the other: ilik becomes elik. On the other hand in a smaller number of words diverse vowels are assimilated in Paleuyami, usually to i: te'olipi becomes te'ilipi. Metathesis of vowels is frequent: xeeix becomes xisex. Finally there are simple changes of single vowels. The most frequent of these changes is to e, most often from a or i. The contrary changes, to a and i, are few; o, or i following o, sometimes becomes a, and e followed by a becomes i. Between o and u, change to the former is more frequent, just as e is favored over i. U followed by i becomes o followed by o. 197* 194

Similar vowels differentiated in Paleuyami:

yet-sili	yit-sinil
t-eñik	t-inik, t-äñük
piete	piie, pöote
elik	ilik
xelul	silil
tibet-	tihit-
t-epid	t-ipdi, teipit
piel	pi'l
teieue	teeeee
t-iel	t-eel, t-öod
hoñheñ	hoñhoñ, honhon

Different vowels assimilated in Paleuyami:

te'illipi	te'ollpi
minits	menit-
wihieit	wehecit, wöhöeit
wiwitsi	wewutsoi
opt-o	apt-u

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Paleuyami

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Metathesis of vowels in Paleuyami:

menue	munae
t·eiu	t·ieu
weteip	witeep
teimicel	teimecil
tilei	teli
xiwex	xeeix
eeli	leel, ëead
k'eli	k'ilei, k'ëdai
isen	esin, ösän
heliu	hileu
etis	hit'ee, hät'ae, hit'ie
wexi	wäxe, wixe
dibek	tepik·, töpük

Paleuyami changes to e:

sextel	sitxil
keiu	kaiu
wiwel	wowul
wa'en	wa'n, wan
k'eneu	k'aniu, k'änu
det·i	dot·i
wetek	watak
eñt·eu	ant·u, añt·u
ceea	caea
eema	eama
gepeil	gapeai
keyu	kuyu, kuyo
meñal	manal
xowet·	xowot·
djameo	d·amoe
hetpeñi	hatpañi, hotoponi

Paleuyami changes to o:

tok	tuk
got	gut, gut'ue
xo	ka
taoyotis	teayatae, teoitoe
xoeom	xueim, xueum
opoe	upie, upue
oeot	ueit, ueut, oeit

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i:

hiba	hèpa, hŏpa	197*
hig'a	hèxa	194
gixa	gèxa, k'ŏxa	
yit	yet	
k'ami	k'amu	

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	not, notu
mut-ka	mod-ak
humñol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat·	lopit·
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
xotai	xotoi
gata-wel	got·

Grammatical Forms. 197*

Pronouns: 193

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. men.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xiu, xeu, xien; ko, xota, go-awe; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, his). 197*
han-ta, what? 193
wat-entex, who? 192

Verbal forms:

hiem toyon-si, it is (already) night.
na-an ti ma, will you eat?
taa na na-an, I will eat.
hel ma tawaea, are you thirsty?
ama na tawaea, I am not thirsty.
heliu ma tanăwi, where are you going?
k'eneu-ji, xai-si.
lolh-in.
wod-oyita, hatam-ita, dancer, singer.
ui-ui-wil-eita, road-runner.
ho', wiwel, tiutiu, sit, stand, walk!

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Toltichi

n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

000 But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, [illegible] inevitably we get the feeling that there [illegible] limit to the potential variations of s[illegible] our language. And we are encouraged in th[illegible]on by literary artists, whose task it is t[illegible] vince us that they are working with a p[illegible]ctly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

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104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; '(as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; ṗ, ṭ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chis*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling [195] relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the [624] winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials 756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been 572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 and keen, little, basilisk eyes, stepped forth into the quadrangle and began to walk slowly to and fro around its three sides, making the opening proclamation. He spoke in extremely short, jerky sentences, with much repetition, substantially as follows:

[539] "Make ready for the mourning. Let all make ready. Everybody make ready. Prepare your offerings. Your offerings to the dead. Have them all ready. Show them to the mourners. Let them see your sympathy. The mourning comes on. It hastens. Everybody make ready."

He continued in this manner for about twenty minutes, then ceased and entered his booth; after which silence, funereal and profound, again brooded over the encampment. By this proclamation he had formally opened the proceedings, and he took no further part in them, except in a short speech of condolence. By this time the Indians had collected in considerable numbers on the embankment, and they kept slowly coming forward until the circle was nearly completed, and the fire was only visible shooting up above their heads. A low hum of conversation began to buzz around it, as of slowly awakening activity. The slow piston-rod of aboriginal dignity was beginning to ply; the clatter and whizzing of the machinery were swelling gradually up. No women had yet come out, for they took no part in the earlier proceedings. It was now quite ten o'clock, and we were getting impatient.

Presently the herald, a short, stout Indian, with a most voluble tongue, came out into the quadrangle with a very long staff in his hand, and paced slowly up and down the lines of booths, proclaiming:

769 "Prepare for the dance. Let all make ready. We are all friends.
539 We are all one people. We were a great tribe once. We are little now. All our hearts are as one. We have one heart. Make ready your offerings. The women have the most money. The women have the most offerings. They give the most. Get ready the tobacco. Let us chew the tobacco."

This man spoke with an extraordinary amount of repetition. For
● [195] instance, he would say: "The women—the women—the women—have the most—have the most—the most money—have the most money—the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769

women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most." [539] [195]

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

769 276

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

769 [539]

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

[301]

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LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[182] [193] 193

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193 "lead, take the lead," change their vowels in the stems 'ipa·-'an, "he is swimming" and diya·-'an, "he is leading." But the suffix must also change its vowel when it is appended to a stem of the "o" class: parallel to the forms quoted above, the root yo·wo, "go home," undergoes vowel changes and also affects the vowel of the suffix in yowo·-'on, "he is going home."

But all of this shifting and balancing of vowels is completely devoid of any referential function. The vowel changes have a purely formal relevance and carry with them no increments of meaning. They are not like our vowel changes in "sing, sang, sung" or in "man, men," which have a clearly assignable function. They resemble the nonfunctional vowel changes in the stressed syllables of "grateful, gratitude" or "volcano, volcanic." Whereas changes of this type affect only a minute portion of the English vocabulary, in Yokuts they are deeply embedded in the language system and accompany every process applied to the word.

In its organization of morphological elements, Yokuts shows the same disregard for external function. The tightly organized and interrelated classifications of word types and subtypes, of stems, and of suffixes are not based upon any rationale of their conceptual content. These elements are classified according to their phonetic form and the way they behave as morphological units, not according to their meaning.

193 Every language possesses a certain amount of
195 formal machinery that does not generate meaning. Of this type are the occasional vowel changes of English, mentioned above, and some scattered consonant changes ("invade, invasion; equate, equation"). But there is a scrupulous and unremitting attention given to form for its own sake in Yokuts. Throughout its grammatical system Yokuts reveals a degree of neatness and consistency in organization, a formal balance and symmetry, that is rare among languages. Although this formal emphasis contributes feebly to the creation of meanings, it is by no means insignificant as a stylistic factor. Formal movements that take place below the level of tangible meanings carry their own esthetic satisfactions. But they are the most subtle and indigenous aspects of a language; they can never be captured in a translation.

193 The suffixing system, which bears the heaviest burden of functional work in Yokuts, does not provide the means for an elaborate development of concepts within the word. There are no more than a hundred suffixes in Yokuts. Although English possesses about the same number, it does not rely primarily upon suffixation; such techniques as word order, compounding, prefixation carry as much, if not more, of the functional load. Yet, in spite of the fact that Yokuts depends almost exclusively upon suffixes, it is remarkably restrained in exploiting the

[p. 6-A]

193 tain notions that are generalized. Although
196 English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application, and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs
196 which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ḵubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wipwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

[p.6-B]

192 xapeptwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hilwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[185] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of faceticusness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
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[p.7-A]

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
538 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

193 any degree of notional intricacy and richness.
195 A passage of Macaulay's prose, with its long and involved periods, could be translated into grammatically correct Yokuts. But the result would be a grammarian's idle fancy, a distortion of the syntactic idiom of Yokuts. The language is as diffident in applying its means of elaboration in syntax as in suffixation.

Adjectival notions, for example, can be expressed by means of a simple syntactic device. A noun functions as an adjectival term augmenting or delimiting the meaning of any other noun by being linked in parallel series with it, and theoretically any number of such adjectival nouns can be juxtaposed to the noun they modify. The English predication, "he entered the small gray house," could be paraphrased in Yokuts: go·binhin ţew gudew þahlikniw, "he entered the house, the small one, the gray one." But one will search far in a body of Yokuts myths to find any such double use of adjectival terms modifying a noun. With the exception of demonstratives ("this one, that one") and quantifiers ("one, two, all, many"), even a single modifying term is rarely juxtaposed to a noun. Yokuts prefers to make separate sentences of its qualifications. More in line with the stylistic habits of Yokuts would be go·binhin ţew / 'ama' ţa gudi' / 'ama' ţa yow þahlikin, "he entered the house.. / And that one was a small one. / And that one was also a gray one."

In the same spirit Yokuts avoids expressing subordinate and superordinate relations between its predications. It possesses particles indicating temporal and modal subordination, such as "when" and "if," and suffixes forming subordinate verbs, but these are syntactic tools that Yokuts employs only on rare occasions. Its favorite device for relating predications to one another is the particle 'ama', that can best be translated as "and" or "and then," an element that achieves only the loosest and most ambiguous type of co-ordination. The great majority of sentences in a Yokuts text begin with this feeble co-ordinator. Occasionally a tighter cohesion is attained by the use of another particle meaning "also, again." But the language seldom goes beyond this in its efforts to connect and relate its predications.

195 These items of syntactic behavior reflect the general tendency in Yokuts to demand a severe simplicity of content from its units of expression. In contrast to English, Yokuts does not pack its individual words with a wealth of meaning, nor does it compensate for the conceptual thinness of its words by an elaborate display of syntactic processes. Notions are sparsely distributed over a sequence of predications, and the predications themselves are broken up into independent, loosely joined sentences.

To the English imagination, rooted in its own habits of expression, the total effect of Yokuts style is anything but stimulating. The mode of expression undoubtedly appears drab, colorless,

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195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 It is not that phase of style which concerns
121 itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no
[182 less restrained than the grammatical style of
195 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought pro-
153] cesses, habituated to precise grammatical forms,
[114] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

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195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6] Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

193 possibilities of suffix combination. Every word in Yokuts, except the uninflected particle, must have at least one suffix, and the great majority of words occurring in the several volumes of text dictated by my informants do not go beyond this minimum requirement. Words containing two suffixes are fairly common; but words with three suffixes are relatively rare, and those with more than three are practically nonexistent in the texts. This is not a matter of mere statistics; it is a manifestation of selective forces in Yokuts that limit the free application of its grammatical resources. There is no analogous tendency in English to set upper and lower limits to the use of suffixation and to demand that a uniform degree of suffix elaboration be applied to words. As a matter of fact, English does not seek economy or uniformity in the use of any of its grammatical materials. In spite of the fact that we generally look outside the word unit to syntax for the creation of notional complexes, we feel no more strain in a lavishly suffixed word, such as "nationalistically" with its six suffixes, than in a suffixless word, such as "state."

124 193 An instructive exercise that I indulged in during my Yokuts field work was to construct words having four or five suffixes and to ask the informant for a translation. Although such words complied with the grammatical rules and could be translated by my informant without any difficulty, they seldom failed to provoke his amusement. It was obvious that these words were impossibly heavy and elaborate. To the Yokuts feeling for simplicity they were grammatical monstrosities.

193 196 The concepts expressed by the suffixes are abstract in nature. Yokuts does not possess the types of formative element, so familiar in many American Indian languages, that convey notions of concrete instrumentality, such as "with the hand" and "with a stick," or notions of specific location, such as "on the shore" and "in the house." The suffixes of Yokuts have more the character of algebraic symbols; their content is schematic rather than material. Among the verb suffixes, for example, are those defining an event as durative, continuative, repetitive, causative, reciprocal, passive, subordinate, undifferentiated past or present; future. The most common noun suffixes refer to case relations, marking the subject, direct object, and indirect object, or denoting possession, location, and the like. Particularized and concrete meanings are not expressed through the suffixes in Yokuts.

Even the stems, which are the only elements in Yokuts that can specify the material details of reference, show a strong tendency to carve out broad and comprehensive meanings from the referential field. The vocabulary of verb stems is largely made up of such diffuse and generalized notions as "come," "go," "walk," "run," "hear," "see," "smell." When suffixes with their abstract meanings are joined to stems whose referential content is so inclusive, the resulting words con-

[p. 6-A]

193 tain notions that are generalized. Although
196 English is well stocked with words expressing notions of this kind, it also has an extensive vocabulary whose words are packed with delicate overtones of meaning. It can add subtle nuances to the general notion of "walk" by using such terms as "stroll," "saunter," "stride," "pace," "march," "tread," "plod," "hobble," "limp," "toddle." There is nothing like this in Yokuts. A book of Yokuts synonyms would be poor indeed. The language is not well equipped, either in its stems or in its formative elements, to build word units that are conceptually detailed or that express refinements and shadings of meaning.

195 Nor are the broad concepts of Yokuts words sharpened by special figurative uses. A stubborn literalness of reference invades the entire language. The shifts and extensions of meaning that add pungency and vigor to English play no part in Yokuts style. Such phrases as "to strike the eye," "to strike a bargain," "a sharp tongue," "a sharp appetite," "the family tree," "the tree of knowledge" illustrate the English genius for employing terms transferred from their literal sense. But in Yokuts a tree is a tree and nothing more. The language does not permit its words to cut metaphorical capers.

By exploiting the metaphorical possibilities of English words and by drawing upon our vocabulary of finely nuanced words, we can achieve variety and nicety of expression. Manuals of English style are merely underlining the potentialities inherent in the language when they encourage the student in his frantic efforts to avoid repetitions of the same word in close proximity. Although we may regard variety as an absolute virtue of style and repetition as a universal sin, it is obvious that Yokuts cannot be driven in this direction. The broad area of reference covered by Yokuts words gives them a wide range of application, and their literal significance holds them austerely within their proper boundaries of reference. It would be flying in the face of these forces in Yokuts to seek variety by ringing delicate changes upon a recurring notion. When a notion is to be repeated, there is no need to avoid verbal repetition. A passage such as, "And he walked home. And his friend also walked home. And the people walked home," however monotonous and slovenly it may appear to English sensibilities, is stylistically appropriate in Yokuts.

192 Yokuts possesses a special class of verbs
196 which, in contrast to the generalized concepts typical of the language, express notions that are narrowly defined and specific. The following examples illustrate the kind of notions conveyed by this class of verbs.

ḱubwiyi, "strike a flat object to the ground."
wipwiyi, "make a slow bending motion upward" (as branches bending upward in the wind).
bidinwiyi, "tumble from a high place."

[P.6-B]

192 xapap'wiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[885] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western
Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore
Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves su-
186 perior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the
[197] valley, the upland Monachi were found to be
treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield fami-
ly. However, with characteristic fairness,
Mayfield said that this might be due to his
family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that,
had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the
Monachi, these Indians probably would have been
the friends and the Yokuts would have proved
equally inimical.[3]

What is clear throughout is this: that
619 utmost friendliness prevailed among all the
423 Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along
these waterways, particularly with regard to
fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt
the north bank of Kings River to be theirs,
between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toi-
hicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to
occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D)
during the spring salmon run. These neighbors
remained there while the fish dried, which they
then took home to store. Similarly there were
the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and
acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the
eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there
was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable
foods; probably for that very reason, nothing
[574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal
visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni,
Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined
on such occasions.

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual
574 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they
484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An ex-
cursion to the lake on tule balsas is described
[501] by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them
supplies and equipment for camping. The large
574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills,
502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the
484 river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3]Ibid.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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CHAPTER 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

Tribal organization, 474; habitat, 475; classification, 477; tribes of the Buena Vista group of the foothill division, 478; of the Poso Creek group, 479; of the Tule-Kaweah group, 479; of the Kings River group, 480; of the northern foothill group, 481; of the southern group of the valley division, 482; of the northern valley group, 484; speech and topography, 486; designations of the stock, 488; Yokuts and other California population, 488.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 619 The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to 101 197 the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

101 Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

[pp. 1-473 not processed]

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CLASSIFICATION.

The classification of the Yokuts tribes must be made, like that of other Indians, and those of California in particular, on the basis of language. In spite of the number of the tribes, this it not difficult; for the dialects fall clearly into two great divisions, which coincide with the two topographic regions held by the stock: the valley proper and the foothills of the southern Sierra Nevada. Only in the extreme south were there three tribes speaking idioms of the foothill type but dwelling in the plains between Tulare Lake and the Tehachapi region. These three dialects, closely similar to one another, are easily the most divergent of all Yokuts forms of speech, and thus argue an unusual and peculiar history for the little remote group of people whose idiom was derived from that of the mountains while their habitat was in the valley. 101 197

The valley dialects are the most uniform, in fact remarkably similar to one another. A Yokuts from Stockton must have been able to understand considerable of the talk of one from Bakersfield—a condition utterly unparalleled for any like distance elsewhere in California; for although the Northern Paiute and Mono afford a technical exception, they are mostly east of the Sierra Nevada and hence in the Great Basin outside the natural limits of California. The Yokuts Valley dialects seem to be classifiable into two groups, a northern along the San Joaquin and a southern from Kings River south; but the former is very little known, and it is possible that fuller information regarding it might shift the line of demarcation.

The foothill dialects, though hardly more numerous and spoken over a very much smaller area, are far more diversified. This might be anticipated from the topography of their territory. Their variety may, however, also be due to the historical fortunes of the foothill tribes. The farther south one progresses along the lower Sierra, the more deviations does one encounter from the type of Yokuts speech which is numerically preponderant and therefore justly to be considered the normal and presumably original form. Now the Yokuts as a whole constitute the southernmost branch of the great Penutian family, which, so to speak, radiates in five directions from the region of the entrance of the Sacramento and San Joaquin into the head of San Francisco Bay; in other words from the lowest and central point of the Great Valley of California. That the foothill dialects of Yokuts become more and more specialized the farther they are situated from this center of influence and possibly of origin is certainly significant; though whether it is significant of successive migrations from the north, of longer contact with Shoshonean and Chumash aliens, or merely of ever reduced intercourse with kinsmen, must as yet be left to conjecture.

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101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before
197 turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills
131 come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick.
[103] (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting
[103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged
[103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hoache.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshon- 101
ean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 131
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103]
in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 197]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221]
ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

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Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Alticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher, on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'einashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Apiau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *taudj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* almost like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers." 101 103 131

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawallmni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northern-era." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes. [197]

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

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of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations. 101 131

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters. 101 133 197

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foothill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring. 101 197 [177]

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

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101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
●197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
161 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo
177 to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2:Kroeber

101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
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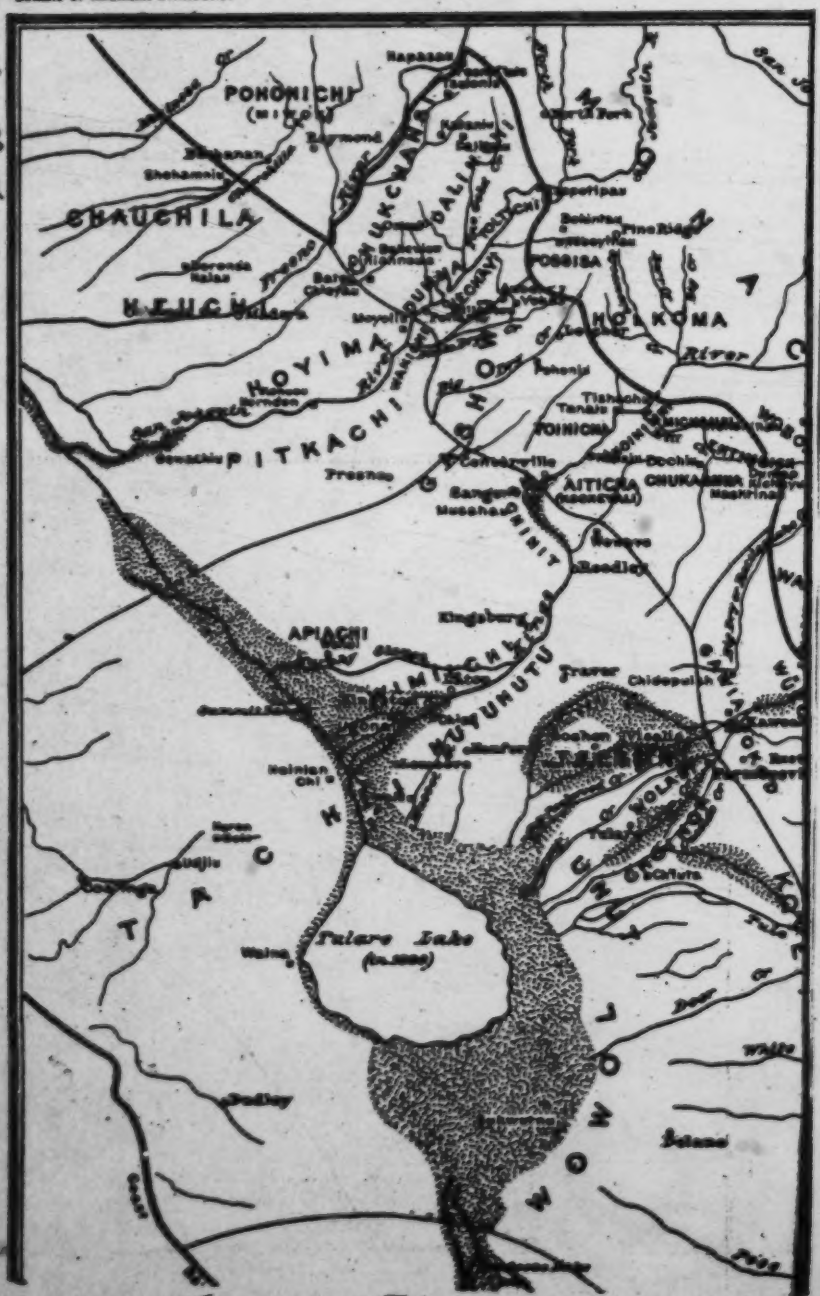
133
312
361
197



[p. 526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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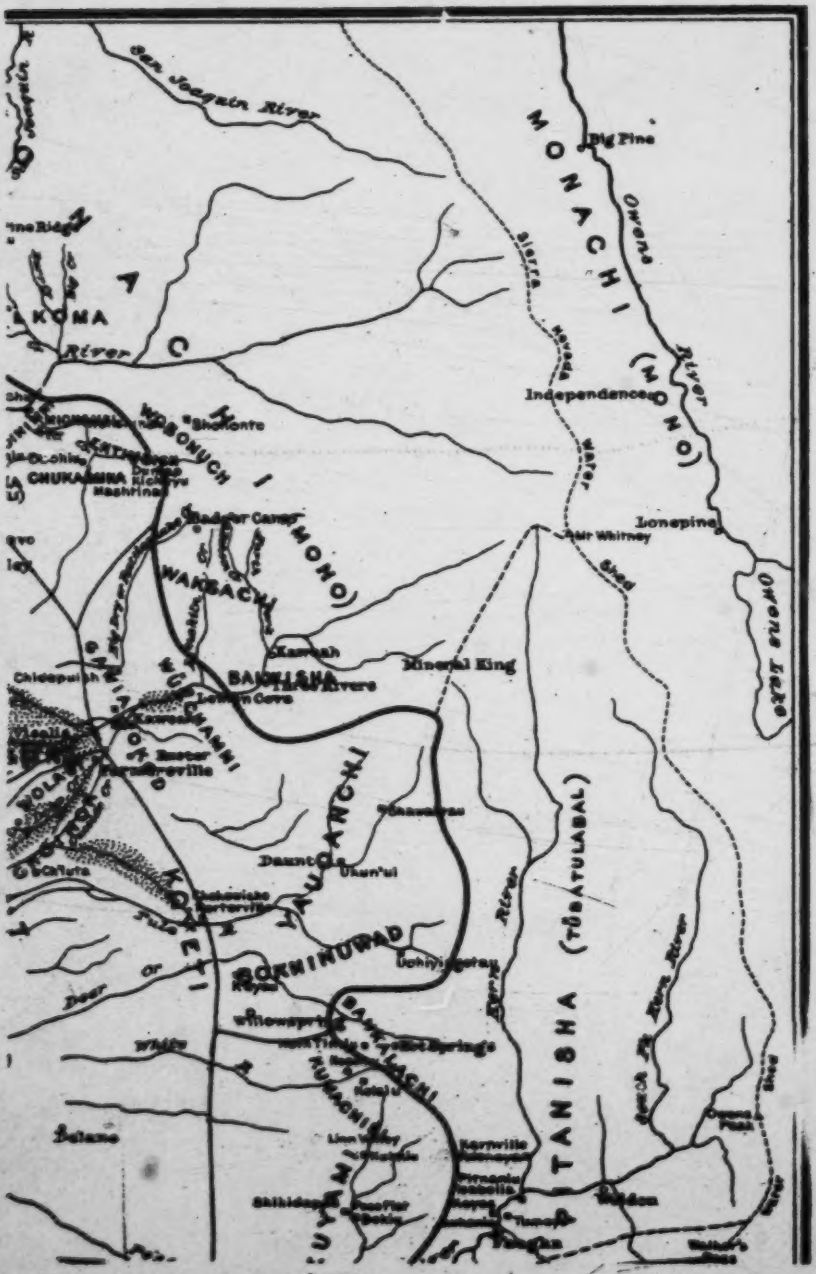
San Joaquin River
Big Pine
Owens River
MONACHI (MONO)
Independence
Lone Pine
Mt. Whitney
Owens Lake
Sierra Nevada
Kern River
Kaweah River
Tule River
Deer Creek
White River
Kaweah
Mineral King
Exeter
Farmersville
Visalia
Tulare
Lemoore
Hanford
Corcoran
Kingsburg
Selma
Fresno
Kerrville
Bakersfield
Delano
Porterville
Lindsay
Ivanhoe
Woodlake
Dinuba
Reedley
Sanger
Orosville
Chowchilla
Madera
Merced
Modesto
Stockton
Sacramento
Oakdale
Ukuh'ul
Dauntcia
Tchiyigotau
Kaweah
Tule
Deer
White
Kern
Kern River
Kern River
Kern River
Owens Peak
Walker's Pass
Weldon
Kernville
Bakersfield
Shafter
Wasco
Taft
Maricopa
Tehachapi
Mojave
Rosamond
Lancaster
Palmdale
Pasadena
Los Angeles
Santa Barbara
Ventura
Oxnard
Hanford
Visalia
Porterville
Bakersfield
Fresno
Madera
Merced
Modesto
Stockton
Sacramento
Oakdale
Chowchilla
Dinuba
Reedley
Sanger
Orosville
Lemoore
Corcoran
Kingsburg
Selma
Delano

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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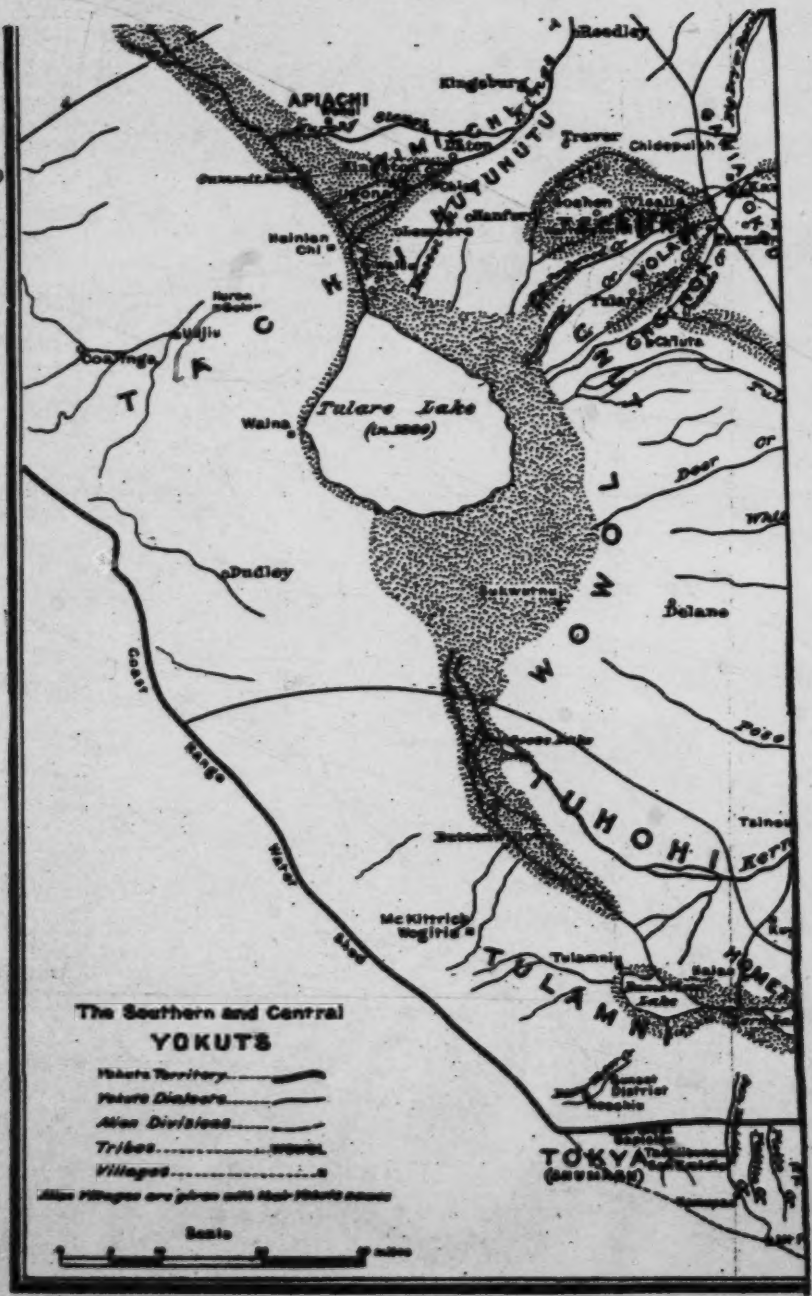

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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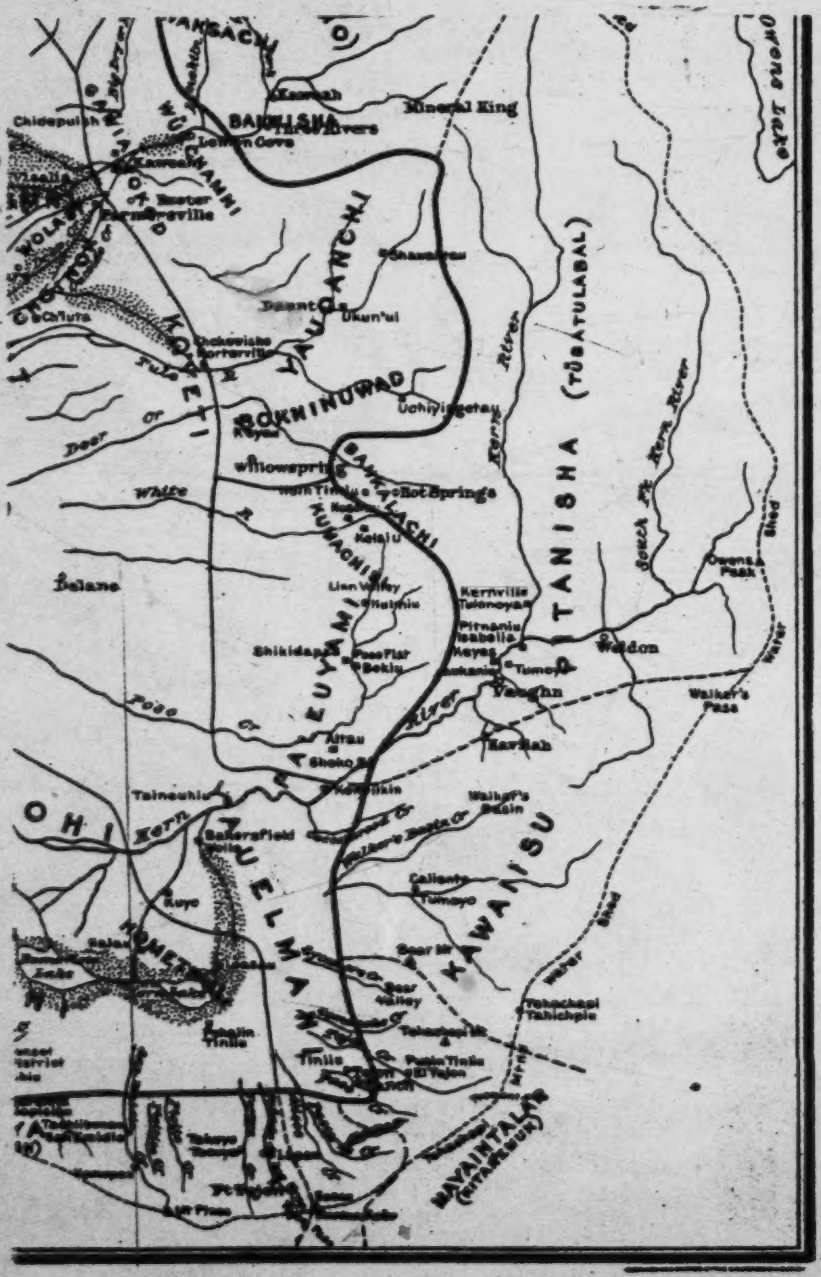
Mineral King
Chicopulsh
Lemon Cove
Exeter
Farmersville
Chaluta
Ukun'ul
Uchiyigetau
Keyes
Willowspring
Hot Springs
Kaiatu
Belana
Lion Valley
Kernville
Tulomoyas
Pitnanio
Isabella
Weldon
Shikidapa
Pine Flat
Tumoyo
Tulaghn
Kaweah
Altau
Tolnochia
Walker's Plain
Bakersfield
Kuyo
Callente
Tumoyo
Gear Mt
Gear Valley
Tehachapi
Tahichpie
Tinlia
Owens Peak
Walker's Pass
Owens Lake
Kern River
Deer Cr
Poso Cr
White R
Tule R
Kaweah
Tule
Kern
Kern River
Kern River
Shed
Water
Shed
Water
Shed
Water

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe defi-
nitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit-
[262] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi-
[197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means
he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an
interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of
their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long
one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and
environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he
is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy
of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the
Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The usual Yokuts word for squirrel is *ske'-til* or *seeth'-kill*. It is pronounced sharply and, when properly pronounced, resembles greatly the bark of a squirrel. In order to say the word exactly as pronounced by old Yokuts, one must almost be able to bark like a squirrel. 194 192

To the writer the most interesting Yokuts word is *we*. It is used as a diminutive and enters into many of their words. *We'-che* means little. *We'-chet* signifies small sticks such as might be used for kindling a fire. *We'-chep* is a small boy. This diminutive immediately brings the identical Scotch word to mind. In view of the fact there is even yet considerable controversy concerning the origin of the Yokuts tribes, the writer would like to offer (not too seriously) the above words as evidence of Scotch ancestry. 193 192

Nor does the evidence of possible Scotch ancestry end with language. The Yokuts game of shinny was played with a small oak ball and a stick, curved like a golf club. Further, and probably more pertinent evidence of Scotch relationship is the well established fact of Yokuts thrift. While these Indians would under some circumstances make small gifts, they were quite apt to expect them to be returned upon demand. This trait of Indian character is so well known to white persons of pioneer ancestry that the term *Indian Giver* is well understood. 171

The language of the Yokuts tribes between Kern Canyon and the Chowchilla River varies so little that one who understands the *Yowlumne* dialect can with little difficulty understand a *Chauchila*. However, there is a unique variation in the area from north of the Kaweah River south to Tule River and involving the *Wachikit*, Wukchumne, *Kaweah*, *Yokodo* and *Yaudanchi* tribes. In these dialects the sound of "l" seldom occurs. In words of surrounding tribes, *Telumne*, *Chunut*, *Tachi* and *Koyeti* having an "l", the first group substitutes a "d". The second group of tribes call the Yokodo, Yokolo. It is from the second group that the name of Yokohl Valley was taken, for the tribe which lived there called themselves Yokodo. The Wukchumne call the Telumne Tedumne. The common Yokuts word for bow is *chalip*. The Wukchumne call this *chadip*. They have no difficulty in sounding the "l" for they easily use the word *Limik*, name of the Yokuts Mythical Hero, Prairie Falcon. 197

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 551 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

192 Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

197 The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it is safe to substitute an "l" whenever a "d" appears in the following Wukchumne words. 197

The San Joaquin Valley was called *Chaw-daw'-no.* The Wukchumnes recognized the great central valley as a geographical unit and spoke of various valley landmarks as being "*Wah kayo Chaw-daw'-no* (Away down the valley)". Tulare Lake was known as *Pi-ah'-se.* Some tribes are said to have simply called the lake *Mi'-ak Ill'-ik,* or Big Water. 103

Along the Kaweah River all of the prominent landmarks were named. Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shin.* Yucca Point was called *Kah'-wid.* Yokohl Creek bore the name of *Yo-kod'-o.*

The great granite bluff on the Sierra skyline known to us as Homer's Nose was called *Top-aw'-shuh,* or leaning place. Sawtooth Peak was *Kah-did'-it.* A more complete list of Wukchumne place names is given elsewhere in this volume.

The following list of names will give some idea of the extent of the Yokuts vocabulary and of their close contact with every feature of the landscape, as well as with the native plants, birds, and animals. 192

Blue jay	*Trah-ush'-nah*
Black bird	*Chouk*
Buckeye	*Top'-pong*
Blackberry	*Mah'-min*
Breakfast	*Wah-ah'-dua*
Badger	*Tuh'-now*
Bee	*Hi'-neh*
Bumble Bee	*So-way-way'-heh*
Bear	*Mo-ho'-o*
Coyote	*Ki'-yu*
Cottonwood	*Dah'-pah*
Crow	*Ah-duh'-wut*
Chamese	*Co'-toon*
Cherry	*Shup*
Chipmunk	*Che'-we'-yeh*
Chaparral	*Tah-dow'-ud*
Cottontail	*Tay'-yoo*
Cedar tree	*Chow-uh'-puk*
Cat-tail	*Tro'-wuh*
Castle Rock	*Lung-no'-tim*
Cone, pine	*Chung-o'-kish*
Duck	*Hi-eh'-neh*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it
159 sturgeon.
226

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle
159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across
648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the
361 Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about
166 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first
159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to
648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six
166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon.
[578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none
[147] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

8: Kroeber NS29 Yokuts NS29

●197

/For information on Yokuts internal linguistic relationships and distributions, see category 116, pp. 169-170, 309-363, and 375-377. --Analyst/

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907.
NS29 Yokuts NS29

539 197 Yakiuhaalin is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses siiil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

533 539 192 14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

yileyalè
earthquake

silika ulm teicau
see my emergence-at

walāliu teoxil-a māyu
at-open-place eagle

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam wiliteyau mnyukun
you (in-front-of) while

yèhā
yeha

nyayet ke teèkèya māyin p'aanin
(mourn-for) that string our world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na kaiu
I coyote

naan kaiu
we coyotes

ama p'an widji taaki
then earth told those

ama p'an widji
then earth told

a-ma-nan-hl k'uyak'tad
not you me will scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kailu-na yawud
coyote I (do-thus)

ama na t-ipinit lòlènas
then I from-above (twisted)

kailu-na yaud
coyote-I (do-thus)

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797
648
[361
162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyuipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 262 [197] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 594

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore. 121 126

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity. 121

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948). 101 [131] [161] [197]

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known 105

[P.6-B]

192 xapap'wiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tión."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hilwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

[p 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to
[197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
113 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136]

from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 92b] Western Mono N525

Y 534 M [534] Y 198

Musical Instruments

All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš: ´k'n:ta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y 534

The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´ow:d) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534 237

The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

276 249

Tobacco (šo´gon) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
[554] and used a cocoon rattle.^ The dancers stood in
[198] a row, with the most powerful or important man
[516] at the right end, the woman at the left (from
796 the audience's point of view). The men held
535 their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
the dancers turned toward their left, and the
men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up con-
tinuously while the men jumped and walked back-
ward to their former positions three times. The
whole performance lasted no more than ten
minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be re-
peated under any circumstances until the follow-
ing year. For this reason it was particularly
admired, and urgent demands for repetition from
the onlookers, with consequent refusals from
the dancers, seem to have been a traditional
part of the affair. If the spectacle were to
be witnessed again that season, it would have
to be in some other village or tribe with other
dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer
whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spec-
tators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's
see your hair!" At once the black portions
turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to
dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown
and saw a little bear dancing beside a small
oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs
and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree
three times. Then he clawed up some earth and
threw it at the little tree. The tree was his
singer and the little bear was mad because the
singer made a mistake. The human dancers act
just the same way [not toward their singer,
however] and will not look back over their
shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were
out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance.
He was near a little white oak which they be-
lieved was his singer. He jumped and grunted
three times, then he grabbed at the tree and
playfully mauled it. Three times he did this
and then went off. The women were much pleased
at the spectacle.

^ [in the Bear Dance. -Ambrist]

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´mul, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
769 mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.** "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

**The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[207] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wen) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sa´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wachem* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [625]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. 198 This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to
796 know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't
198 understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

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O, Chochin witche pah
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah - - - - - - yah!
(Everyone hear me).

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´čiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɪn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [20] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Tokuts N529
[P. 154 b] Dumna

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

[722]

At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

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[33]Ibid., 31, 32.

[34]Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Couse, On the Trail, 287).

[35]Dunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabea (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36]Dunnell, 125.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [742] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who [439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of 276 tobacco (po ʼʼom), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [209] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
435 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of
438 average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

436 When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
172 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The children of American pioneers who were brought up in the wilderness, far from neighbors of their own kind, and in the same state of suspense concerning their safety as was common to the red men about them, behaved in much the same manner as did the children of those red men. And they kept this stoic, dry-eyed behavior through life. It was the most fixed characteristic of the Anglo Saxon pioneer.

Although I have heard a number of references to Yokuts sign language, I have been able to gather little data concerning it. *Ichow,* last chief of the *Wukchumne* Yokuts tribe, stated that his people used a sign language in talking with tribes from east of the Sierra. Most signs were made with the hands, but they were used in relation to other parts of the body.

Ichow could remember only a few signs, as their use was discontinued before he was born. Those he remembered had been taught to him by his grandfather, *Chechin,* the noted Rattlesnake Doctor. Sleep was indicated by inclining the head to one side and closing the eyes. One day, or one sun, was indicated by pointing to the sky, directly overhead. A mountain was indicated by holding the hand in front of the waist, palm from the body, and all fingers extended close to each other. The hand was then slid upward and away from the body. The height and angle at which the hand was raised indicated the height and steepness of the mountain.

A snow storm was indicated by the hand, held palm downward, and fingers extended close to each other. The hand was lowered slowly as it moved from side to side. Fallen snow was indicated by shifting the weight from one foot to the other, accompanied by a grunt with each shift. This imitated the sound of walking in loose snow.

A rain storm was indicated by holding the hand in front of the face, palm down, fingers separated and curved downward. The fingers were then wiggled, slightly for a little rain, and violently for a heavy storm.

An old person was indicated by placing the hand on the head and then giving the sign for snow. The hand held in front of the body, palm down, thumb and little finger closed, the middle three fingers partly extended, indicated a man. Two fingers extended in the same manner indicated a woman.

Wahumchah, aged eighty-five years and last full-blood man from the *Yowlumne* tribe of Yokuts, who once lived

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

20 around the site of present Bakersfield, had the following to say about the sign language used in this locality.

"Them old-time Yowlumne had a sign language. I knew some old people who could talk that language, but I forgot almost all of it. I don't see that kind of talkin' since I was 'bout fourteen years old.

"To say, 'I saw,' they close both hands in front of eyes. Then they open first finger on each hand and move hands ahead little ways and point ahead with fingers. The sign for deer they made with both hands. They put their wrists together and spread their fingers little bit, to look like deer horns. If the deer had big horns they raised their hands little bit when they made sign. For forked horn they put up only two fingers, for three pointer, three fingers, for four pointer, four fingers. When they go hunting, they got to keep quiet. They can't talk. When one man saw deer he make the sign for 'I see' and point his fingers where deer was. Then he made sign for deer. Then everybody knew where there was deer.

"The sign for elk was almost the same as deer. They held wrists farther apart and spread their fingers wide. They had sign for antelope. They made it like deer sign. But they put up just first finger on each hand and next finger part way. They look like antelope horns. To put out one hand with palm down and all fingers together and raise it up high meant big deer, or elk, or anything like that. To show whether deer or elk, or anything was fat they had another sign. They close all fingers but thumb and first finger on each hand. They put ends thumbs and ends fingers together to make circle. If deer or antelope poor, they made little circle, if fat, they made big circle.

"They had sign for roll over. They put hands beside each other in front of breast and move them around once. To make sign for walkin' they open just one finger on each hand and point down. Then they move hands like they walkin' with them fingers. To show that something ran they open first two fingers on right hand and work them back and forth fast, like [illegible] runnin'. That's 'bout all I remember 'bout that sign language."

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797 tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [†] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

648 [622] [201]

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise [†], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the corporal, Sebastian Rodríguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

[162]

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

[133]

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[38] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[39]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaudanchi sent a man, who said that they would
202 fight in a certain number of days. The
539 [Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?]

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (t'so·'ihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

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[38] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[39] Recorded in Wauchamni dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Mussel, Bankalachi.

726 good clubbing. In reply to further questions,
202 the [Southern] messenger told them that his
539 leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetikñawahsiw (tsiti·tiḱnawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They then descended to the plains and fought there.
[411] They used only arrows and obsidian (tba·siþ), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wükchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liīna') money. This is Indian
539 money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepɨs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepɨs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyɨt.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
● 202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.
[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]

[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´·i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, [illegible] often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´t·ts, a
786 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet·ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hilet·s should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w·ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The
622 title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutumuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he de-
526 scribes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estadillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[illegible]

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302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox
[202] skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the
281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[681] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɛ´mɛk), "wolf" (iwe´yɛt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɛ´šɛt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly [624 the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn:'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn:nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778 The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as
825] Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed
[304] mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

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624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
202 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[431] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called guĭta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ned), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ıt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[23] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[23] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute
534 (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kuluŝao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wuŝinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaŝ.

Paint.---White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
302 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
276 called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called so´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aitcha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

raising clouds of dust on the prairie. Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley." 175 202

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party. 202

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah,* an aged *Koyeti,* I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people. [619]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess. 182 622

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion. 622 [692] [623] 622 627 [203] [558]

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death. 182 626

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's meksenger (Ahač:n w:natum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father [611] in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [324 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the 311] east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had 22 a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukchumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 The subsistence of the tular region was composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (ŏ·´mŏm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chumut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokut N529
[P. 1459] Choinimni

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.
103

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them waza´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

526 The pole and stick game (aiki´wič) was for
616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wič)
[184] was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyet and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

Matching lines was a game played by two
[765] men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wič as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[32] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread
[171] than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[33]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lʿts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nʿts; from towo´´ʿ, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
[262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´inʿ) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [32] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[33] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ´n*wao, was east of Čena*u. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s:ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´w:l ti''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi''i.[128]

T Y [354] T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutanumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Nuṭo´ñi[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
166 held. The chief decided when to move; he would call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced natsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

[186 837]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 57a] Wukchumni

221
166 the families in Diapnuša would move within
621 about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did
[888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other
[131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water
[312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own
[342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and
[412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of
342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con-
542 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were
621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pono (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. It:mwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´i:n[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čauu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Ba´wiyun by J.B.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River 648 region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

252 262 Greens.--Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.--Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.--Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.--Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 48] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 213 c] Western Mono N525

Y M 101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y M 192 A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

Y 361 231 M Y [487] The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

M Y [887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O´polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´, (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

M Y [484]

[155] Ibid., 588.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W [854]

Y W 423 S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B. [illegible] the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19), thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwe´niu: hill by Adams Flat (possibly Sugarloaf)
9a. tăweto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 2296] Western Mono N525

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An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

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The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

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B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´šso´š: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

Y
W
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Directions:
pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation [101] Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and ● 221] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ¾; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1¼; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3¼; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114
non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115
had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitel, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapal	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
oichat, ulchao	iopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
paiuel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
ta, tupa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsel	hoache.
tuoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, 101
especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream 131
about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103]
in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoechiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [191
as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 197]
division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103]
Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bekninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gath- [221]
ered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over
221 were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their
262 variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
222 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye
262 once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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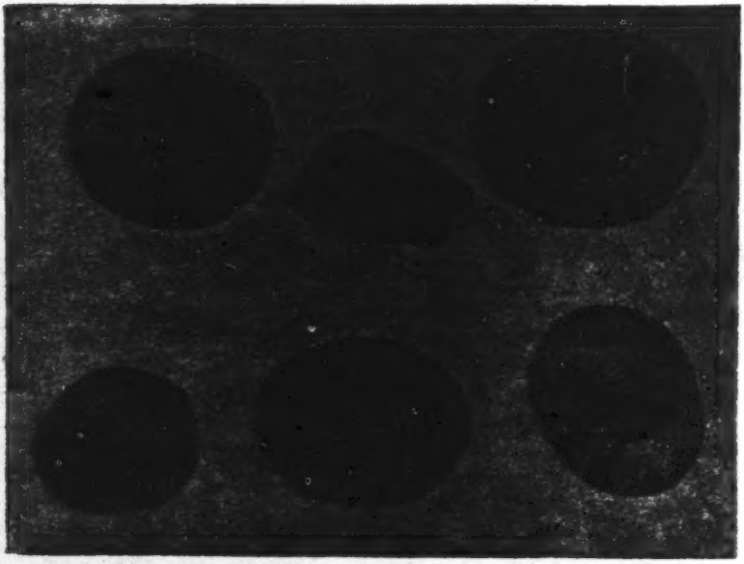

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the perma-
342 nent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mound NS25

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

Y 551 775

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

W 551

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Y 551 [227]

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

Y 224 551

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
114 and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[10] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
805 with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
132 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

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221 301 824 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 796 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 226 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some [423 616] foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 484 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local [535 527] and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

221 484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luní´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´'o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

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●221 796 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 484 [501] Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
[501] lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 ●221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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the Yokuts to develop very similar social systems within two different environments. In subsequent papers we hope to show that alternative systematizations are also possible for groups with the same basic ecological adaptations. 182 221

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[P. 15b] Tachi

Fish poison (yao'ha) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

● 222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[48] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39]Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40]Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41]On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

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222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɛt
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syɛn, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
[177] translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hɛn ṭuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɛn
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɛn). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

[P. 56a] Wukchumni / Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- [223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with 439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the [222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y Very little that is definite can be M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe 177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant [191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- [105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure Y of white encroachment.

The Eastern Mono, called Mona ˇci by the 439 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. 648 In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
512 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wač (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
● 222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to
[281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye ''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda´o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi´ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida´pw:š
4. poanai´yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta´o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa ''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai ''yuhao
8. čaše´ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau´ču
10. topo´ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai ''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa´o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo´kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču´m: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya´gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo´ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi´yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono´: a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu´mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño´našu
21. čoiši´šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi´šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa´o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu´nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

252 Deer meat was [illegible]ut into hunks with
an obsidian blade and [illegible]ed in a clay pot with
262 salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by
[263] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times
[412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to
accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens.
However, all agreed that deer meat was more
often roasted than boiled, and that this was
done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia.
M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were
the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock
salt which was in strong solution or pulverized.
The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
323 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

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[263 192] [187]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and
252 put in a basket to boil. They were later
260 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pɨn) or
222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihɨt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´´utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´´iŏŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mɨtaki´ŏa (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hɨč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tɨk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´ŏta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Nauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and
[77] eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

A´ṭtu (manzanita berries) were used only
272 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just
262 for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a
[222] beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na) was invariably of twined weave, coarse and
415 close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´nıts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´''iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´wıc) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca´wis. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.

462
● 222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
252 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so'nil) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[66] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
● 222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[66] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´g:s), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šil:´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´h:n), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[48] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šamso´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][49]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´m:č: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai':č: got liquor

koko´h:p: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[48] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[49] Although E.M. calls the village Šamso´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 222 616 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 616 796 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi.

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
103 tain was there
č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

164 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, con-
184 sisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.-- A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.U. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 179 9] Chuckchansi

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." (Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.) They [264] ate it while one it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

This work took all day. Meanwhile some of 262 the men had been hunting and had brought home 512 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. 224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it.[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

When acorns were plentiful a family could 251 get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. [222] White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes 252 made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes[1] and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken. [855]

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley. [285 415]

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938). [263]

222 252 Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider. 252

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[86] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse. [251]

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[86] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[1] i.e., of acorn meal dough. -Analyst]

252 262 Greens.--Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.--Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.--Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type [222 was got up in the mountains when they went up for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.--Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up 222] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 48] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the [137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray
262 squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N329 Yokuts N529

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in
● 222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected.
[262] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked
[252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some
[251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were
222 also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little
252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These
[251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the
[439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid
263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the
435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be
439 slightly larger than the lump of salt for which it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

263 According to N.W., rock salt was got from the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of
439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[92] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529 .
[P. 181b] Chuckchansi

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
263 paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
435 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
[804] worth 50 cents in American money, in native terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
263 salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe,
● 222 the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

271 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[95] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
251] The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [95] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 187 9] Chuckchansi

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 251 Storehouses and granaries.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with 251 many children would be tided over lean periods 223 by their neighbors, should their food become 224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

Each family had an acorn granary. These 343 were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

The average granary held ten to twenty 251 sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was from a long straight limb of a tree growing [824] more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 Long poles for shaking down acorns were made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked ● 222] at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

412 Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn 322 meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres or uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

W Y 222 262 Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Y W [252] W Y [462] 251

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone´diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y W [481]

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

W Y 262 252

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´°wa. They were superior to the local variety.

[439]

Acorns.---Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in 344
no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again.

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of 262
tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic.

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not 137
grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate 222
coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains in- 262
habited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions.

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting 222
and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources 262
of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the
year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is 132
not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot sum- 222
mer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 262

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over
221 were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

262 Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

222 The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
262 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

262 222 [227] ? [223 224]

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

114 226

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[p. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns. [482] [462]

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[482] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[text continues on p. 107]

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threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

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Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

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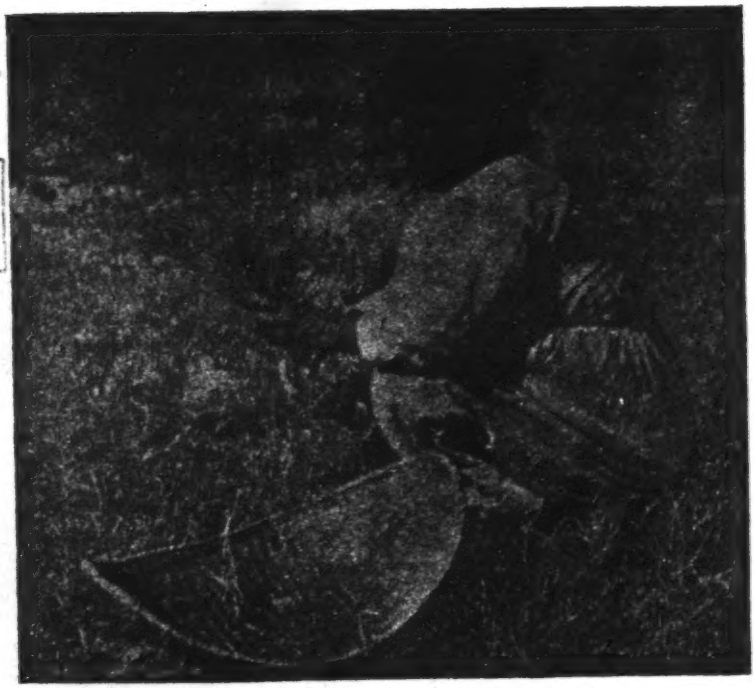

Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **tah'-meuk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

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moist to be brushed from the leaves. So the Yokuts harvest crew enters the field. The workers kneel and break the grass off close to the ground, placing it in shallow wicker baskets. They then very carefully stack it with the stems resting on the ground and the leaves upward. This whole process must be very carefully executed, otherwise the salt will be dislodged from the leaves and wasted upon the ground. 222 263

By two o'clock in the afternoon the salt globules are very dry and easily dislodged, so the pulling of the grass is discontinued and the Indians begin threshing. During the preceding four or five hours, while the grass has been stacked with the leaves uppermost, the salt has completely dried and hardened, but the leaves of the grass are still tough, although somewhat wilted.

It is important that the threshing or flailing of the grass be done at this precise stage, because if delayed longer the grass itself becomes brittle and is pulverizd and mixed with the salt. If threshed too soon the salt is not dry and is not easily removed from the leaves of the grass. It is because the grass is stacked with the stems down and the salt exposed to the sun that the salt dries faster than the grass itself, which remains tough for the threshing.

Small quantities of the salt grass are now thrown upon a deer or elk skin, which is spread upon the ground. Three or four Indians seat themselves about this pile of grass and begin flailing it lightly, using small willow poles from which the bark has been stripped. Care is taken not to pound the grass heavily, but merely to tap it so that the salt is dislodged from the leaves and sifts through the grass to the deer skin below.

When it is seen that the salt has all been removed, the grass is gathered loosely in the hands, is shaken thoroughly, and discarded. This process is repeated until a layer of salt approximately one inch in thickness is deposited upon the deer skin. This salt is then placed in a basket and the process repeated, until several hundred pounds have been obtained. The Indians move very slowly, but methodically and a family of four Indians will gather during the harvest season approximately six fifty pound flour sacks full of this crude material. By sifting and winnowing, after the crude material has been taken to the rancheria, approximately four fifty pound flour sacks full of salt will be obtained. The Wukchumne Yokuts call this salt *ah'-dit*. Other Yokuts tribes call it *ahlit* or *ahlet*.

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The search for large cottonwood trees, from which to make ox-cart wheels, revealed several trees approximately four feet in diameter and of great height. Surrounding these large trees were great areas of wild blackberries and wild grapevines. Some of the grapevine trunks were six inches in diameter. They reached to the very tops of the tallest trees and then hung to the ground. 137

By the latter part of September and the middle of October, the grapevines were loaded with grapes which were gathered by many nearby white and Indian residents for use in making jelly. Some areas, an acre or more in extent, were piled twenty feet or more in height with wild blackberry vines. During June, these had born a tremendous crop of berries. These were about the size of the Himalaya variety of tame blackberry and tasted much like it. In addition to the cottonwood and other trees mentioned, a variety of ash was quite common. There had also started a rather thick growth of young oaks. [222]

It would take several hours to catalog and describe the many varieties of grasses and water plants that in 1931 were growing in the tangled jungle along the banks of the main Kaweah River and its sloughs. Two or three varieties of these grasses are used by the local Indians in basket making, many of them growing to a height of eight feet or more and so thick that passage through them was made with difficulty. Great patches of nettles covered some portions. At other places wild hemp was quite thick.

Over the burned area a young growth of blackberry and grapevines gave evidence that the next year would see several more acres covered to a great height with these plants. During the succeeding fall, (1931), this last jungle area was again burned over and, with the shortage of water and the confining of what remained to the artificial channels, such growth will probably never return to this area.

The descriptions of some pioneers are easily believed by one who saw this last remnant of river jungle, which was soon gone. I have been assured by these early settlers that in some areas the oak growth was so thick that a team and wagon could not be driven between the trees, and that the branches overhead formed a closed canopy which shut out the sun entirely and offered refuge for countless numbers of birds and animals of all varieties.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly [231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. [412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon. 262 222

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary. 251

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house. 252

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yah-mah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses
[222] and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
48] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
481]

They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally
[353] hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[222] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

disappeared and all was quiet. There was nothing in sight. Everyone was gone and the husband sat alone.

Tihpiknits had given the husband a small basket of *toiuk* seed mush. As fast as he ate the mush it grew larger. So he was never out of it. The toiuk seed is the seed of the wild rice. It has a stem like wild oats and the head hangs over when the seed is ripe. It is covered with stickers which will cut your hands and make them bleed. When the Indian women gather toiuk seed they cover their hands and arms with mud. It is the best seed we have. When it is ground and mixed with water it rises like bread. That is why it did not get any smaller when they ate it.

For three days and nights the husband sat alone. On the third evening, while the Winatuns were building the fires, Tihpiknits told the husband that he had decided what to do about him. He was to go to his wife's house and stay that night. If he kept awake all night she could go back with him.

If the husband went to sleep he was to go home alone and hide for six days and nights. He was to tell no one where he had been, or of anything he had seen until the sixth night. Then he was to come out and give a big dance and tell everything. If he told before, Tihpiknits' watchman, the rattlesnake, would know it and he would die right then and there.

Tihpiknits asked the husband what he wanted to eat before he went to his wife's house and he answered, "*Sun-sun*, the mud-hen." So Tihpiknits gave him a fat one, but told him that it would make him sleep. By this time the husband was almost overcome from lack of sleep, but he ate the mud hen anyway.

After eating, the husband went to his wife's house. Soon she returned from the Lonewis dance. She talked with him for a long time and kept telling him over and over, "Don't you go to sleep. You must stay awake, or I cannot go back with you."

The husband kept awake until almost daylight, when he could not keep his eyes open any longer. His wife did all she could to keep him awake, but he went to sleep anyway.

In the morning the husband awakened to find his wife gone and a log of rotten wood in the house. Tihpiknits told the husband to go home and do as he had been told. When he died he was to come again and join his wife. But the wife could never return to this world again.

Tihpiknits gave the husband a fresh basket of toiuk seed mush and started him toward home. He crossed the big water

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke'-em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

79 He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground,
79 picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made
79 certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

79 After telling about the successful display of power by the
79 weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they [222] would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

79 José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

[P. 15b] Tachi

Fish poison (yao'ha) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were
223 caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[48] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39]Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40]Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41]On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y ● 223 ● The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

[P. 56a] Wukchumni / Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine
Y acorns of the black oak.

[223 439] To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the
Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 *The Tachi from the lake bought burden* baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels
437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.
Y

M 177 Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village
M where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
[105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʼči by the
648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʼtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 435 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo ʼhɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʼtɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[130] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʼta pŏ ʼdta ma ṭupɛ ʼnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʼpɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skin-
[281] ning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in
[171] the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

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pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 349 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait [237] and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo´ˀowin). They had their own booths up [439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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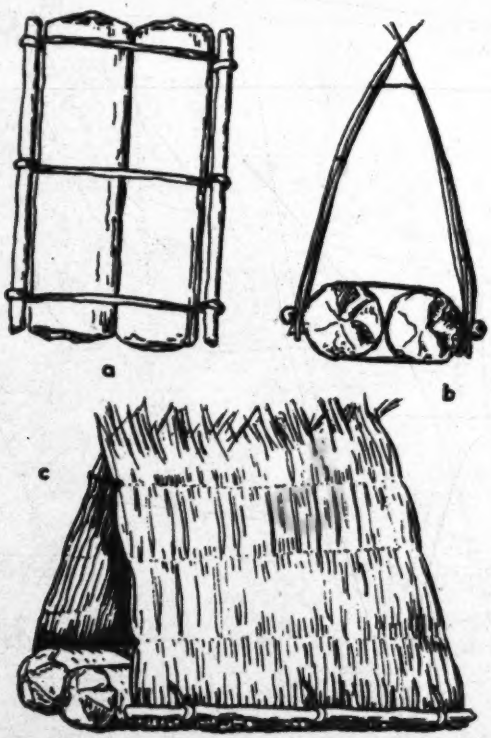

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

223 A floating hunting blind, described by S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet
349 waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po´hot), tree squirrels (sa´ñsañwide´´·t), gophers (hu´ñhed) and chipmunk (aho´´ŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

W Y 224 372 [237]

The fire fan (ile´tıl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343

Pigeon snaring.--Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pın ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nıs a´tmın šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231

The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

W Y 223

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´namın' for short, just like slang."

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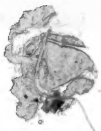
inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi´čıt toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.



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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nın, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´kuık, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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[431]

The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 221 b] Western Mono NS 25

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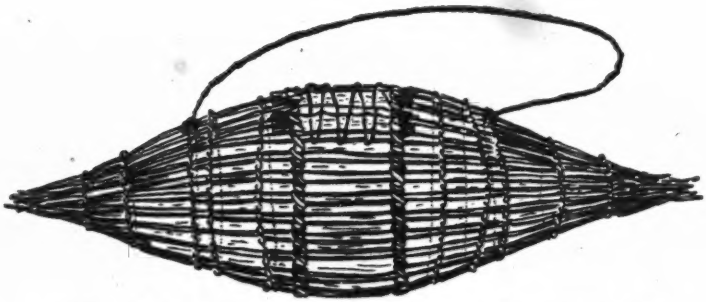

Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

[P. 221C] Western Mono NS25

W Y 423 825 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

W Y 223 343 The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in the same manner as that on the ground. It was a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main consideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Y 231 825 Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as well as for decoys. In either case they were lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always tame" (B.O.).

Y 223 343 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[161]

[161] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

W Y 231 778 432 825 accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K:lmi´š:t, winatum, and the chief, Pao':č, at Tušao.

W Y [423]

W Y 223

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao':č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K:lmiš:t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K:lmiš:t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao':č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao':č was helped by all his ain:č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K:lmiš:t would help hoist him up.

W Y 231

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao':č and K:lmiš:t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini´, "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 W Y [436]

<u>Bear</u>.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773] [169] The identification of tua´kini´ is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer. 262 222 [227] [223 224]

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another 114 226

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
SERRANO NS20

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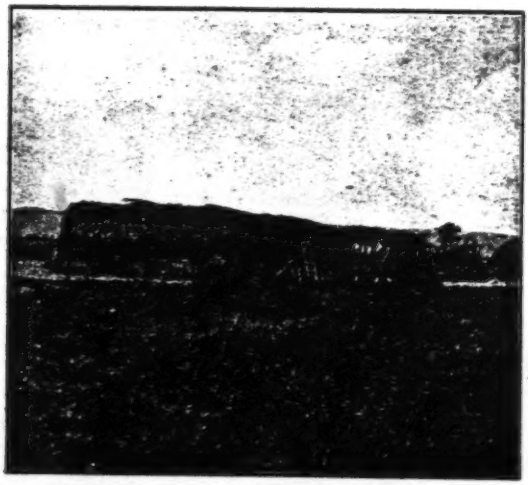

DESERT CAHUILLA THATCHED HOUSE

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223

SOUTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS PLATFORM AND BOOTH FOR SNARING PIGEONS

[FACING p. 525]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry. 224 [789]

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed. 223

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles. [782]

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *rademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the 226 [285]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity 285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the 531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is 171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, 285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the 171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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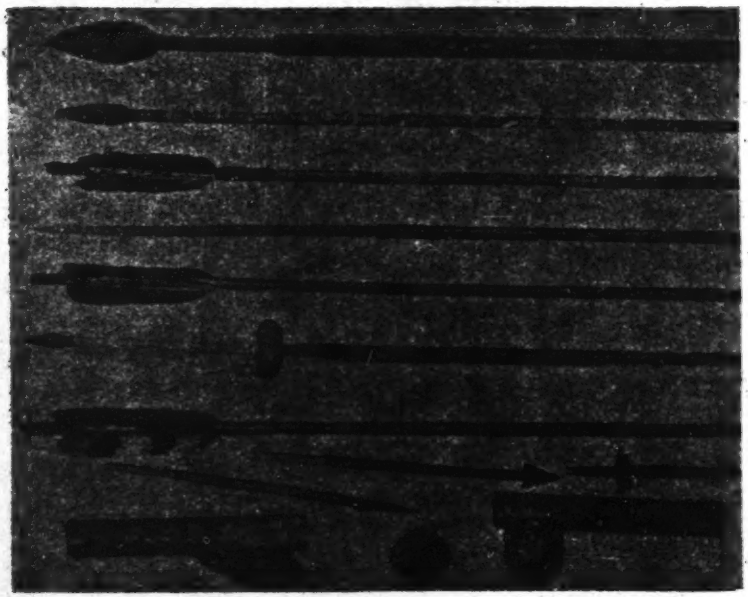

ARROWS AND TOOLS

Top shows a fore-shafted javelin. Second from top is a one-piece arrow. Third, fifth and seventh from top shop the use of red-tailed hawk feathers. Fourth from the top shows a wooden foreshaft. Sixth from the top shows the skip-bomb arrow. Eighth from the top shows, left to right, foreshafts used for squirrels, war and birds.

Bottom, left and right, shows chipped stone knives set in wooden handles by means of asphaltum. Center is a skip-bomb roll of tule for use on the javelin shown at the top.

All of the above were made by **Wahumchch**, last surviving man from the **Yowlumne** tribe.

411 Bird fore-shafts had a sharp wooden point with two cross-
223 ed pairs of small sticks attached to it by sinews about an inch and a half from the point. Yokuts claim that this point would not glance off the feathers of the bird, but would pull many of them out, tearing the skin, and badly bruising the body. This point also often broke the wing of a bird when an ordinary arrow would not.

411 Squirrels were shot with a wooden pointed foreshaft hav-
224 ing a barb attached to it about two inches from the point. The projecting foreshaft prevented the squirrel from crawling

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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[412]

Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wakchamna. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1865. "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.
At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to peck the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary waterproofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon.

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223

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 over to the trigger. Rabbits were snared in run-ways, or by rocks where their trails were constricted and where they could not escape the noose. Larger game, such as foxes, coyotes, and raccoons were snared in much the same way, but by means of much larger and stronger equipment. The Indians blocked with brush all trails except the one on which the snare was set. A limb of a tree or a bush was then bent downward and fastened by a trigger.

Elk were snared where they were in the habit of approaching water among the tules and where it was easy to confine them to a narrow path. A large willow or oak was selected and one of the upper branches bent downward and fastened to a lower branch by means of the same kind of trigger used in snaring smaller game.

The noose was suspended from the end of the upper branch and was fastened so as to become entangled in the horns of the animal. When the trigger was released the upper branch sprang upward and held the elk until the Indians arrived and dispatched it with arrows.

● 223 The most interesting system of snaring known by Yokuts Indians was that used in taking wild pigeons. It was done from a blind by means of a long stick which had attached to it a small loop of stiff milkweed string. The pigeons were generally baited in front of the blind for several days before the snaring was begun. The Indian entered the blind early in the morning and attracted the pigeons by means of a decoy pigeon.

The decoy was sometimes a stuffed pigeon skin, but it was more often a live bird, blindfolded and perched on a stick similar to that used in making the snare. One leg was attached to the stick by a short string. The Indian held the stick a short distance from the ground and moved it about, causing the blindfolded pigeon to flap its wings in order to keep from falling. The flapping wings attracted other pigeons.

The snare was allowed to lie on the ground with the loop over the bait. When a pigeon was standing over the loop the stick was given a slight twist. This caused the loop to rise around the feet or neck of the wild bird. The stick was then quickly jerked into the blind, bringing the pigeon with it. The Indian broke the neck of the pigeon between his fingers and held it between his knees while he removed the snare and placed the pigeon in a sack to keep it from further disturbing the other wild birds by struggling.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

223 [343]

Pidgeon blind built by **Chamsuh**, a **Koyeti**, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

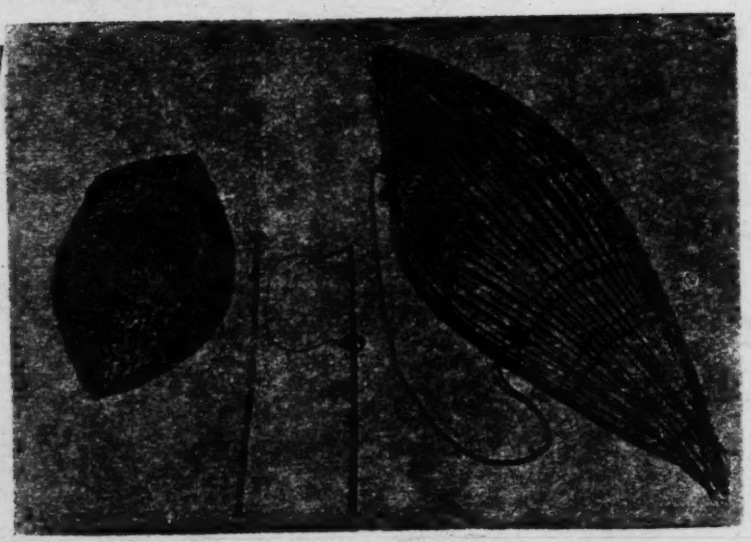
The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it.. The wild birds would almost imediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously. 224

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[223 285]



At the left is a **Koyeti**, and right a **Wukchumne** decoy pidgeon cage. At the left center is a **Chukuimne** pidgeon snare, having a spur to prevent the ring from sliding down the pole and closing the loop. At the right center is a **Yowlumne** pidgeon snare. These snares are about six feet long.

tailed and interesting description of this practice was that furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choinimne* Yokuts on upper Kings River and who left a more or less detailed account of his experiences. The Mayfield story follows:

"When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over themselves.

"The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter.

"A short stick was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand.

"They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing the horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

159
166 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they [223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
159 like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
166 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
484 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
501 did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the [648] mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and 159 tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There 159 were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936·NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [621] at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162] it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed 797 and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this [162 ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, 62] Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij- [36 nocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small 162]

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the east was the fertile land watered by snows of 311] the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had 22 a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262 and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nıl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went
[591] with their mother to do the gathering. This, of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal
[224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and
[281] rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Wakaachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda´o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi´ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida´pw:š
4. poanai´yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta´o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čaš:ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau´ču
10. topo´ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa´o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo´kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču´m: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya´gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo´ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi´yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono´: a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu´mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño´našu
21. čoiši´šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi´šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa´o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu´nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[187]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 [776] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ̂nhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the [754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[187] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 485 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 773 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛtʂ ṭo´hɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛtʂ), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi´tɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi´ta pŏ´dta ma ṭupɛ´nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi´pɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on [281] the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
281 inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[41] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received some meat in return. S.G. believes that every-
[262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

J.P. said "there were five animals just
136 like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: ło´koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi´yɔd, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi´d:t; duwe´s:p, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo´kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

<u>Bear hunting</u>.--Bears were not ordinarily
224 shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.--The plain bow (ta'dup) and sinew-backed bow (ṭap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse'ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, dilibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [324] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [324] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have 322 used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] p. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jaff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a
349 similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Out-
[237] side were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo´'owin). They had their own booths up
[439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

224
349
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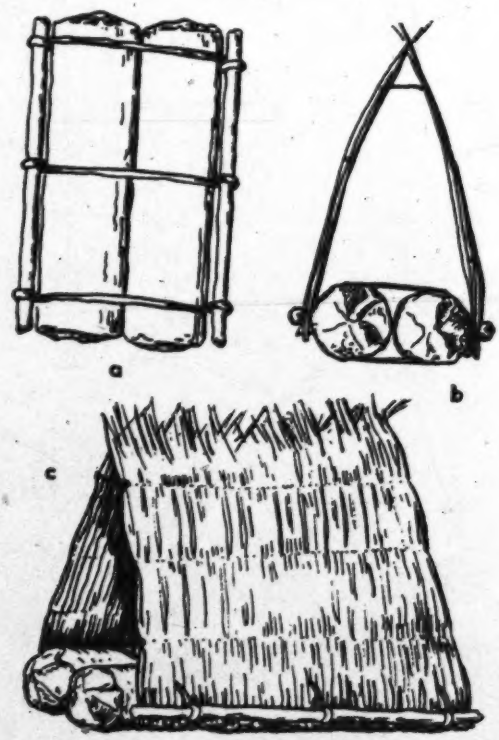

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po ˈhot), tree squirrels (sa ˈñsañwide ˈˈ·t), gophers (hu ˈñhed) and chipmunk (aho ˈˈöt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

● 224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with
[534 him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa ˆhıd or šo ˆho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´mıš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 304-306.

796 825 Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

● 224 The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušl:l:n get snakes for a dance at Mašt:nao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´m:s. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu´čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or m:ts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokon:k (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiw:n (Wukchumni), and Šu:t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on. [285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi´č:t, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

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[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y [756] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

Y [426] This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y 769 **Reciprocity**

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was Y M regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

769 648 767 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to
262 separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield in a passage too long to reproduce here. The ● 224 essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

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796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a´la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·´l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of the men had been hunting and had brought home 512 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. 224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it.[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

When acorns were plentiful a family could 251 get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. [222] White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

278 area was covered with dry wormweed which was
824 then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in
his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of
757 this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and
lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 A man could carry one deer by means of a
482 tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

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[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 183 b] Chuckchansi

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go
492 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja´quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 187 9] Chuckchansi

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 Storehouses and granaries.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such store-
251 house might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to
251 pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
222 by their neighbors, should their food become exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt
224 every day, and women found late seeds, or some

[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] *not state whether* men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he
787 was a doctor.

The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a
224 certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild
825 deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

M.W. said he had an aunt who received
787 power from Deer. Once when she was a young
825 girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

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The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted. This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jab¹), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood [?][157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

W
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413

Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

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Traps.--A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

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[157] California Laurel?

[158] Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 220 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

224 [381] Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

W Y [835]

W Y

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

224 776

W Y

Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti ʼʼla, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

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Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´tıl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.--Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pın ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nıs a´tmın šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for W Y 223 snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´nam:n' for short, just like slang."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer. 262 222 [227] [223 224]

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another 114 226

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture
226 of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor en-
171 vironment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwosh.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry. 224 [789]

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed. 223

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles. [782]

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *nademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the 226 [285]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
[361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

●224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[6 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beanti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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Yowlumne

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CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu*, located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin*, or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu*, meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu*, Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped. 411 224

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal. [824]

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound. [823]

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed. 411 726

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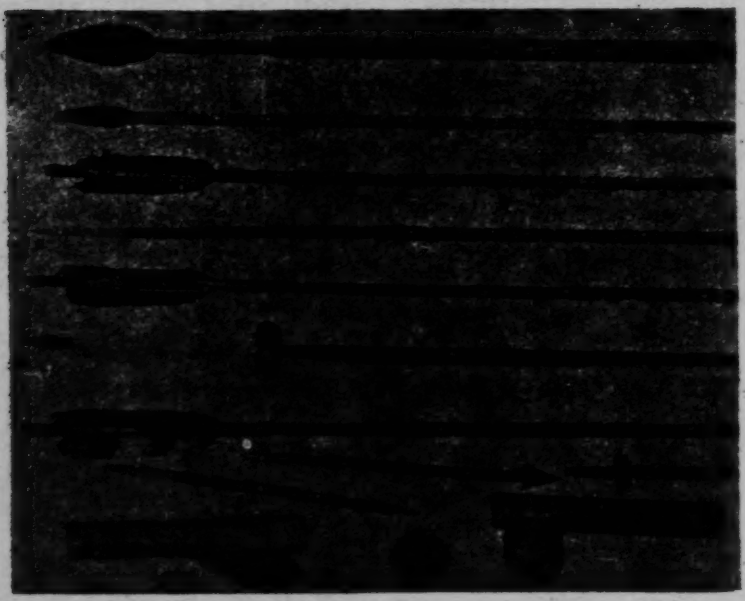

ARROWS AND TOOLS

Top shows a fore-shafted javelin. Second from top is a one-piece arrow. Third, fifth and seventh from top shop the use of red-tailed hawk feathers. Fourth from the top shows a wooden foreshaft. Sixth from the top shows the skip-bomb arrow. Eighth from the top shows, left to right, foreshafts used for squirrels, war and birds.

Bottom, left and right, shows chipped stone knives set in wooden handles by means of asphaltum. Center is a skip-bomb roll of tule for use on the javelin shown at the top.

All of the above were made by **Wahumchah**, last surviving man from the **Yowlumne** tribe.

411 223 Bird fore-shafts had a sharp wooden point with two crossed pairs of small sticks attached to it by sinews about an inch and a half from the point. Yokuts claim that this point would not glance off the feathers of the bird, but would pull many of them out, tearing the skin, and badly bruising the body. This point also often broke the wing of a bird when an ordinary arrow would not.

411 224 Squirrels were shot with a wooden pointed foreshaft having a barb attached to it about two inches from the point. The projecting foreshaft prevented the squirrel from crawling

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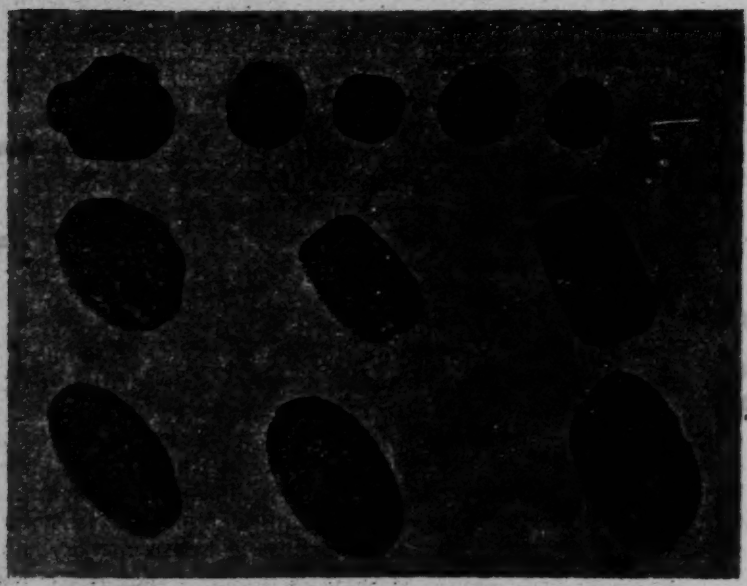

Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wakchumna. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1865, "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.
At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to pock the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary waterproofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon.

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411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated [258] soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews [823] were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

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lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the 515
water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and [578] vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

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The writer has seen arrow and spear points made in this manner. In less than four minutes of measured time a flake was removed from a large piece of obsidian and reduced to a finely worked point. During this time complete explanation was made of the entire process. 324

I know that this method will be questioned by many laymen, but not by persons who have investigated these methods of manufacture. A popular bit of misinformation will always survive. I have a very distinct recollection of searching through a vineyard for arrow points and Indians beads and of collecting a mixed handful of them only to be told by one of the natives (white) that they were not beads or arrow points, but were pumped from the irrigation well and that they could be found in all parts of the field.

THE ANTELOPE SURROUND

One of the most interesting methods of taking game, common to the Yokuts Indians, is that of the "surround" or "drive". In some cases, as in taking jack rabbits, a net and Indian fence were used. 224

Probably the largest game taken by driving was antelope. Before the coming of the Americans the San Joaquin Valley was covered with vast herds of these animals. If the descriptions of early travelers and settlers are to be credited, there were probably hundreds of thousands of these animals within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. They ran in herds and covered the surrounding country like a moving tan blanket. 136 224

The pronghorned antelope of the San Joaquin Valley is undoubtedly extinct. In the northern portion of California there is a wild game preserve upon which have been placed what are said to be some Great Plains antelope. They are also said to be the same as were those of the San Joaquin Valley.

The horns of the antelope were not shed like the antlers of the deer. Both male and female carried horns. These horns were about ten to twelve inches in height and stood almost erect. The tops curved sharply together in the shape of large question marks. Near the base of each horn was a small webbed point, or eye guard. The base of the horn was rough, but the tip was smooth, like the horn of a cow.

Antelope were probably possessed of more curiosity than any animal with which we are familiar, unless it is the more or less domesticated mule. It was this curiosity which made the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. 224 Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no 101 full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule 131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres- 224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of [103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used 224 to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with [476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

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to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [261] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the surround. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding 224 825 the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook*, the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich*, or profes- [533 sional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis*, or annual cere- 769] mony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224 methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 over to the trigger. Rabbits were snared in run-ways, or by rocks where their trails were constricted and where they could not escape the noose. Larger game, such as foxes, coyotes, and raccoons were snared in much the same way, but by means of much larger and stronger equipment. The Indians blocked with brush all trails except the one on which the snare was set. A limb of a tree or a bush was then bent downward and fastened by a trigger.

Elk were snared where they were in the habit of approaching water among the tules and where it was easy to confine them to a narrow path. A large willow or oak was selected and one of the upper branches bent downward and fastened to a lower branch by means of the same kind of trigger used in snaring smaller game.

The noose was suspended from the end of the upper branch and was fastened so as to become entangled in the horns of the animal. When the trigger was released the upper branch sprang upward and held the elk until the Indians arrived and dispatched it with arrows.

223 The most interesting system of snaring known by Yokuts Indians was that used in taking wild pigeons. It was done from a blind by means of a long stick which had attached to it a small loop of stiff milkweed string. The pigeons were generally baited in front of the blind for several days before the snaring was begun. The Indian entered the blind early in the morning and attracted the pigeons by means of a decoy pigeon.

The decoy was sometimes a stuffed pigeon skin, but it was more often a live bird, blindfolded and perched on a stick similar to that used in making the snare. One leg was attached to the stick by a short string. The Indian held the stick a short distance from the ground and moved it about, causing the blindfolded pigeon to flap its wings in order to keep from falling. The flapping wings attracted other pigeons.

The snare was allowed to lie on the ground with the loop over the bait. When a pigeon was standing over the loop the stick was given a slight twist. This caused the loop to rise around the feet or neck of the wild bird. The stick was then quickly jerked into the blind, bringing the pigeon with it. The Indian broke the neck of the pigeon between his fingers and held it between his knees while he removed the snare and placed the pigeon in a sack to keep it from further disturbing the other wild birds by struggling.

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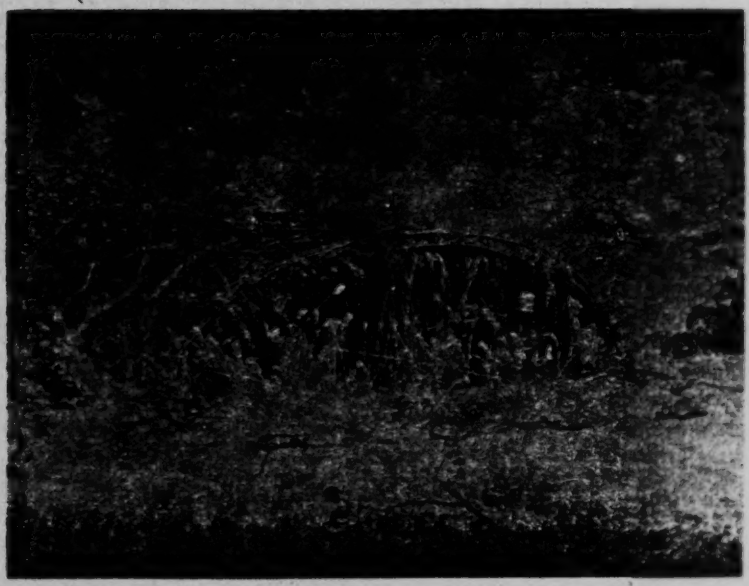

Pidgeon blind built by Chamsuh, a Koyeti, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it.. The wild birds would almost imediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously.

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[223 285]

At the left is a Keyeti, and right a Wukchumne decoy pidgeon cage. At the left center is a Chuhsimne pidgeon snare, having a spur to prevent the ring from sliding down the pole and closing the loop. At the right center is a Yowlumne pidgeon snare. These snares are about six feet long.

tailed and interesting description of this practice was that furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choinimne* Yokuts on upper Kings River and who left a more or less detailed account of his experiences. The Mayfield story follows:

"When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over themselves.

"The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter.

"A short stick was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand.

"They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing the horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game.

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"Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer. 224

"After men began to hunt with guns and could kill a deer at long range, stalking had to be discontinued, as several Indians were mistaken for deer and were shot. Such hunting was always dangerous, even when there were no guns in the country. [177]

"An old Monache Indian once told me of an experience he had had, which I think is interesting. He had stalked a deer for several hours and had finally approached close enough so that he was preparing to shoot.

"Just as he was about to draw the bow he saw something move. He glanced to his right and there on a big rock, as he said, 'There's one mountain lion, he's going to jump right on me. Fool 'em deer too good—fool 'em mountain lion.

" 'Deer go one way, horns go one way, bow and arrows go one way, Injun go one way. Injun no more fool 'em deer!' "

TULE FISHING RAFTS

Pioneers who were on Tulare Lake in the early days say that loose tules used to float on the surface of the water and were drifted by the wind along the lee shore of the lake into thick, floating mats. These mats were sometimes three feet or more in thickness, thirty to fifty feet across, and from fifty to more than one hundred yards in length. 501

When hogs were placed upon the lake shores to fatten, the tule mats caused a great deal of trouble. They were buoyant enough to support several hogs. Sows with young pigs liked to nest on these mats. During the night it was not unusual for the wind to change direction and drift the mats some distance from shore. Then it was necessary to wade, or row a boat into the lake and take the sow and pigs from the mat.

After the mats had accumulated windblown dust and sand and trash they became known as floating islands. At time of low water they would rest upon the ground, but at time of high water they would separate from the bottom of the lake and float away. It is believed that it was from these floating tule mats and tule islands that the Indians first learned to make fishing rafts, and also the rafts which were used on the rivers. The fishing raft varied in length from ten feet to probably twenty, and in width from six feet to eight feet. They were probably from two to three feet, or more, in thickness and were lashed

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

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226 three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top 226 789 [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

"That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of [782] weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

224 San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves. 224

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed. 283 286

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish. 286 226

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 237 [513] "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, [291 294] in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mound NS25

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used. Y 551 775

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men. W 551

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock. Y 551 [221]

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used. Y 224 551

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 551 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the [165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel 192 at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the 197 *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik*, long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the [648] mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

159 Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. ● 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this [251] on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes.

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked 159 best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as 226 big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called 136 *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish.

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was [251] dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass [263] salt with the dried fish. That made it good.

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahdwwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

159 One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
224 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
165 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it*. I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
361

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary . 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭí pni) that forced success. 825 [778] 776

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared 262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco 224 bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tēss*). Ke'-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped on to it.

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves out of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint-heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the [224] probable length of the shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should pronounce the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak! An old hunter says he has seen an Indian stand a hundred paces distant from a hare, slowly raise his long, polished bow, shoot a quick glance along the arrow, then send it whizzing through both his enormous ears, pinning him fast to a tree behind him.

324 411 Some mention was made in Chapter XI of the manner in which flint arrow-heads are made. Mr. E. G. Waite, in a communication to the *Overland Monthly*, gives the following description of the method employed both in Central California and among the Klamaths, as he witnessed it in an early day:

"The rock of flint or obsidian, esteemed by the natives for arrow-pointing, is broken into flat pieces, after the manner usually described. When the pieces have reached a proper size for arrow-heads the mode of finishing it is in this wise: The palm of the left hand is covered with buckskin held in its place by the thumb being thrust through a hole in it. The

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481] River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
[501] for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

262 The grubs (ɔm´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called
[252] tapʻsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant
262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pʻs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hʻs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´tanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ta´sʻp, the flesh). Abalones (to´nʻk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did
[147] before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[36] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226
"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano 136
about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was 225
captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco 439
market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus.

SPEARING FISH

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and 227
arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear?

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

262 The grubs (om´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called [252] tap:si, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

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●226 The tribe I was with had an interesting way of catching fish on the lake shore. A weir of willow wicker work was built out at an angle from the shore for a distance of fifty or sixty yards. Then a large group of Indians would wade out beyond the weir and close the opening. This group would form a semicircle sometimes a mile long.

After the circle was completed they would close in, all splashing and yelling and driving the fish into the shallow water behind the weir. In this shallow water were two or three Indians wading about, each with one of the bottomless [sic] wicker baskets that they used up the river for catching fish in pools. When they felt a fish with their feet or saw a ripple made by a fish they would clap the basket down and catch it. It was not possible to see the fish as the shallow water soon became very muddy.[37]

Another type of weir, consisting of two long wings, was erected in shallow water. No drive was made; men waded in in the early morning and dipped up fish with hand nets (po´hač).

According to Mayfield a special raft for fishing and hunting was used by the Tachi at Tulare Lake.

[50] This raft was constructed in a different way.... It was wide and flat and would pass over very shallow water. It was pointed at the ends, but the points were not raised as they were in the raft used on the river.

In the center of the fishing raft was a large hole. Through this hole fish were gigged much as they were from the platform on the river above.

A few feet ahead of the hole was an earthen, or mud, hearth. On this hearth a fire was kindled, and the cooking was done.

He also describes a novel method of fishing in the tular.

Tules will float on the water, and the Indians make use of their buoyancy. On the lake, and sometimes in sloughs along the river, the tules used to float about loose. The wind would drift them into great mats near the shore. The fish used to collect under these mats and we used to walk over them and spear fish from them.[38]

227 The Tachi fishing implement, as described by M.G., was a single-pointed harpoon (to´´okoi). The hooked point, about two inches long was made of a pelican wing bone which was lashed to the detachable foreshaft with sinew. The foreshaft, about one foot long, was attached to the oak handle by means of a length of tule fibre cord.

226 Fish poison (yao´ha) was made from a white

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[37] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32-33.

[38] Ibid., 30,32.

[P. 15b] Tachi

226 Fish poison (yad'ka) was made from a white
278 flower which was pulverized and thrown over quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, Sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[481] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po·hot), tree squirrels (sa·ñsañwide''·t), gophers (hu·ñhed) and chipmunk (aho''ŏt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Wakaachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
[237] tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into these were fitted bone points (pi´čе tu´h´na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

226 Weirs of willow were set across rivers or streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

226 A favorite method of catching fish in pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and
278 crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

226 Diving for fish was an indulgence of an
481 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

264 Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad),
lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ñtau) were desig-
262 nated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

262 Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the seaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogen) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [108] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´w:š) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lswi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'up:č. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dk:d) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 165b] Kechayi

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oña, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all
222 the acorns, which were gathered and stored,
616 as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the
616 western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief
796 learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

226 616 796 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new" acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 616 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head [252] roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go
492 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja´quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
251 plication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around
[482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the
278 leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
[251 252] Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a
252 meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

226 over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[99]

Firewood, Firemaking

313 Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak, "any kind" of wood, was used for making fire, said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand to control and eventually to quench the flames. No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood, which was bundled up with string and then
313 ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was
482 laid on the back and held in place by the load, to protect against bruising. A person could carry about five logs, four feet and eight inches in diameter, or more if the logs were smaller, N.W. thought.

313 Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

372 Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[99] Powers, 376.

Fishing

Y W 226

Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258

Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ti´k:t koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´l:t, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

Y W [264]

Y W [439]

Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263

Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´m:t (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer. 262 222 [227] [223 224]

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another 114 226

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114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture
226 of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor en-
171 vironment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, ~~one animal~~ stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

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that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for 224
dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic [789]
warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry.

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and 223
when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed.

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. [782]
You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways 226
may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the [285]
women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *rademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the

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226 surface. The *t'unoi* net was fastened to a circular frame on a pole, held vertically, and raised. The more usual Californian net of this type is on a half hoop, and is used rather for scooping or horizontal lifting.

263 Salt may have been obtained at springs, but the reported cases are from the Pitkachi, whose "salt" stank; from the Chukchansi, who went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground; and from the Yaudanchi, who, with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as *alit* and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

THE BOW.

411 Common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick; good bows were carefully smoothed of large mountain cedar wood and sinew backed. The commonest type, primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.

Mention of the right and left end of the bow makes it seem to have been held horizontally, or at least diagonally, as by most California tribes.

The arrow, *shikid* generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *t'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow. The Mohave also fought with arrows lacking flint tips. The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

413 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of soft stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. (Pl. 49, *c*.) This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used this plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.

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On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*. Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the village of *Dinishneu*.

The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

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101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon
[361] the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a
133 distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[68 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give
175 the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[467] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used
● 226 to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now
136 past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

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226 136

"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus. 225 439

SPEARING FISH

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear? 227

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

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227 shorter, and blunt on the end. It was lashed opposite the first, making the two projecting pieces about an inch apart.

"On the blunt end of the second piece was fitted by means of a socket a short, sharp piece of bone or hardwood. It was attached to the pole by means of string through a hole near the middle.

"This string had several inches of slack in it. When the fish was speared, the unjointed tip would pull out, and the socketed tip would be disengaged and turned crossways inside of the fish.

"The fish was then attached to the end of the pole with a short piece of string and could be hauled in without any danger of breaking the gig with its struggling.

"I believe that the unjointed point was necessary in order to keep the other point from slipping off the fish.

"In using the gig they built a sort of scaffolding over the water. A deep place in the stream was selected and two long poles set on end ten or fifteen feet from the bank.

"These poles were about ten feet apart at the bottom and crossed at the top about level with the bank. Where they crossed they were lashed together.

"Then the ends of two more long poles would be placed in the crotch above where the first two poles crossed, with the other ends resting on the bank about ten feet apart.

"This formed two V shaped arrangements with the points of the V's together, the open part of one on the bed of the stream and the other on the bank.

"Across the horizontal poles were laid smaller poles and branches to make a dense shade. The fisherman lay on his stomach on top of the branches and dropped the point of the gig down through an opening in them.

"When the fish passed into the shade below, it could be seen and was promptly gigged."

226 136 251 Many of the fish obtained in this manner were known as steel heads; they were large fish resembling both the salmon and the trout. The meat of these as well as many others, was dried and smoked in large quantities. Being cured in this way, the fish could be preserved from one year to another. Along the San Joaquin river, we are assured that many tons of salmon were taken each year during the annual "run" and that the bushes and banks about the rancherias were red with drying fish.

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Earlier in this account attention was called to the great 226
numbers of large spear points found on the beds of Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista and Kern Lakes when those bodies of water first ceased to exist. From statements made by old lake Indians we know that many of these points were lost from Yokuts spears when those people were hunting raccoon, mink, otter and beaver around the old lake shores. But that is not the whole story. Some of the points were eight inches in length and thousands were more than six inches long, all too large to be used on a spear.

Actually, tens of thousands of beautiful spear points were found where the deepest waters had been, ten and more miles from some of the old shore lines. Although most white pioneers classified these old points as fish spears, we know that the Indians *did not* spear fish with such points. Said *Tawp'-naw,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "Mr. Latta, I betcha you spear five hundred fish with one them *kots* [stone] spears, you don't catch *one,* I betcha." And Tawp'-naw was undoubtedly correct. There had to be some other answer.

It was many years before I found an Indian who could 226
speak from actual experience of the whole lake culture, and who 115
could describe accurately and in detail the practice of taking fish from tule rafts on the San Joaquin Valley lakes. This aged Yokuts was Josie Alonzo, or *Yoi'-mut,* last survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe, which once in great numbers occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake.

After Yoimut had answered a thousand questions and I was amazed at the wealth of information she had and the accurate way in which it checked with data gathered from other aged Yokuts, I showed her several dozen large spear points, asked her the use to which they had been put by the Chunut. This was her answer: "They use 'em to catch fish."

That was the only one of all answers given me by Yoimut that I would have questioned for a second. I didn't know what to say.

Yoimut quickly saw that I didn't know how the spear points were used and that I didn't believe her. So she described to me the following practice, something I might have deduced, but which would not have been known as a fact without her statement:

"Sometimes when them Chunut went fishin' on them tule 226
rafts out on Tulare Lake, they didn't catch any fish. Maybe

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226 three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

226 789 "That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of [782] weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

224 San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves. 224

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed. [283 286]

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish. [286 226]

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

these magic stones to vary much in size and proportions, but to be all of the same general shape. They are often referred to as plummets, or plumb-bobs, and are commonly known to collectors as charm-stones. 789 778

Charm-stones have been found throughout Yokuts territory. Along streams and about the shores of valley lakes they have been discovered in great numbers. Away from the old bodies of water they have occasionally been brought to the surface by plowing. When the waters of Tulare Lake began to recede during the late 1880's and early 1890's these stones were found by hundreds along the lower shores. Dr. Ed. Smith of Hanford made a large collection of them along those shorelines and in the lowest portion of the dry lake bed. He once told me that during one week-end, traveling with horse and buggy, he gathered one hundred and eighty-four Yokuts Rainmakers' charm stones.

Pioneer San Joaquin Valley residents have furnished numerous parallel data, stating that these stones were used to bring fish up the streams and to bring success in fishing. A few have stated that they were also used in connection with a rainmaking ceremony. Zachary T. Blankenship, of Visalia, once told me that they were used to bring water into streams during drought, and to induce the large trout of Tulare Lake to migrate up the various branches of the lower Kaweah River. Said "Zac", "Soon after it left the Sierra foothills the Kaweah River divided into six branches—Outside Creek, Deep Creek, Cameron Creek, Packwood Creek, Mill Creek and St. John's River, which, in its lower course, is known as Cross Creek. Sometimes the heads of some of these creeks would choke with sand and brush so that the water could not run down them. Then the Indian Medicine Men had to get busy with their plumb-bobs and put on a song and dance calculated to bring the water back. [226]

"Each year the large lake trout would run up some of the Kaweah Creeks, but they did not always run up all of them. This cut some of the Indian camps out of their fishing. They hung those plumb-bobs on the willow trees in order to make the fish come up to them. I never saw this done, but I know it to be true, for I was told about it by an old Indian who lived on Outside Creek. I found one of those plumb-bob stones hanging on a tree. It took my fancy. There was no one in sight, so I cut it loose, put it in my pocket and took it home. We had sev-

[text continues on p. 204]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Soon it was dark and we were all cold and wet. It was just as wet on the boat as if we were in the lake. We could all swim, but we were afraid all of the time, because the water was about seven feet deep and the rough water would drown us if we fell in it. So we stayed awake all night and shivered and held on to each other.

When it got daylight we could not see the land in any way. We could see the Kettleman Hills and the Sierra, but we were away out in the middle of the lake. The water was too deep to reach bottom with our poles. The wind was all gone, so we had to wait.

We stayed out there all day. It looked like we stood right still. I guess we did. There were lots of fish under the boat. My stepfather speared lots of nice ones. We could look down through kotlaum, the spearing hole, and see nothing but fish.

It was hot in the daytime, so we all got dry and warm. We made a fire and cooked fish, using the loose dry tules to burn. We were not hungry and we were not afraid any more, but we did not see how we were ever going to get to land. We stayed there all of that day and that night. It was a nice moonlight night and very pretty on the water. My mother told stories and sang for us almost all night and we had a good time.

When it came daylight again we could just see the tules on Chawlowin. But the tule boat looked like it was just standing still. My stepfather could just reach the bottom with our longest pole. We stayed out there all day again, and we got pretty tired of it. By dark my stepfather and my mother could use the poles on the bottom and they worked almost all night pushing the raft toward Chawlowin. By daylight we could see the land about a half mile away. Almost as soon as we could see, a heavy wind started up and in a few minutes the boat hit the bottom about one hundred yards from the tules.

Before we could get off the boat three or four men waded out to meet us. One of them was my mother's brother. We were very glad to see him. The men helped us to the shore and then they began to push the boat around to the west where they had a camp. It took all the rest of the day to get it around there.

We walked along the lake to the camp through a narrow trail in the high tules. Sometimes the water came up to our knees. The north wind was blowing hard again and that made the water come in on the land.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this [251] on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes.

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked 159 best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as 226 big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called 136 *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish.

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was [251] dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass [263] salt with the dried fish. That made it good.

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 159 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it 226 sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about 361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'- 166 wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first 159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to 648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six 166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none [197] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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221 301 824 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 796 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 226 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some [423 616] foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 484 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local [535 527] and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

221 484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspa had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilazas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [481] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco* [147] *Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish [114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near [361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at ● [226] least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

[797] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of 108 Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

226 The tribe I was with had an interesting way of catching fish on the lake shore. A weir of willow wicker work was built out at an angle from the shore for a distance of fifty or sixty yards. Then a large group of Indians would wade out beyond the weir and close the opening. This group would form a semicircle sometimes a mile long.

After the circle was completed they would close in, all splashing and yelling and driving the fish into the shallow water behind the weir. In this shallow water were two or three Indians wading about, each with one of the bottomless [sic] wicker baskets that they used up the river for catching fish in pools. When they felt a fish with their feet or saw a ripple made by a fish they would clap the basket down and catch it. It was not possible to see the fish as the shallow water soon became very muddy.[37]

Another type of weir, consisting of two long wings, was erected in shallow water. No drive was made; men waded in in the early morning and dipped up fish with hand nets (po´hač).

According to Mayfield a special raft for fishing and hunting was used by the Tachi at Tulare Lake.

[501] This raft was constructed in a different way.... It was wide and flat and would pass over very shallow water. It was pointed at the ends, but the points were not raised as they were in the raft used on the river.

In the center of the fishing raft was a large hole. Through this hole fish were gigged much as they were from the platform on the river above.

A few feet ahead of the hole was an earthen, or mud, hearth. On this hearth a fire was kindled, and the cooking was done.

He also describes a novel method of fishing in the tular.

Tules will float on the water, and the Indians make use of their buoyancy. On the lake, and sometimes in sloughs along the river, the tules used to float about loose. The wind would drift them into great mats near the shore. The fish used to collect under these mats and we used to walk over them and spear fish from them.[38]

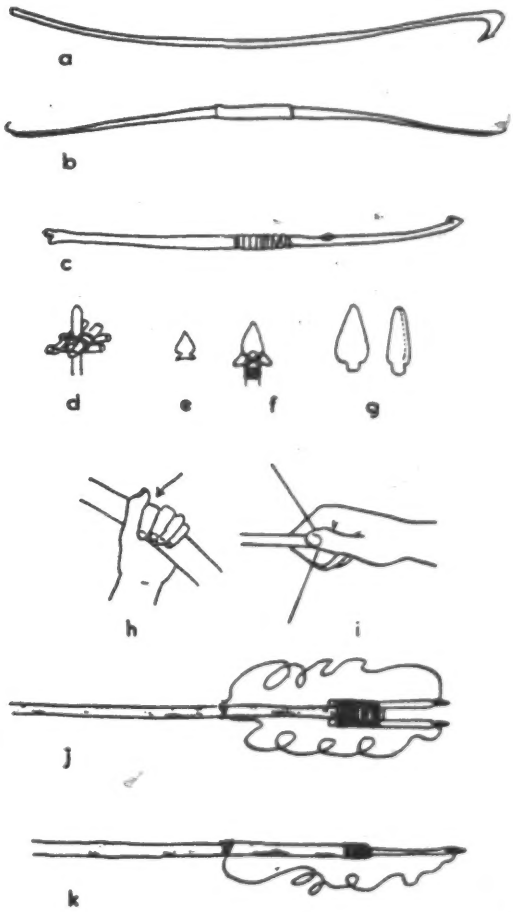
227 The Tachi fishing implement, as described by M.G., was a single-pointed harpoon (to´´okoi). The hooked point, about two inches long was made of a pelican wing bone which was lashed to the detachable foreshaft with sinew. The foreshaft, about one foot long, was attached to the oak handle by means of a length of tule fibre cord.

226 Fish poison (yao´ha) was made from a white

[37] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32-33.

[38] Ibid., 30,32.

411 Of the ten plain Yokuts bows in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California,
322 four still have the bark on the inner side. None shows much recurving, and they are no doubt the basis for Kroeber's comment that Yokuts "common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick...."[172] Plain bows had strings of čid:k twine.



[222]

Fig. 10. Hunting and fishing equipment. a, rodent hook. b, sinew-backed bow (about 4 feet). c, self-bow (about 3 feet, unstrung). d, bird-arrow tip. e, obsidian tip of deer arrow. f, same showing fastening. g, flint tip of war arrow. h, bow grasp with arrow rest. i, arrow release. j, k, double and single harpoons.

[172] Handbook, 530.

223 349 A floating hunting blind, described by S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This [501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po·hot), tree squirrels (sa·ñsañwide''·t), gophers (hu·ñhed) and chipmunk (aho''·ět).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Wakaachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 227 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet long; different lengths were used for different

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
[237] tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into these were fitted bone points (pi´čе tu´h´na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

226 Weirs of willow were set across rivers or streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

226 A favorite method of catching fish in pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (sāṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Poothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɛs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɛs
[262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɛt (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɛ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´yɛn) at bedrock
252 mortars (tinɛl), using a large pestle (če';
412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɛm (ti´pɛn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɛlao, pipe of cane [sikɛl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɛš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɛ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this purpose there were large flat-bottomed baskets
484 called te´wɛč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go
492 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope (a ja´quima, presumably). But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory (near Friant) to
●227 spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown
321 Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113]From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114]Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer. 262 222 [227] [223 224]

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another 114 226

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 136

"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

225 439

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus.

SPEARING FISH

227

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear?

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

227 shorter, and blunt on the end. It was lashed opposite the first, making the two projecting pieces about an inch apart.

"On the blunt end of the second piece was fitted by means of a socket a short, sharp piece of bone or hardwood. It was attached to the pole by means of string through a hole near the middle.

"This string had several inches of slack in it. When the fish was speared, the unjointed tip would pull out, and the socketed tip would be disengaged and turned crossways inside of the fish.

"The fish was then attached to the end of the pole with a short piece of string and could be hauled in without any danger of breaking the gig with its struggling.

"I believe that the unjointed point was necessary in order to keep the other point from slipping off the fish.

"In using the gig they built a sort of scaffolding over the water. A deep place in the stream was selected and two long poles set on end ten or fifteen feet from the bank.

"These poles were about ten feet apart at the bottom and crossed at the top about level with the bank. Where they crossed they were lashed together.

"Then the ends of two more long poles would be placed in the crotch above where the first two poles crossed, with the other ends resting on the bank about ten feet apart.

"This formed two V shaped arrangements with the points of the V's together, the open part of one on the bed of the stream and the other on the bank.

"Across the horizontal poles were laid smaller poles and branches to make a dense shade. The fisherman lay on his stomach on top of the branches and dropped the point of the gig down through an opening in them.

"When the fish passed into the shade below, it could be seen and was promptly gigged."

226 136 251 Many of the fish obtained in this manner were known as steel heads; they were large fish resembling both the salmon and the trout. The meat of these as well as many others, was dried and smoked in large quantities. Being cured in this way, the fish could be preserved from one year to another. Along the San Joaquin river, we are assured that many tons of salmon were taken each year during the annual "run" and that the bushes and banks about the rancherias were red with drying fish.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797
648
[361
162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 262 [197] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. They came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
554 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground:
622 "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
541] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (čɛ´mčɛm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
● [231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun:ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took [231] it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never 184] kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its [778] hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.--Fages speaks at length of the
262 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

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825
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4. ṭu´hɨt: eagle
u´wɨk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´ɨt: tree squirrel
aha´ot: weasel
po´hot: ground squirrel
ha´nhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɨp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234]This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773] thought that, if a girl ate quail, when [825] her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´ši:t) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyi:t, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´duwi:ts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

[P. 100b] Wukchumni

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunad) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wač (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič:´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wuk-chumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages,
825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´h:l: eagle
ŏ´lŏ´i: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ṭuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wihe´š:t: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahō´'ō: bear (bi´ow:ši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother,
625 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 618 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ła); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 <u>Redemption of totem animals</u>.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pıt, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hıp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipıt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yıl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62]Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 222 616 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 616 796 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šiñ (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

231 Pets.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 184 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said N.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´tɨl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pɨn ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nɨs a´tmɨn šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

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[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´namɨn' for short, just like slang."

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi čɛt toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nɛn, house its pigeon's, Micha-hai; upa´omus ipo´kuɛk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

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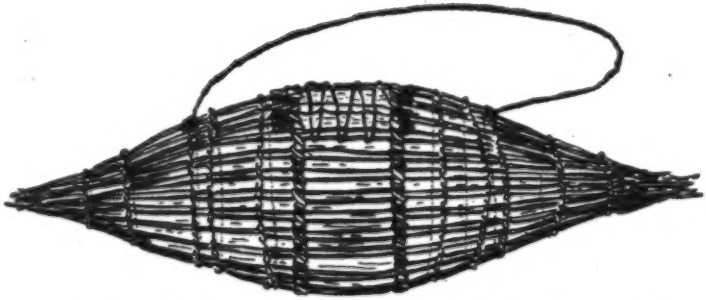

Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

W [P. 221 C] Western Mono NS25

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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

W The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited
223 conditions. A beam to sit on was the main con-
343 sideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method.
825 The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
Y tame" (B.O.).

The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
223 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably
343 Yaudanchi).[161]

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[161] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono´či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 232 a] Western Mono NS25

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Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

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Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

W Y 231 778 432 825 W Y [423] W Y 223

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, Kɨlmi´šɨt, winatum, and the chief, Pao'ɨč, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'ɨč was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, Kɨlmišɨt, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and Kɨlmišɨt stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'ɨč reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'ɨč was helped by all his ainɨč." Then the old man would jerk the rope and Kɨlmišɨt would help hoist him up.

W Y 291

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'ɨč and Kɨlmišɨt "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

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<u>Bear</u>.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

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[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y [431] 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote---Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all *totemic animals except the bear cubs*, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit:p nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called ax: ´diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and [231] it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. [412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call-
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with 513
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159 513
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 237
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. [438]
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. [755] They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without [756] cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a [755] headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets aẓṭu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motsa's friend.[97] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[97] See anecdote, p. 405.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild 262
sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. [231] Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. [171] Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the 825
rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved [773] among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed 757
by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

exercises were conducted with more energy and with fuller choruses than they would have been after the Indians had become exhausted. 769

When Tueh, the Indian interpreter, and myself entered the camp it was already an hour after nightfall, but there were yet no indications of a beginning of the dark orgies that were to be enacted. We found about three hundred Indians assembled, in a place remote from any American habitations, and encamped in light, open booths of brushwood, running around three sides of a spacious quadrangle. This quadrangle had been swept and beaten smooth for a dancing-floor, and near one of the inside corners there was a small, circular embankment, like a circus-ring, with the sacred fire brightly burning in the center. Kolomusnim and his relatives, the chief mourners, occupied the corner-booths near this ring, and near by was Sloknich, the head-chief of the Chukchansi, by whose authority this assembly had been convened. Here and there a fire burned with a staggering, sleepy blaze just outside the quadrangle, faintly glimmering through the booths; at intervals an Indian moved stealthily across the half-illuminated space within; while every few minutes the atmosphere was rendered discordant and hideous, as indeed the whole night was, during the most solemn passages, by the yelping, snarling, and fighting of the hordes of dogs. [231]

For fully half an hour we slowly sauntered and loitered about the quadrangle, conversing in undertones, but still nothing occurred to break the somber silence, save the ever-recurring scurries of yelps from the accursed dogs. Now and then an Indian slowly passed across and sat down on the circular embankment, while others in silence occasionally fed the sacred fire. But at last, from Kolomusnim's quarter, there came up a long, wild, haunting wail, in a woman's voice. After a few minutes it was repeated. Soon another joined in, then another, and another, slowly, very slowly, until the whole quarter was united in an eldritch, dirge-like, dismal chorus. After about half an hour it ceased, as slowly as it began; and again there was profound, death-like silence; and again it was broken by the ever-renewed janglings of the dogs.

Some time again elapsed before any further movement was made, and then Sloknich, a little, old man, but straight as an arrow, with a sharp face

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other coastal people to the west). By laying them on
[439] a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it
[171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
[262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they T Y were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for 515 a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T to entertain others or to practice, a man would Y dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For 517 such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the 323 coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells T was measured by doubling a strand and then Y slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. 436 A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of 286 rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months T based on moons was used in the old days. The Y only name he remembers was that for the month 805 roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" Y for the basis of feather head ornaments. A 301 single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of Y● sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned ●[237] one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends T hanging down the back.

Y Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´''i) 534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y ● 796 ● 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual [illegible]ush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While [illegible] is said to have been invariably coiled, [illegible]um specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no proveni[illegible] other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
38] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´''ıts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 293 (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walaṭ) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nıt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 <u>Paint</u>.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yın, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 435 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 723 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo ʼhɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʼtɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.P. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʼta pŏ ʼdta ma ṭupɛ ʼnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʼpɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the [281]

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

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322 As the best instrument of this group, No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was [237] glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as [439] Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[173] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik·t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[174]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[175]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. [439] Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [sic—no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

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[173] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[174] Handbook, 530.

[175] P. 373.

411 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's
237 sinew, splits it up with flint into small
322 fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were
237 about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´k·d) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian
[438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a
237 whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [824] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have 322 used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] p. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, e.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a
349 similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Out-
[237] side were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo´'owin). They had their own booths up
[439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

224
349
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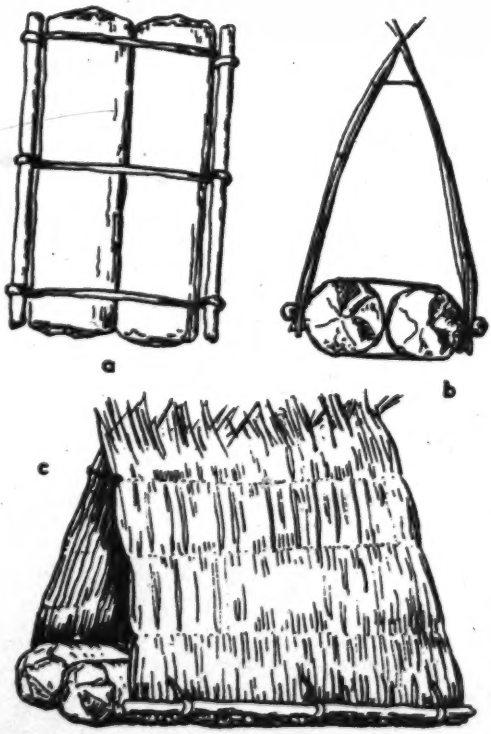

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.)
227 the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into
[237] these were fitted bone points (pi´če tu´h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

A separate harpoon point in the University
[321] of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nep), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´h:č). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail top-
[237] knot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to
285 which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick
335 foundation and tule mattress, was used exclusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated
[184] cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

Musical Instruments

Y 534 All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the M [534] Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Y 198 Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš:´k'n:ta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y 534 The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´ow:d) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534 The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak 237 trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (šo´gən) grew all through the 249 foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the [343] separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či ''up, či ''up, či ''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed [787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tapni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237] If a man wanted to live long or wished for
432] other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).
A [beginning the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Rawlings]

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew
825 (S.G.).

Antelope---"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer---If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl---The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous---Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal.
[237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ţ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. 755 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lːmːk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen.
845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (aiːč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

539 778 825 [P. 113 b] Wukchumni;

756 located, Čoiš:šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain:c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[359] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[360] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
237 Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagledown cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

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[359] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[360] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ain·č), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain·č) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

● [237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
596 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
825 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter" (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. [237] said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [nic].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins
237 fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers
[534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'l xo'l xo'l" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their
533 songs follow:

539 1. so´nowau nam luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·šo·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun husam ñohõ´´õ na husam
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion; "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-
[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

One of the participants at Diapnuša was
224 J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill;
[534 J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
● 237] (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´mič). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 522 237 [613] While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene. There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the [302] eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was <u>not</u> the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 522 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the [786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Mutoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'ow:ts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´n:l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs,
[465 necklaces, and headbands were added. The
431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
one end was held in the mouth, was heard by
[198] Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
302 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
276 called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (ǎo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwəs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

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[P. 157 a] DUMNA

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samıs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yın wa´tiyı to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lıt a´mam hača´ka´ıč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ţe´pi ni´hi ti (ţıpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ţıpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tıpni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.
386 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the
822 ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.
ša´lu: black. Charcoal.
wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi,
192 Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mɔ´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi'op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on
[616] each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts
[237] were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 Redemption of totem animals.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pıt, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hıp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipıt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yıl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62]Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the

846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam- [823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand- [603] father brought the first cradle (bi´'ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[611] [66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son·l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil·t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´'·n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h·l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho´·n t·pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'haiıč, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73]Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʌn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni ˇša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owʌč ano ˇša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
● [237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

769 He came into the dance space, circled
789 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

769 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
756 could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or
831 arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105]
Sometimes red or black roots were woven into
designs across the bottom; these, too, showed
the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were
no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new
baby was not carried on the back, but in the
arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on
the back because its eyes might fall out," said
N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby
hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle
by means of a milkweed string band about two
inches wide which passed through loops along
the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on
its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
[237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing
prevented movement of any kind. Under the lash-
ing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin
blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a
cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under
the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until
it could walk and talk. Confinement in the
cradle is not continued as long as formerly:
Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept
in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to
second and third cradles, the last being some
thirty-five inches long. All were of the same
construction as the first save that the hood
was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chuk-
chansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was
woven as an integral part of the supporting
hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had
corners which were merely tied to the top edge
[482] of the frame with milkweed string. Large
cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage
on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the
child had outgrown them and, as long as they
were in good repair, were used for younger in-
fants of the proper sex. An infant girl would
not be put on an older brother's former cradle,
or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

Birth took place in the dwelling, not in
844 a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings from a bear's claw were put in water for the
278 woman to drink, and the decoction was also
237 rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119] The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wul-will (ʃ ʃ ʃ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120] Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
same for the wife's attendants (mother and
852 sister) who had been in the shelter with her.
Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets
783 to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid
and took them home. At the same time the man's
mother was presented with a large gift basket
filled with the acorn mush which the wife's
mother had prepared in the steaming shelter.
This the man's mother took away to eat with her
visitors.

After the bath the young mother was
arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her
waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she
had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. --
A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl
were also dressed in their best. It is not
stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided
the girl's attire, though such was normally
Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the
baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grand-
mother received the washing basket. Like his
mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments.
He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and ma-
ternal grandmothers then told each other that
they had these gifts, and to go get them and
take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two
families' fires, which were not far apart. The
young mother's family entertained all her rela-
tives and friends who had come to celebrate
with her, while her husband's family did the
same for him. The young man's family feasted
on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family,
while the girl's family enjoyed the meat pro-
vided by her husband's father. However, both
groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita
cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feast-
ing.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially,
the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omit-
ted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young
mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get
skinny now when they don't do that to us," at
which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but
[260] it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 208 a] Chukchansi

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
787 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

W Y 342 W Y [574] W Y [361]

frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wcre down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

W Y [352] [237] [439] [522] [513]

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they [237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and 439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt, Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted 292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' 237 string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bi, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, W Michahai; sema´bi, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

Y The skirt was made by either men or women, 292 but the headdress was made only by men. An old 462 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu- 435 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., Y had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat- 301 ed point was pressed from in front against the 304 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

W Tattooing.--There were no special practi- 304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka [192] o´čik (red), toiye´'i očik (white), and mutskei´wik očik (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 218 b] Western Mono N525

W Y 302 terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

W Y 411 Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·ˈdᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (noˈjᵃbⁱ; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

W Y 411 322 The sinew-backed bow (taˈmuedᵘ) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Wakšachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (taˈmobⁱ) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

W Y 411 322 237

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948.NS29 Yokuts NS29
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W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´tıl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.--Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ţi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ţi´pın ma ţe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nıs a´tmın šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for

W Y 223 snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´nam:n' for short, just like slang."

W Y 252 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in [259] outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; W granite was never used. The mush basket was [285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a Y big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

W A plant called paša was used to flavor [263] acorn much.

Ya''ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big Y stick bee" (ta'beko'ot, Wakachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, [237] or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki'puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke'wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 226 b] Western Mono NS25

Cordage and Nets

W Y 281 [237] 283

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wi:ši:b) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

W Y 283

Milkweed string (wi´šib:b wiši´bi; milkweed, wi´šib:b, Waksachi; če', Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa´h:p (the Yokuts ša') was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

W Y 482

The carrying net (tapi´h') and tumpline (ta´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi´kuoš) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokut N529
[P. 228 a] Westrichmbio N525

Musical Instruments

W Y 534 Flute.--This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

W Y 534 237 Whistle.--This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.--For this instrument (ča´o'ɛč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

W Y 534 Clapper.--This (ṭa´ohɛl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

W Y 376 [438] Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pɛt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kɛn). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lɛn nɛm ti´'ɛs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ɛm ti'ɛs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ´ošа[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was W called. He talked to his supernatural helper, Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W The shaman was the only man present. The Y husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´l:č). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead- Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been [237] prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o´di) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´'ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 241 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques, which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

W saw what he thought was a dog coming along the
Y trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immedi-
613 ately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both
825 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W The talisman in most common use by Micha-
Y hai people with supernatural power was the
778 eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

W
Y

Waksachi Shamanism

The following very general information on
756 shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha´gɛ) might get
Y his power from "most anything." When he cured,
[237] he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
Y analogue.
764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought
W justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent,
683 then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W
Y

A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who
683 were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

535 527 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 237 [301] The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California Indians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part [171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 237 301 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 237 301 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachun* and the *netenat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Shoshone NT22

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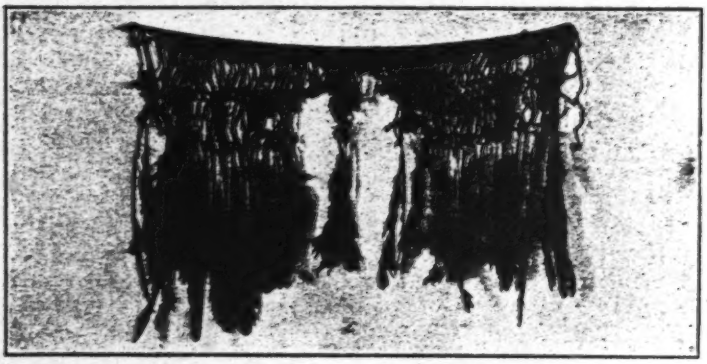

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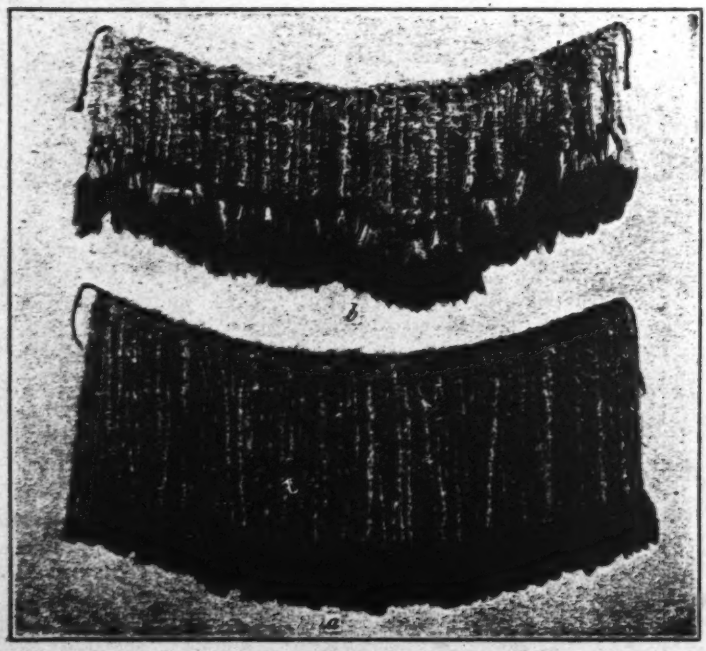

FEATHER DANCE SKIRTS

a, Kaw; b, Yokuts; c, Luiseño

[p. 508(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhundech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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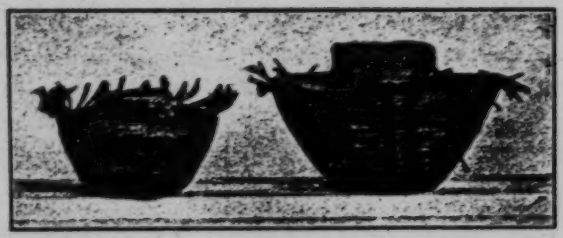

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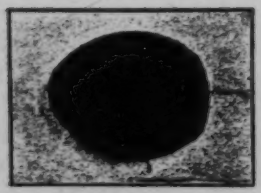

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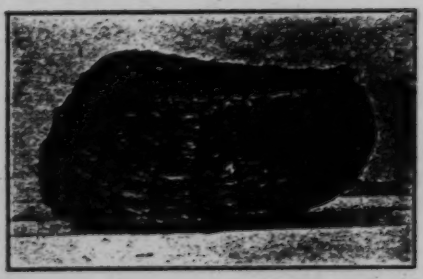

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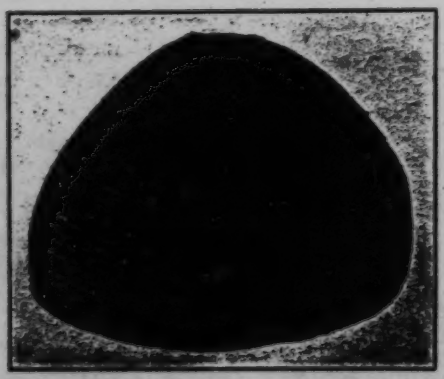

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YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for winnowing; c, soft basket of twine; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity
285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the
531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however,
285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the
171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and
●237 carried a longer string than other bows of the same length.
The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer
[38] in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue
made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of
mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was
281 sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were
often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their
hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and repointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood ~~of button~~willow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a [258] crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews [823] were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the princi- [142] pal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under
[237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers
might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red,
[301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were
hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and
[301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and
302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be
291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design
[531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in
[137] the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com-
[177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p.78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 172 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [86] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 484 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water 515 was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, *"He'-am tan'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These
237 were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary
[513] blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl,
[291 in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they
294] were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *akketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to 825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw,* an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw,* no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits,* keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more 776 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. 825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest [285 rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On 531] some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water [239] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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769
[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang [533] together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. [302] They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was 159 made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It 769 fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was 292 out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a 237 horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. 159 About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. 769 The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little 293 bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 769 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

[624] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him [237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes 159 769 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call-
ed *yot'-saha*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with 513
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159 513
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 237
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. [438]
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet nu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [53]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Mono NS25

Y

W

317

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[412]

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

Y

The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

W

[237]

482]

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

323

[412]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[25]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[25] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They 791
were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would 484
leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents [789]
apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting par- 411
ticulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but [237
by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian 322]
overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints [381]
of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its [283]
diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237] therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-ch*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
● 242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Mountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of
[249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chúmut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the
[757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever
[757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly de-
616 scribed several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwıca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ıš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwıč) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutówich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

Y

Musical Instruments

534 All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the

M [534] Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Y 198 Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš: ´k'n:ta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y 534 The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´ow:d) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the wati-yod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534 The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak

237 trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (šo´gon) grew all through the

249 foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

276 pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but
249 usually there were one or two older persons, men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u´tuna ta ñhi mita´m ṭu´dan nip ta´ptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi´am aku´m ṭada´ki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

276 Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (šogen). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they might be taken about and sold; they were said
[435] to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulči´na, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cyl-

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[223] A full account of Tübatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224] The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

[P. 15b] Tachi

Fish poison (yaʔ/ha) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called tɛ'lɛl, was mentioned by M.G.

Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were
223 caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[481] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from [621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Tokuts N529
[P. 145b] Western Mono N525

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɪn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

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Dwellings.--A house was called tomo´'hɪš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wɪts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šɪč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

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A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

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The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ɪša) was played there.

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Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets
●251 there, and food which was stored for immanent
use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual
two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until
the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasion-
[533 ally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were
those customary with other foothill Yokuts and
were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi --
but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collan-
262 der, made of fine willow shoots," was used to
separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.154 a] Dunna

251 175 Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 262 175 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

> There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.
>
> From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 726 175 A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

> "He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 178 b] Chuckchapsi

[252] [B51] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking [823] stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The [562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 179 a] Chuckchansi

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of the men had been hunting and had brought home 512 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. 224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it."* The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, [223] said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

*Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 179 b] Chuckchansi

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes[1] and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken. [855]

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular
252 trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same [285 415] shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. [263] Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse
222 Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these
252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for
252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[86] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were [251] brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[86] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[i.e., of acorn meal dough. —Northyst]

252 262 Greens.--Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.--Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.--Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.--Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up 222] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed the trees, knocked down the cones, while the 48] women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

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[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year N.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

222 Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. [252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked [252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some [251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little 252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These were usually dried on trays in the sun and [251] stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the [439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid 263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the 435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be slightly larger than the lump of salt for which 439 it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

263 According to N.W., rock salt was got from the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of 439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[92] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

271 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[95] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. [illegible] they had soaked a while they were squ[illegible] with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
251] The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [95]The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
251 plication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around
[482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in
278 the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
[251 252] Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a
252 meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with con-
342 struction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging
[462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.--A special
343 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house,
● 251 was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to
251 pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
222 by their neighbors, should their food become
224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102]Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [784] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 9] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets (´tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--mentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[824 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?)
284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

W Y 342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W Y 343 Shades (ci´nu'ıš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. W Y [574] All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain, They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W Y 343 251 Storehouses.--The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

Storage bins.--Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ıts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

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high was set up, and in a squared position about it were erected four shorter forked posts. Four tie beams connected the corners, and across these was laid a flooring of small logs. Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

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Sweat house.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an averaged-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

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Two "brush" fires were built, one on each side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires' heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of ex-

W Y 222 262 Yucca---The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Y W [252] W Y [462] [251]

Piñon nuts---Pine nuts (pone´diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y W [481]

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

W Y 262 252

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´ºwa. They were superior to the local variety.

[439]

Acorns---Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 223 a] Western Mono N525

W Y 250 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on rocks to dry, then stored in large covered baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

W Y [251]

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; granite was never used. The mush basket was always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

Y W [285]

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

Y W [263]

A plant called paš was used to flavor acorn much.

Ya''ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Y [237]

Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta'beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki'puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke'wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29.

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with
262 a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 pounded into flour, and cooked.
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Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de-
[415 scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregu-
324] larly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple-
[415 ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among
177] whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim*." 175

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission." [251]

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages. 101 103

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

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101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

25 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
[361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[6 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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Yowlumne

A few Yowlumne traders traveled to what is now Inyo County to trade for mineral salt, and for obsidian, the volcanic glass used in making arrow and spear points. They also traveled to the West Side to trade for asphaltum from the deposits near present Maricopa and McKittrick. Some venturesome traders traveled to the coast near Moro Bay to trade for abalone, Pismo clam, keyhole limpet, and periwinkle shells, from which some of their ornaments and money were made. 487 439

Many kinds of herbs, roots and seeds in addition to saltweed ashes and salt from salt grass, were traded, but to a limited extent, because the growth of most herbs and roots was wide-spread in the San Joaquin Valley. Dried wild blackberries were traded to the people who lived on the plains and lake shores away from the rivers, where those berries grew in abundance. [251]

Yowlumne traders traveled as far north as *Yokohl* Valley, northeast of present Lindsay, to trade for steatite, or soapstone, from which were made their cooking vessels and one variety of bead money. Chalcedony, jasper, agate, and any other stone which was easily chipped into arrow points was also valued very highly. Rare curios or oddities of any kind had a high trade value. Quartz crystals, star-fish, sea urchins, cowrie shells, the canine teeth of grizzly bears, and any other uncommon objects, were certain of a ready market by trade. [135]

To fully explain Yokuts trading and trade routes would require more space than is available for this entire article. But it is necessary to know at least something of this practice, which, because of the low mountain passes to both east and west, was probably more extensive among the Yowlumne than it was among most other Yokuts tribes.

According to old Yowlumne Indians, elk, deer and antelope skins, steatite and the salt from native salt grass were the local key articles of trade. They were scarce in much of the desert territory east of the Sierra.

Yowlumne traders would gather a pack of tanned skins, purchasing them with Yokuts money, and carry them to the desert, where there were deposits of obsidian, or volcanic glass. As there existed a set standard of values between deer skins and obsidian, it required only a short period of visiting, news exchange, and bartering before the Yowlumne trader was ready to return to his home on Kern River.

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YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley
353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

"In the center of the single room, directly under the small
354 circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

"The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes
352 covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

"In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into
352 the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules,
513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

● 251 * "With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored
353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

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Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 768

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

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abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

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threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

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manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon. 262 222

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary. 251

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house. 252

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

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to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [251] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the sur- 224
round. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding 825
the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or profes- [533 sional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual cere- 769] mony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224
methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

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227 shorter, and blunt on the end. It was lashed opposite the first, making the two projecting pieces about an inch apart.

"On the blunt end of the second piece was fitted by means of a socket a short, sharp piece of bone or hardwood. It was attached to the pole by means of string through a hole near the middle.

"This string had several inches of slack in it. When the fish was speared, the unjointed tip would pull out, and the socketed tip would be disengaged and turned crossways inside of the fish.

"The fish was then attached to the end of the pole with a short piece of string and could be hauled in without any danger of breaking the gig with its struggling.

"I believe that the unjointed point was necessary in order to keep the other point from slipping off the fish.

"In using the gig they built a sort of scaffolding over the water. A deep place in the stream was selected and two long poles set on end ten or fifteen feet from the bank.

"These poles were about ten feet apart at the bottom and crossed at the top about level with the bank. Where they crossed they were lashed together.

"Then the ends of two more long poles would be placed in the crotch above where the first two poles crossed, with the other ends resting on the bank about ten feet apart.

"This formed two V shaped arrangements with the points of the V's together, the open part of one on the bed of the stream and the other on the bank.

"Across the horizontal poles were laid smaller poles and branches to make a dense shade. The fisherman lay on his stomach on top of the branches and dropped the point of the gig down through an opening in them.

"When the fish passed into the shade below, it could be seen and was promptly gigged."

226 Many of the fish obtained in this manner were known as
136 steel heads; they were large fish resembling both the salmon
251 and the trout. The meat of these as well as many others, was dried and smoked in large quantities. Being cured in this way, the fish could be preserved from one year to another. Along the San Joaquin river, we are assured that many tons of salmon were taken each year during the annual "run" and that the bushes and banks about the rancherias were red with drying fish.

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the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

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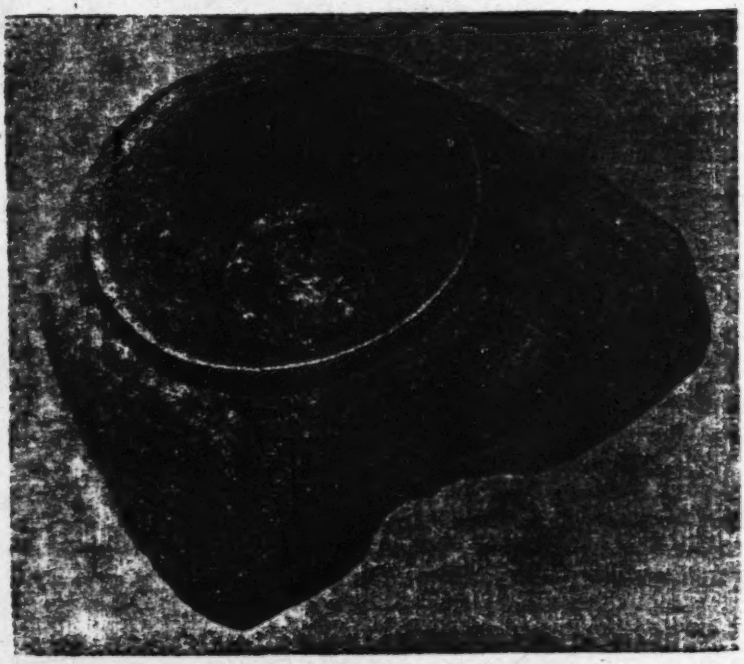

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
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159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we
dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could
live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were
no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

We were at the camp about three months, until summer
159 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

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have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

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old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes. [251]

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish. 159 226 136

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass salt with the dried fish. That made it good. [251] [263]

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
262 order to catch the horses for food other horses were essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
[25] preserved, according to general practice, it was sufficient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*16 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
[10] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
[31] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
*16 important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*16 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

262 The grubs (ɔm´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it was scarce in the tular). This was called [252] tapɩsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant 262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pɩs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hɩs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´tanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ṭa´sɩp, the flesh). Abalones (ṭo´nɩk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving [147] quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[36]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[36]Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

Fish poison (yaó'ka) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were
223 caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi:

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
● [252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[418] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Dayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jaff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64c] Wukchumni

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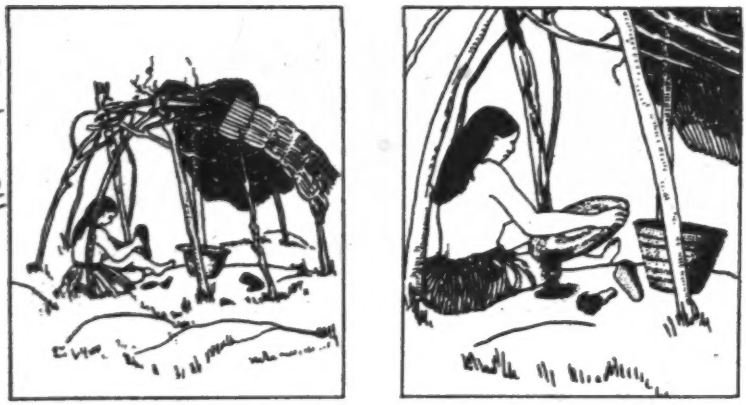

a b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
262 salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by
[263] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times
[412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to
accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens.
However, all agreed that deer meat was more
often roasted than boiled, and that this was
done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawis.
M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were
the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock
salt which was in strong solution or pulverized.
The strips of flesh were hung over tree
branches where they were not in too hot sun,
and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
322 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests
were watched at sundown; often three or four
were located near each other when the returning

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[263] [187] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of
192 nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we
cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original
"kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the 252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and put in a basket to boil. They were later 262 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or 222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'išŭn.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mːtski´ša (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´šta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
●252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´dɨk, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned katɨk and čidedɨk. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and
[77] eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´syɨn, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

A´ṭu (manzanita berries) were used only
222 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just
262 for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

175 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
769 walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the rancheria I
counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
[361] makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
rancheria were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Rancheria of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
525 upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´'ˌč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lˌč) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo.
[184] said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ža). The pieces used

[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dow:n: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wet": meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewet": Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wet": fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
342

Dwellings.---A house was called tomo´'h:š, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´w:ts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´š:č, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[352 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

[252]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´:ša) was played there.

[533 524]

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Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns, Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collan-
262 der, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

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[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɨs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɨl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɨt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɨt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɨsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɨč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɨs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɨs
[262] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɨt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɨ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yɨn) at bedrock
412 mortars (tinɨl), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɨm (ti´pɨn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gen. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɨlao, pipe of cane [sikɨl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɨš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɨ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wɨč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
to "go over and kill those people like birds."
252 While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
surrounded the women's camp. One man came
closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the
acorns with their teeth and thought they were
eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
early to knock down more acorns. They found a
648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:l)
tied to their tops, which had been set up by
the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or
trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally
designate certain trees or grass spots as hers
and would "growl" if some other woman took the
products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and
would not be taken to the chief under ordinary
circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[626] women did grow into family feuds, which the
chief attempted to control by counsel. There
was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely
led to inheritance of such plots, even though
inheritance was not defined in set terms by
any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.N. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Mean-
616 while the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
796 acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to
616 the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken
● [252] to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from
000 preference. After the birth occurred, the

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got some whites who were running away. They
727 brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
● [252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

Toward sundown the people went home and
[512] had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
25 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

[257] [851] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking [833] stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The [562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of the men had been hunting and had brought home 512 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. 224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it."[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, [222] said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes[1] and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken. [855]

Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, 251 then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

Seeds.---Seeds were parched on circular 252 trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same [285 415] shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. [263] Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse 222 Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over 252 their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for 252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

A "grass" grows down toward the valley 222 which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. [251] The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[1] [i.e., of acorn meal dough. —Analyst]

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up 222] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[223 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 481] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the [137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [144] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in 222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. [252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked [252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some [251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little 252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These [251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the [439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid 263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the 435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be slightly larger than the lump of salt for which 439 it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

263 According to N.W., rock salt was got from the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of 439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[92] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

When they had horses here, they would go
224 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There
492 they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja´quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

●252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
251 plication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around
[482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in
278 the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not
[25] coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
252 Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a
252 family for winter consumption. Enough for a meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
[352 [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110]Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111]Ibid., 528.

[112]Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

W Y 222 262 Y W [252] W Y [462] 251] W Y [481] W Y 262 252 W Y [439] W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone´diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´ºwa. They were superior to the local variety.

Acorns.---Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

W [P. 223 a] Western Mono NS25
Y
252 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone
262 and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on
W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered
[251] baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were
Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained;
W granite was never used. The mush basket was
[285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes
Y were removed from the water and served from a big tray. They were eaten "just that way."
W A plant called paša was used to flavor
[263] acorn much.

Ya´'ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta´beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited
Y honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks,
[237] or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

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lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.---B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

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Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu·huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´a´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čkat: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´bük: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pika´digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

wihutkai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´ara: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či"au´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´čo´čč: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over
221 were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

262 Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

222 The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
262 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de- [415 324] scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple- [415 177] ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

[252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

[778
823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
Hososhud. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
619 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne
361 village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823 MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*,
meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it.
Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew
there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days
by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E,
MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of
acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one
mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Acorn granaries and a Chukcimne Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wik'-sid*, by the In-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

dians. This same stone was used as a rubbing stone and was generally flat on opposite sides. The ends were kept rough by pounding them with a jagged rock. This was done so that the mano would not slip off of the acorn while it was being hulled. 252 412

A second rock was often used in the hulling, it being embedded in the soil in front of the worker and having drilled in it one or more shallow holes. The acorn was placed upright with the point in this hole and the large end struck with the rough end of the mano. A slight tap was sufficient to break the hull loose, and it fell away from the acorn. The hulled acorns were placed in a basket, the process being carried on until several gallons of hulled acorns had been obtained.

The sweet valley acorn had a very thin hull, which often split while drying. It was not necessary to crack them with a mano. The cracked hulls were pulled off with the fingers. The other hulls were removed with the teeth. As these acorns were badly eaten by moth larva, they were smoked after being hulled. Holes were drilled in them. They were then strung on hemp strings like beads and hung from the inner framework of of the house where the smoke from the fire prevented the moths from depositing their eggs. The acorns were next taken to a mortar. These mortars, along the streams, often existed in the large earth-bound rocks, and remain today as almost the sole evidence of many Indian village sites. 252 [412]

Away from earth-bound rocks, portable stone mortars were used. Some of these were excavated in very rough boulders. Others were nicely shaped inside and out. A few were so finely shaped and polished as to appear to have been made on a potter's wheel. In primeval days many wooden mortars were used. Pioneer white San Joaquin Valley settlers tell us that when they arrived in Yokuts territory the trunks and large limbs of fallen oak trees were cut full of holes where the Indians pounded acorns. A double handful of acorns was thrown in the mortars, which the Indians called *puh'-wus*. *Pahd'-uh-we*, the pestle, a slender stone, was grasped between the hands and the end brought down on top of the acorns. Repeated blows pulverized the greater portion of the acorns, which, by reason of curing in the granary, were dry and brittle. 252 412

Sifting of the pounded acorns was done with a flat tray called *ki-o'-to*. The powdered material was brushed from the mortar onto the tray by means of *tro'-kote*, a brush made of 252 415

[text continues on p. 111]

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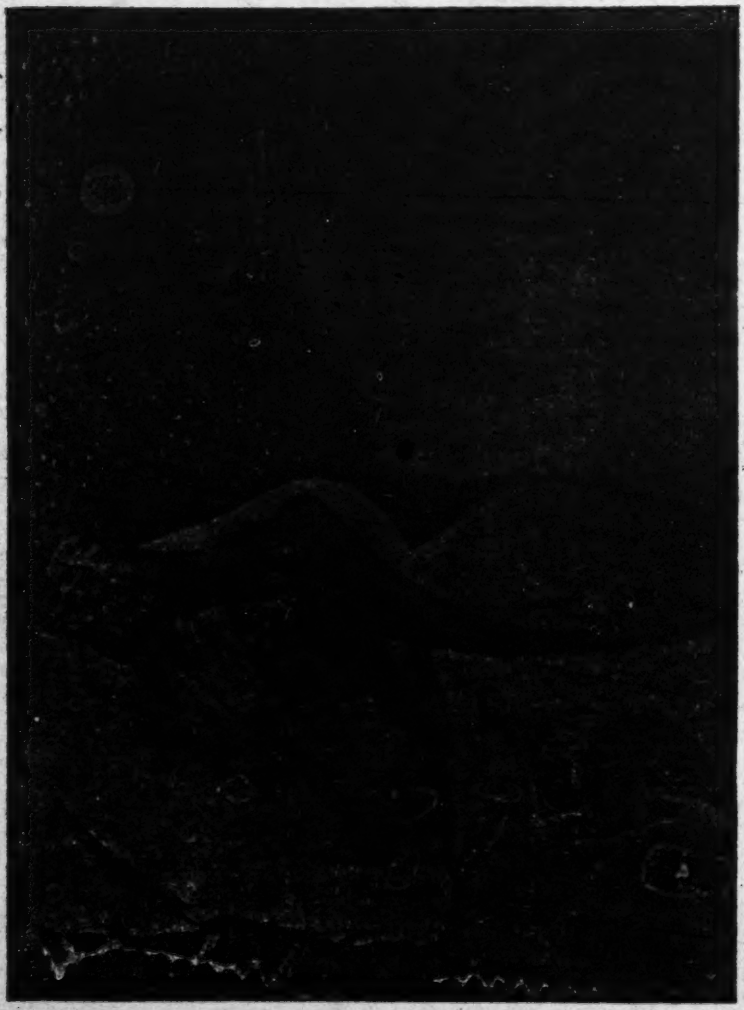

A Chukaimina woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

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Weh-puk'-ia showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine 252
material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it.

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

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Wah-puk'-in showing the method of heating water and cooking acorn gruel with hot rocks. Rocks are removed from the fire with green wooden tongs and dipped quickly into the small basket of water at the right. The resulting flash of steam removes the coating of ashes and burned acorn gruel. The rock is then dropped into the large basket of water or acorn gruel and is stirred about with the looped acorn stirrer. When the rock has lost its heat it is lifted from the basket in the loop of the stirrer and replaced in the fire. The design on the basket at the left shows "coming night." The one at the right shows "measuring worm."

At the present time we find the Indians lining the holes in the sand with cloth, generally an empty sugar sack, but we are assured by most old Indians and pioneer whites that in early days only leaves were used.

It is of particular interest to note here that *Wahumchah* is positive that the old-time *Yowlumne* lined the leaching holes in the sand with cloth. As the southern Kern County tribes *did* make cloth, it is more than probable that his statement is correct.

Much acorn bread was eaten raw from the loaf. As needed, pieces were broken off and given to the children, or eaten by their elders. [264]

From this cake was made a thick acorn soup, or mush. By the Wukchumne Yokuts it was called *ta'-pin*. To make this

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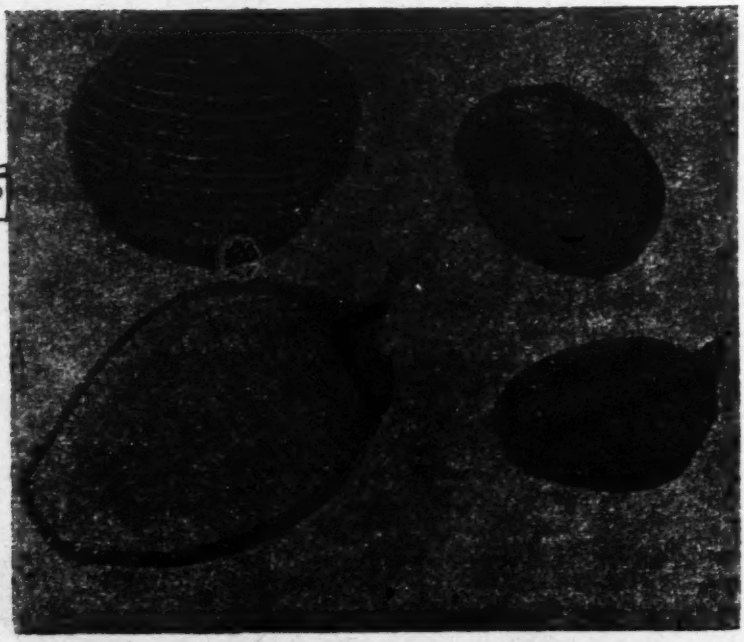

Four Yokuts harvesting and camp wicker utensils. The two at the top are teh'-mouks or simple collanders. Those at the bottom are seed beaters. With one of these in the right hand a woman was able to beat the seeds of oats, wild rice and other standing grasses into a large wide mouthed basket held under her left arm.

mush, the cake was pulverized in a mortar and placed in a basket. Water was added, and the whole cooked quite thoroughly by means of hot rocks (*chak-toy'-tuh*). The rocks were placed in the basket by means of two green sticks used as tongs and removed from it by a looped stick (*shi'-ow*) which was also used to stir the soup. When first removed from the fire by means of the green tongs, the rocks were quickly dipped in a basket of water. The flash of steam caused by this removed from the surface of the hot rock most of the ashes and burned acorn meal with which they were coated. The Wukchumne used soapstone cooking rocks, claiming they were superior to any others. Much of the cooked mush was allowed to harden into a loaf, or cake, of bread.

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manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon. 262 222

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary. 251

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house. 252

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much [illegible] quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After [illegible] the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away. [361 162]

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 262 [197] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

648 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to [162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this [361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 [342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented [162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-
[252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them
797 no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Joasps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Joasps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

Salt

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[439]

Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´d:t) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

> The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

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A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ča´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191] Handbook, 539.

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

● 258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
263 salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

273 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe,
222 the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

Fishing

Y W 226

Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258

Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ṭi´k:t koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´l:t, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

Y W [264]

Y W [439]

Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263

Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´m:t (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a [258] crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews [823] were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 187 b] Chuckchansi

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made [261]
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the 311] east was the fertile land watered by snows of the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had 22 a very different environment from those of the tree-filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Yokohl Valley (Yokod-Wukstchmi territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
554 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground:
622 "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
● 262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825 (čɛ́mčem) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[23] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184 people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

262 The grubs (om´nol) of horseflies and of bees were eaten; the bees were smoked out with a damp tule smudge. The ground wasp (po'a´onai) larva was said to be eaten by the Telamni (it [252] was scarce in the tular). This was called tapʌsi, was roasted on coals and eaten with acorn mush. Caterpillars (mane´ča) were skinned (singed?) and eaten.

[225] Turtles (ṭu´ñkot) were plentiful. They were stabbed under the throat with a sharp stick, put on hot coals, and roasted; then the shell was broken off and the larger entrails were discarded.

226 A great variety of fish was available for all the lake people. The Chunut informant 262 spoke of the following. "Greaser" fish (tawa´'at) was a black fish with a large head and small body. The chub (tu´konu) had "fat all over his tail." The steelhead (?) or "lake trout" was called e´pʌs. The brook trout (?) (so´lul) was colorless save for a red edge on its forked tail. The minnows or young of any fish were called ta´hʌs. Salmon (da´ṭu) were well known and greatly depended upon, but eels were said to appear only at Sanger on the Kings River. A certain fish (u´duṭ) had a large head like a catfish but was not the same thing, for catfish were called tamṭa´na "because he has whiskers" (tamu´ṭanin, whiskers he has). The crayfish (keṭa´keṭat) were common, as were water mussels (ka´pap, the shells; ṭa´sʌp, the flesh). Abalones (ṭo´nʌk) were known only by their shells which were brought in from the coast.

226 Fishnets (to´noi) were dragged between the shore, where one end was fastened, and a balsa which moved in an arc toward the shore. Diving for fish was a common practice, as in the foothills. The Tachi procured fish for Estudillo by diving with hand nets.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs...Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel [Kings] River. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving [147] quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three.[26]

A corral (wise´'i) for catching fish was made in shallow waters by setting up button-willow stakes and intertwining them with tules. Persons waded about with baskets catching up the fish which others drove into the corral. This method of fishing was seen by Mayfield, whose description is included for its graphic qualities. It appears that it was the Choinimni who used the weir while at the lake.

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[26] Gayton, Estudillo, 78.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɛt
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syɛn, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hɛn tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɛn
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɛn). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
278 when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread
[171] than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´e, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because
[262] "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´inz) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
825 without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hohe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-k:ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo´hono); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m:k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h:l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wuk-chumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap:´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´:n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tatahe ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat:k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t:l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n:ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´:ts ken:ts).[59]

The tarantula (tu´mun) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k:´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

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[192 [59]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
828] there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´´:ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´:ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is
825 called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful
shamans, which means "true, real, big, power-
ful." Another spider with black, red, and
yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu)
"because every time it is thrown away it comes
back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol
call to be bitten by one 'to be broken'
(ṭa´ṭaiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis
results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal
cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventu-
ally returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared
because "it stung with its feet and there was
no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-
t‹ts) was "partner to that other one [centi-
pede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a
round body and a little tail that sticks up and
stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and
another one "with colors on it" were known in
773 the foothills and called by the same name.
"This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are
not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho
ma ṭ‹´pni; wile´li t‹´pni)." Lizard was some-
times euphemistically referred to as "my ten
fingers" (ṭi´y‹ nan pu´ntuk), referring to his
hands which served as the pattern for human
hands."[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind
of song in old times; another one (po´'ol‹lwai)
was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog
(we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another
creature which might be a skink, as he was
"something like a waterdog but more like a
lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard some-
thing say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I
said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right
under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana.
Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you
must always say how pretty he was or he would
make you sick. So I just kept on picking
onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," al-
though I didn't know whether it was a boy or a
girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and
ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'‹tawat.
The bullfrog was called a'oi´‹ts by the Tachi,
but wipel‹ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut
"because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to
put them back. They were never eaten.

[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

If a person were feverish, a layman with
[755 supernatural power might rub him all over with
823] a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
821 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has
262 four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[36]

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[36] A Palliguwonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tūtic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
su ˈhup:	hawk
lːmːk:	prairie falcon
o ˈčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˈhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokte ˈklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot ˈwat:	frog (small)
oˈo ˈyːts:	frog (large)
ma ˈčwːs:	elk
yːtsa ˈhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ˈyu:	coyote
weṭi ˈṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ˈlu:	"hoot" owl
tokla ˈli:	"screech" owl
poho ˈˈot [sic]:	weasel
poho ˈˈot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ˈnul:	wildcat
a ˈdza:	fox

[773]

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and taltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (ṭ·ˈpn·m; supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell [262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[789] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.--Pages speaks at length of the animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucia range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

264 Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the other in the midafternoon.

283 String.--It appears that both hemp and nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

276 Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

622 Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
624 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
281 inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned on two short sticks to assist the four-legged
224 pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received
[262] some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
[262] like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were not totemic). These were: ło´koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi´yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi´dɜt; duwe´sɜp, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo´kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hói, deer.

224 <u>Bear hunting</u>.--Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish be-
278 came stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

Diving for fish was an indulgence of an
226 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all
48) who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad),
264 lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ñtau) were desig-
262 nated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said
262 that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the seaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
[263] salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[412] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

267 Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
136 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Woodlake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pːs); minnows [?] (ta´kːč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tːč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wːs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

252 Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
262 strips from an initial cut down the backbone. The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

322 Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
[262] favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[NS] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

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[263] [NS]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
192 also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

222 insects were seen flying into them. Next morning before they were aroused by light, a fire was built over the nest and the smoke driven down the entrance with a fire fan. When the inmates were stupefied, the entire nest was dug out as a whole and carried carefully to a coal fire. When the nest was dried out, the 252 larvae were shaken out onto a tray, washed, and put in a basket to boil. They were later 262 drained and eaten with acorn gruel (te´pːn) or 222 mixed with whole manzanita berries. (This account from M.L., who earlier claimed the Wukchumni did not eat "grubs.")

The roblar composed of valley oaks (a white oak, Q. lobata Neé) supplied an abundance of acorns for the Wukchumni and their neighbors. However, the acorns from a certain black oak of Eshom Valley (probably Q. Kelloggii) were most prized, and are still preferred even today. The valley oak was called tao´wihːt; the acorns from all oaks were called pu´'utuz, save those from Eshom Valley which were known by their Waksachi name, ŏ´'iŝün.

Mariposa lily bulbs (kama´ya) were plentiful and a favorite dish. They were dug with a digging stick while the plants were in bloom (April and May). They were rubbed across an open-twined basket to remove the outer skin and then boiled.

A plant which was probably arrowhead (a Sagittaria), called ta'a´na, was a boiled root food "just like potatoes when it was cooked and grew all over in wet places."

Mːtski´ŝa (mesquite?) was not identified. It has "leaves like parsley and yellow flowers"; the roots were dug and boiled.

A small variety of soaproot, called koči´hːč, was cooked on hot coals. A layer of sweet-smelling flowers (ča´wan, "something like tarweed") was first laid on a layer of coals in a pit.[188] Then the bulbs, then another layer of flowers were laid on and all covered with hot ashes. More wood was laid on to burn as coals and the whole left over night. This dish was greatly relished and was always prepared in large quantities for a general feast. The cooking was a man's task; when an especially large quantity was wanted, men would help the women gather the bulbs. The cooked bulbs and flowers were not eaten together but separated and eaten as two dishes. Both sexes partook.

[137] The general word for clover was či´tat, but five kinds were distinguished: po´to čitat, soiwa´si čitat, hodo´m čitat, čaka´ma čitat, and ka´tːk čitat. These were usually eaten raw and were a favorite accompaniment for acorn mush, as was pu´ŝta, another green, though not a clover, which was cooked. The clover designated as hodom had red and white blossoms; while still young and tender it was eaten raw and was a favorite accompaniment for salt-grass

[171]

[188] Armstrong states that these bulbs were cooked in pits by the Pomo (Field Book of Western Wild Flowers, 12).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

[m] Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waña´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

222 A´ṭṭu (manzanita berries) were used only
262 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve
262 basket over a large watertight coiled basket and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

The load of wood was held on the back by
313 means of a tumpline. This passed over the
482 upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[171]

[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773 825] thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´ši:t) and mountain coyote (?) (iwey:t, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´du:ts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or
three chiefly men in a village they would
divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing
feathers, another the leg bones, and another
the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the
meat. "The chief would not let those people
gathered there go away until all the meat was
eaten." When the killer had finished, the
chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in
water so that it would be revived and return to
its supernatural home. As he did this he said,
"tuñdi ta po dta ma tup: nita" (? ? you go
up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter
when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
782 called his people to pay for it. The coyote
lay on a blanket, the people threw down their
432 strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it
would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man
"buried the whole thing right then because no-
body ate that meat."

825 Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduw:ts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these
informants could recall for Wukchumni people.
They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other
tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237]See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´n:č, and another known mother, Tu´n:č. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonoč:m was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonoč:m. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonoč:m were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonoč:m were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ı lkın. Fish was his poŠa so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epıs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho´no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poŠa [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an [178 262] ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring 825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poŠa although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

533 5. aiyama´tₒn na pa´nₒn
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yₒn do´mto panₒn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
262 (taña´yₒn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March;
276 "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
787 under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent
276 long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
supernatural power might take it each year, or
787 every few years, provided he observed the usual
276 tabus. A man who desired special power was not
differentiated from other participants during
the ritual but behaved and was treated like the
novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
how to administer the drink safely and who was
276 of good character, i.e., "who had never killed
anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man"
(M.P.). The leader and local chief, after con-
sultation, set the day for the rite, and it
was announced twelve days in advance by a wina-
[602] tum. Thereafter the participants drank only
thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices
went to the leader and arranged the details of
their grandchildren's participation. An ex-
perienced participant did not necessarily need
a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might
have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with
two winatums went through the village calling
the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed
with them. They assembled and all went for a
long walk or run while the leader procured his
plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for ex-
ample, the procession ran, with the leader
ahead and a winatum before and behind the line
of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell
Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc
of willow withes, about three feet high at the
center point, was erected over which each per-
son must jump. One failing to clear it, or
tripping, was believed to have broken the meat
tabu and was sent directly home.[368] "There was
no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on
anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total
length of the run was about two miles. The
winatums returned with the youths while the
leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock
mortar where the participants' mothers were
gathered with baskets of water. After the man
pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the
water and it was allowed to stand for a while.
(M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads
soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit
with other information, though all persons
were dressed in their best, even if merely on-
lookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the
assembly space where blankets were laid out
for them. Each child had a blanket, an indi-
vidual drinking basket, and two women sponsors
[the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
the youths to pay attention to what they would
276 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying
787 that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[368] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
276 thetic. It was used both internally and as a
757 poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

[P. 133b] Wukchamni
Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[265] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept, [262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsal]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had [184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a— Aug 4 st]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[265] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander,
262 made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Wakasachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

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[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.154 a] Dumna

251 175 Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 262 175 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.

From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 726 175 A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 155a] DUMNA

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mos), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
●262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tıl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nıt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanıt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wesča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pıč (brook trout).

[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mas, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pas
[262] (lake trout), poi´yom (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hat (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ňaš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·ča´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´yan) at bedrock
252 mortars (tinal), using a large pestle (če';
412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nam (ti´pan, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plenti-
276 fully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gon. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kalao, pipe of cane [sikal]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´waš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin
281 blanket (xeu´či; cexa´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
481 but children, sick persons, and goods some-
501 times had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wič (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

616 ulu· ´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča´pit· ´tna:
kingbird
wihe´š·t:
cougar
ki· ´či:
raccoon
te´p·š:
beaver
xu´mix:
jackrabbit
te´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši´tx·l:
ground squirrel
homu´ča:
wood rat
te´´·l:
rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:
lizard
ta´nai´ew·ts:
grasshopper
pu´tus:
"round" acorns
e´š·n:
a "mountain" acorn
te´p·n:
acorn mush
li´m·n:
acorn gruel
a´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:
sourberries
ča´n·t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe´l·s:
a seed

naho´´o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´´ušu:
coyote
a´oja:
fox
čo´i:
skunk (large)
če´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma´o:
grey squirrel
gai´h·t:
salmon
ma´m·l:
blackberries
kisi´´·n:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety
● 262 animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

226 616 796 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new" acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 616 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head [252] roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʿn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owʿč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

252 house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At
[B51] Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a
[823] fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which
[262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The
[562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of
512 the men had been hunting and had brought home
224 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it.[67] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

251 When acorns were plentiful a family could get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, [222] said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[67] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

[222 When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed 481] the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137] [89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to M.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [441] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 184 a] Chuckchansi

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262 Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484 traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soaproot were pit-cooked and eaten as by other
171] Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe Ñokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A 847 woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied [834] themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being 171 similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated ~~that~~ the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokut N529
[P. 222b] [redacted] NS 25

W Y 222 262 Yucca.--The yucca plants (o·´pa·dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Y W [252] W Y [462] 251

Piñon nuts.--Pine nuts (pone´diw², Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y W [481] W

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

Y 262 252 W Y

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´ˢwa. They were superior to the local variety.

[439]

Acorns.--Pine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

W 250 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered [251] baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; W granite was never used. The mush basket was [285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a Y big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

W A plant called paša was used to flavor [263] acorn much.

Ya´´ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big Y stick bee" (ta ˆbekoˈot, Waksachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, [237] or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

W Y 262 [252]

lake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.---B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

W Y 262 192 136

Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate

soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)

u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)

tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem

kutu´huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem

iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper

tuka´wiš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"

a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"

tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem

tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters

ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone

te´s´wa: cottontail rabbit

to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats

wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate

poho´´ot: weasel; doctor's dream helper

pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem

a´čk:t: mole; no one ate

ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate

to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate

ti·´bük: beaver

naha´´ots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem

kini´: duck hawk; a family totem

wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)

kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate

pik: digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem

w:hutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate

we´ja: condor; no one ate

hutu´´du: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall

pa´´aga: crow

ka´rapuč: raven

ča·k: blackbird

či·au´wi: another kind of blackbird

o´ščo´ič: magpie

hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate

šai´go: blue jay; old people ate

hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate

hara´ki: old people ate

´pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate

soro´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)

si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 224 a] Western Mono NS25

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čuču ˊ'ai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini ˆša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu ˊmna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču'i ˊna: Oregon junco
muči'uoi ˊna: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti ˊt:š: Audubon warbler?
so'o ˊwi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho ˊmona: valley quail; everyone ate
či ˊp:t: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi'oi ˊ'ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
sara ˊrapa: kingfisher
šo ˊ'šo': little green heron
wa ˊk:ts: blue crane
ko ˊd:to: sand-hill crane
ka ˊhi: grouse
kura ˊvi: duck (kind?)
la ˊla: geese
huihui ˊmus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai ˊga: mudhen

Insects:
mü· ˊy:m: fly
čokoi ˊ'ica: wasp
pe· ˊna: yellow jacket
hu ˊbiwa: bumble bee
naraposta ˊ pe ˊna: hornet
ta ˊbeko'ot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu ˊñ:p: tarantula
mu ˊča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu ˊlu: brown lizard
kumče ˊča: black lizard
wasu ˊ'i: a large "brush" lizard
musi ˊgi: rattlesnake
paso ˊgo: water snake
kolo ˊlki: King snake
o· ˊkoko: bullfrog
kuai ˊaki: a small frog
a·natza ˊna: water dog
ta ˊl:m: speckled trout
e ˊbič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po ˊlhoi: sucker
aiya ˊgo: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai ˊh:t: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta ˊk:ts: minnows
a ˊñya: turtle

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Trees and shrubs:
pohue ˊdop^{a}: valley oak
ya ˊkap^{a}: post oak
wi ˊ'up^{a}: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša ˊba: live oak
tikai ˊya: acorns of all oak species
a ˊpsoab^{a}: manzanita
to ˊnap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no ˊjib^{i}: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso ˊpoip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo ˊhaba: "Jack" pine
pane ˊwan:p: sugar pine
pone ˊdiwa: nut of sugar pine
tu· ˊbap: "Digger" pine (piñon)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 224 b] Western Mono N525

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa°dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b¹p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't¹p: slippery elm
napa'ap²: alder
soho'p²: cottonwood
tanapo'nip²: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s²hu'b²: small willow
se'nowiyap: elderberry bush

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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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tm in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in 344
no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again.

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of 262
tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic.

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not 137
grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate 222
coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains in- 262
habited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions.

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting 222
and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources 262
of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is 132
not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot sum- 222
mer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 262

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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132 ing streams, a convenience and a pleasure which coincide almost
222 exactly with the opportunity to hunt and to gather the various
262 natural crops as they become available from month to month. The wet winter renders house life in the permanent settlement in a valley or on a river correspondingly attractive, and combines residence there with the easiest chance to fish the now enlarged streams on an extensive scale, or to pursue the swarms of arrived water fowl.

262 But this division was not momentous. The distances ranged over
221 were minute. Fishing was not excluded among the hills. Deer, rabbits, and gophers could be hunted in the mild winter as well as in summer. And while acorns and other plant foods might be garnered each only over a brief season, it was an essential part of their use that much of their preparation as well as consumption should be spread through the cycle of the calendar.

262 Further, the food resources of California were bountiful in their variety rather than in their overwhelming abundance along special lines. If one supply failed, there were a hundred others to fall back upon. If a drought withered the corn shoots, if the buffalo unaccountably shifted, or the salmon failed to run, the very existence of peoples in other regions was shaken to its foundations. But the manifold distribution of available foods in California and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them prevented a failure of the acorn crop from producing similar effects. It might produce short rations and racking hunger, but scarcely starvation. It may be that it is chiefly our astounding ignorance of all the more intimate and basal phases of their lives that makes it seem as if downright mortal famine had been less often the portion of the Californian tribes than of those in most other regions of the continent. Yet, with all allowance for this potential factor of ignorance in our understanding, it does appear that such catastrophes were less deep and less regularly recurring. Both formulated and experiential tradition are nearly silent on actual famines, or refer to them with rationalizing abstraction. The only definite cases that have come to cognizance, other than for a few truly desert hordes whose slender subsistence permanently hung by a thread, are among the Mohave, an agricultural community in an oasis, and among the Indians of the lower Klamath, whose habits, in their primal dependence on the salmon, approximated those of the tribes of the coasts north of California.

222 The gathering of the acorn is like that of the pine nut; its leach-
262 ing has led to the recognition of the serviceability of the buckeye once its poison is dissolved out; the grinding has stimulated the
[252] use of small hard seeds, which become edible only in pulverized form. The securing of plant foods in general is not separated by

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

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114 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture
226 of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor environment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the
171 animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern
[224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 The buckeye process, which was probably similar usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with
262 a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket,
[251 pounded into flour, and cooked.
343] Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de-
[415 scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregu-
324] larly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple-
[415 ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among
177] whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe defi-
nitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit-
[262] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi-
[197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means
he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an
interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of
their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long
one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and
environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he
is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy
of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the
Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

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"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [281] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were 361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a 342 sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves 291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
[262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of
[181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far
184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné*, *Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of [182] acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs [162] of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[110] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[text continues on p. 107]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 N529 Yokuts N529

threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellant. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and [231] it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. [412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

manner as are baskets of acorns. During the season of 1931 I saw one *moke* (mo'-ke, Indian Woman) carrying approximately one hundred pounds of blackberries which she had picked during a short afternoon. 262 222

When the rancheria was reached, formerly the berries were placed upon a tanned deer-skin and allowed to dry. Today they are placed on a canvas. During the first several days that they are subject to the sun they are turned several times, so that the drying is equal on all sides. If the berries are stored in this state they will mold, so an additional treatment is necessary. 251

When the berries are completely dried, they are placed in a basket and taken to the mortars. There they are pounded into a coarse meal. This meal is then mixed with water and kneaded into a thick paste. The Wukchumne mash them into a paste before they are completely dry. This paste is patted into cakes and again put out to dry. Very little water is used in this process. The cakes will dry through in one afternoon. They are then gathered up and stored away in baskets inside the house. 252

It should be appreciated that this is really a clever way of handling blackberries. Had the uncured berries been mashed and made into cakes, they would have fermented before the cakes were thoroughly dry, but drying them in the natural state, and then pulverizing them, and adding only enough water to form them into cakes prevented fermentation.

The dried cakes required final preparation before they entered the jam state. They were again pounded in a mortar and the resulting coarse meal placed in a basket. Water was added and the whole cooked with hot rocks. The result was a blackberry jam which did not differ greatly from jam made by white persons.

The writer has noticed that the local Indians, in making jam, skim from the top of the basket the most of the seeds, which being lighter than the jam, collect there very soon after the cooking begins. Whether such refined practice was common in the old days is problematical. At any rate, the smearing of juvenile faces with blackberry jam did not originate in this territory with the coming of the first white youngsters.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All
[152] of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn*. Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke'-em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the [648] mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

159 The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

159 Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
773 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 262 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco [136 224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tëss*). Ke'-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

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	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi[illegible] Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild 262
sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. [231]
Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. [171] Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the 825
rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved [773]
among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed 757
by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
[501] lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his rancheria, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

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The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

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Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

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The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

[609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Rancheria of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischus, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

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769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*f berrendos*) that there are in abun-
● 262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this rancheria [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[497] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Rancheria of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their rancheria in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told. 648

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one. [501]

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[7] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies). [361 262]

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No- [622]

[7] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Juan Sanchez; *cf.* W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

*161 discussion of the population about 1850. It is preferable to discuss the entire region as a unit and, when necessary, pass to indirect methods of estimate.

The Pitkachi on the San Joaquin are mentioned in 1806 by Moraga, who allows 200 persons to their rancheria. The tribe appears again in the baptism record of Soledad Mission (MS in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley) according to which 205 Indians from "Picatche" were baptized from 1821 to 1824 and another 18 in 1831. An additional 23 came from rancherias in the vicinity, a total of 246. Another rancheria, Capicha, is referred to by Pico in 1815, who said it was uninhabited at that time, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains. As late as 1853 Wessels said that the Pitcache, together with the Noo-to-ah, a Mono group, numbered 500 to 600 souls. Kroeber mentions three villages remembered by modern informants.

If 246 Indians were baptized in one mission, the tribe as a whole must have numbered at least four times as many, or 1,000. If two fair-sized rancherias are mentioned by the Spanish observers, the entire tribe may well have possessed four or five, which again implies a population of 1,000. If there were approximately 300 survivors in 1853, by comparison with other open valley areas the original population must have been fully three or four times as great, or perhaps 1,200. If three rancherias were known to modern informants, they must formerly have been important places with anywhere from 200 to 400 people, again indicating a total of 1,000 for the tribe.

Concerning the Hoyima there are two references, one by Pico in 1826 and one by Rodriguez in 1828. Pico states merely that he attacked the rancheria and captured 40 gentiles and 1 Christian, a fact which in itself would not furnish a very significant clue to population. He also noted "mucha guesamenta y cueros casi frescos de caballada que habian matado."

The account by Rodriguez is more circumstantial. This soldier went along the San Joaquin River in late April of 1828. On the 24th he sent a group of men to scout the "rancheria de los Joyimas, que es adonde an comido la caballada." At dawn the next day they attacked the village, "que estaba en medio de los dos brazos del rio" (the San Joaquin west or northwest of Fresno). He captured 26 Indians and 27 animals (horses). Another 60 or 80 horses escaped "en el monte." At about this time a gentile captain came from a rancheria designated Guche or Getche, depending upon how one deciphers the handwriting of the manuscript. He "vino a los Joyimas a comer caballo." The rancheria named here is probably that of the Heuchi on the Fresno River. This gentile said there was another rancheria "mas arriba" at which there were horses. Rodriguez sent Simeon Castro to investigate. He found no one at the rancheria mentioned but went on 2 leagues to another rancheria, likewise deserted but containing the carcasses of 100 dead horses, which had been slaughtered and were about to be eaten. It was noted by Rodriguez that: "Estas 3 rancherias son una misma que es la de los Jaimes." It was also remarked that the rancheria was divided when the horses arrived in order to eat with less fear of detection. From this account it is clear that the Joyimas had at least three villages. Allowing somewhat over 300 persons each, the population of the group would reach 1,000.

177 The slaughtered horses open up an interesting field
*161 of speculation. It is clear that by 1828 large segments of
262a the aboriginal population had entirely given up the sedentary ancestral mode of life in favor of an existence based upon stock raiding. To do this it was necessary to recast

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In order to catch the horses for food other horses were
262 essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and preserved, according to general practice, it was suffi-
[25] cient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
[10] listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
[31] River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River. The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
101 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and
131 are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an important position in the early nineteenth century. In-
*161 deed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[262]

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco [illegible] out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[276]

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

[171]

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

[784]

[574]

[583]

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
262 an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
[263] of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times
[412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens. However, all agreed that deer meat was more often roasted than boiled, and that this was done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia. M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni'e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock salt which was in strong solution or pulverized. The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
323 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[187]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests were watched at sundown; often three or four were located near each other when the returning

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[263 192] [187]The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original "kawa."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts N529
[P. 78b] Wukchumni

Salt

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[439]

Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´d:t) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

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A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ča´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191] Handbook, 530.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the ~~sweat house~~. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to
262 separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes[1] and dis-
[855] tribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken.

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular
252 trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork
[285 basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same
415] shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita
[263] cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse
222 Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these
252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for
252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

A "grass" grows down toward the valley
222 which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped
[251] off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[1] [i.e., of acorn meal dough. -Analyst]

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in
222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected.
[252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked
[252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some
[251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little
252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These
[251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the
[439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid
263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the
435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be slightly larger than the lump of salt for which
439 it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

263 According to N.W., rock salt was got from the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of
439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

[92] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
263 salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe,
222 the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

Fishing

Y W 226 Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258 Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now Y W a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put [264] directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ti´k:t koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´l:t, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to Y W cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

[439] Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263 Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´m:t (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

W Y 252 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered [251] baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; W granite was never used. The mush basket was [285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes Y were removed from the water and served from a W big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

A plant called paša was used to flavor [263] acorn much.

Ya´'ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta´beko'ot, Waksachi) deposited Y honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, [237] or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 surface. The *f'unoi* net was fastened to a circular frame on a pole, held vertically, and raised. The more usual Californian net of this type is on a half hoop, and is used rather for scooping or horizontal lifting.

263 Salt may have been obtained at springs, but the reported cases are from the Pitkachi, whose "salt" stank; from the Chukchansi, who went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground; and from the Yaudanchi, who, with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as *alit* and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

THE BOW.

411 Common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick; good bows were carefully smoothed of large mountain cedar wood and sinew backed. The commonest type, primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.

Mention of the right and left end of the bow makes it seem to have been held horizontally, or at least diagonally, as by most California tribes.

The arrow, *shikid* generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *f'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow. The Mohave also fought with arrows lacking flint tips. The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

413 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of soft stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. (Pl. 49, *a*.) This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used this plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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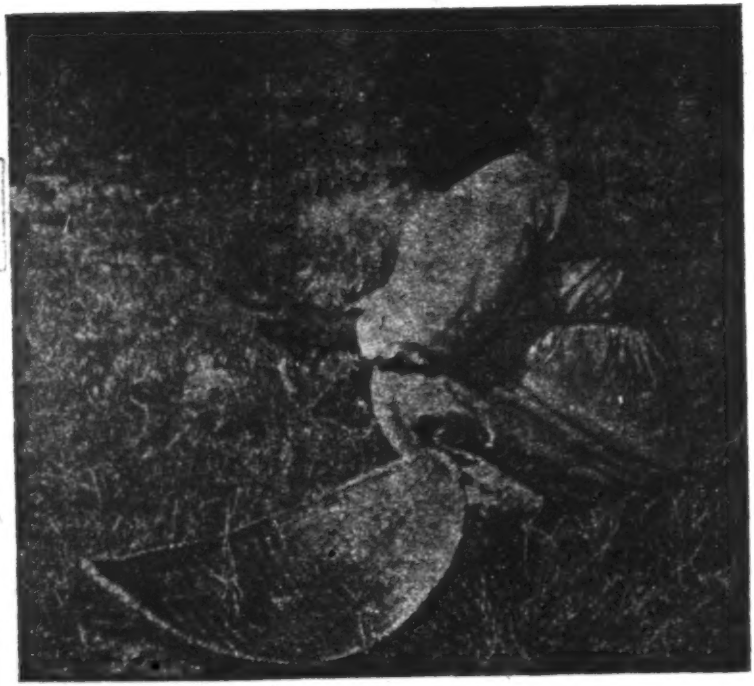

Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **tah'-meuk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

moist to be brushed from the leaves. So the Yokuts harvest crew enters the field. The workers kneel and break the grass off close to the ground, placing it in shallow wicker baskets. They then very carefully stack it with the stems resting on the ground and the leaves upward. This whole process must be very carefully executed, otherwise the salt will be dislodged from the leaves and wasted upon the ground. 222 263

By two o'clock in the afternoon the salt globules are very dry and easily dislodged, so the pulling of the grass is discontinued and the Indians begin threshing. During the preceding four or five hours, while the grass has been stacked with the leaves uppermost, the salt has completely dried and hardened, but the leaves of the grass are still tough, although somewhat wilted.

It is important that the threshing or flailing of the grass be done at this precise stage, because if delayed longer the grass itself becomes brittle and is pulverizd and mixed with the salt. If threshed too soon the salt is not dry and is not easily removed from the leaves of the grass. It is because the grass is stacked with the stems down and the salt exposed to the sun that the salt dries faster than the grass itself, which remains tough for the threshing.

Small quantities of the salt grass are now thrown upon a deer or elk skin, which is spread upon the ground. Three or four Indians seat themselves about this pile of grass and begin flailing it lightly, using small willow poles from which the bark has been stripped. Care is taken not to pound the grass heavily, but merely to tap it so that the salt is dislodged from the leaves and sifts through the grass to the deer skin below.

When it is seen that the salt has all been removed, the grass is gathered loosely in the hands, is shaken thoroughly, and discarded. This process is repeated until a layer of salt approximately one inch in thickness is deposited upon the deer skin. This salt is then placed in a basket and the process repeated, until several hundred pounds have been obtained. The Indians move very slowly, but methodically and a family of four Indians will gather during the harvest season approximately six fifty pound flour sacks full of this crude material. By sifting and winnowing, after the crude material has been taken to the rancheria, approximately four fifty pound flour sacks full of salt will be obtained. The Wukchumne Yokuts call this salt *ak'-dit*. Other Yokuts tribes call it *ahlit* or *ahlet*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

263 The salt obtained from salt grass does not taste like common table salt. It has a sour, salty taste much like that of a dill pickle. Although it is not acceptable to the untrained palate, surviving Yokuts Indians still use it for seasoning, almost to the exclusion of all other salt.

263 The salt is not all placed in cooked material. Some of it is
264 eaten separately. A little of it is kept in a small basket or clay receptacle and occasionally a small pinch is placed in the side of the mouth. This may be done while the meal is being eaten or while housework is being carried on. Some of the salt is mixed with water and cooked. After it is reduced to a thick consistency it is formed into small cakes. As needed, small pieces of this solid salt are placed in the side of the mouth and dissolved like an all-day sucker. The Tachi wet the dry salt and form it into lumps about the size of a golf ball. The children run about the camp licking these lumps.

RIVER JUNGLE GROWTH

137 Persons who have not lived along the San Joaquin Valley rivers prior to the time when they were cleared for farming and in running cattle and sheep upon their bottom land, will scarcely believe the stories told by pioneers about the wild plant growth along those streams. As late as 1900 some of this growth still existed along the Merced River and along the nearby San Joaquin, but only enough to suggest something of its previous rank nature. This jungle consisted not only of trees, but of wild grapes, several varieties of tule and willow, wild blackberries, nettles, grasses, and many other plants too numerous to mention.

It was not until the fall of 1925 that the writer became familiar with the last remaining jungle along the Kaweah river, which he was assured had been almost destroyed at that time, but which was even then beyond the belief of many persons who had lived for years within a few miles of it.

During the spring of 1931, while searching for material to be used in constructing two California Spanish-type oxcarts, I made an exploration of the remaining jungle between Lemon Cove and Visalia. A dense portion of this area lay approximately six miles east of Visalia and near East Mineral King Highway. This territory had been burned over the previous fall and did not present one-third of the growth which had existed the year before.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

old-time Indians catching elk with a rope like a reata fastened to an oak tree. They bent a limb down to hold the rope. I never saw that, but I am sure they did it. 159 224

Once, while we were at Chawlowin, we caught *sah'-pahl* [jack rabbits]. We called the drive *How'-sik Ho-ah'-mah.* There were only about fifty of us to help, but we caught about three hundred rabbits. I helped with two or three other drives near Armona, too. We went to the land east of Chawlowin to catch the rabbits. Most of us just waded across. The water was just up to our waist at the deepest place.

There were thousands of jack rabbits in the brush around the lake. We could see at least three hundred in the open places at one time. We drove them toward the net and made a close line to hold them. Everybody had a stick to throw at the rabbits. We called it *wah-traw'-he.* It was not crooked. It was almost straight. We killed lots of the rabbits with the sticks before they got to the net. When we threw the stick it whirled around and broke their legs if they were running. It was easy to kill jack rabbits with wahtrawhe if you got close to them. Sometimes they would sit quiet until you were right close. If you looked close you would see them and hit them before they jumped up.

When the rabbits got close to the net two or three men ran in with their clubs and killed them. The rest of us stood close together and kept them from running away.

The rabbits were skinned and the meat dried. We did this on the land east of the lake before we went back to Chawlowin. Dried rabbit meat was good with salt from salt grass on it. The skins we cut up to make blankets and capes. [251]

There were lots of fish in Tulare Lake. The one we liked best was *a'-pis,* a big lake trout. They were real big fish, as big as any salmon, and good meat. There was another called *took'-mun.* I think the white people called it chub. It was not a very good fish. 159 226 136

One of the lake fish was *pahl-hoo'-ish.* It was the one you call sucker. Sometimes the steel-heads came in the lake too; so did the salmon. We called the steel heads *tah-wah'-aht* and the salmon *ki'-uh-khot.* We dried lots of fish. When it was dried and smoked, the salmon was the best. We ate salt grass salt with the dried fish. That made it good. [251] [263]

Another great big fish used to come in the lake sometimes. I remember that we caught one at Heuumne when the water was

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

● 264 Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the other in the midafternoon.

283 String.--It appears that both hemp and nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

276 Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

622 Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
624 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and
278 crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

226 Diving for fish was an indulgence of an
481 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

264 Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad),
262 lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ntau) were designated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

262 Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Wakaachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Wakaachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

●264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

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726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got some whites who were running away. They
727 brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[63]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

● 264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[63] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

262 This work took all day. Meanwhile some of 512 the men had been hunting and had brought home 224 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a [252] rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the meat, the men would cook it."[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

When acorns were plentiful a family could 251 get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, [227] said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

252 Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

[87] Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 222 a] Western Mono NS 25

Fishing

Y W 226

Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258

Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ti´kɛt koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´lɛt, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

Y W [264]

Y W [439]

Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263

Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´mɛt (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa'dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b': yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b:p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't:p: slippery elm
napa'ap': alder
soho'p': cottonwood
tanapo'nip': ash
pa'sitap: willow
s'hu'b': small willow
se'nowiyap: elderberry bush

W
Y
372

Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

W
Y
264

Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

W
Y
[415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

W
Y
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574

The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

252

[415]

Weh-puk'-in showing the method of heating water and cooking acorn gruel with hot rocks. Rocks are removed from the fire with green wooden tongs and dipped quickly into the small basket of water at the right. The resulting flash of steam removes the coating of ashes and burned acorn gruel. The rock is then dropped into the large basket of water or acorn gruel and is stirred about with the looped acorn stirrer. When the rock has lost its heat it is lifted from the basket in the loop of the stirrer and replaced in the fire. The design on the basket at the left shows "coming night." The one at the right shows "measuring worm."

At the present time we find the Indians lining the holes in the sand with cloth, generally an empty sugar sack, but we are assured by most old Indians and pioneer whites that in early days only leaves were used.

It is of particular interest to note here that *Wahumchah* is positive that the old-time *Yowlumne* lined the leaching holes in the sand with cloth. As the southern Kern County tribes *did* make cloth, it is more than probable that his statement is correct.

Much acorn bread was eaten raw from the loaf. As needed, pieces were broken off and given to the children, or eaten by their elders. [264]

From this cake was made a thick acorn soup, or mush. By the Wukchumne Yokuts it was called *ta'-pin*. To make this

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

263 The salt obtained from salt grass does not taste like common table salt. It has a sour, salty taste much like that of a dill pickle. Although it is not acceptable to the untrained palate, surviving Yokuts Indians still use it for seasoning, almost to the exclusion of all other salt.

263 The salt is not all placed in cooked material. Some of it is eaten separately. A little of it is kept in a small basket or
264 clay receptacle and occasionally a small pinch is placed in the side of the mouth. This may be done while the meal is being eaten or while housework is being carried on. Some of the salt is mixed with water and cooked. After it is reduced to a thick consistency it is formed into small cakes. As needed, small pieces of this solid salt are placed in the side of the mouth and dissolved like an all-day sucker. The Tachi wet the dry salt and form it into lumps about the size of a golf ball. The children run about the camp licking these lumps.

RIVER JUNGLE GROWTH

137 Persons who have not lived along the San Joaquin Valley rivers prior to the time when they were cleared for farming and in running cattle and sheep upon their bottom land, will scarcely believe the stories told by pioneers about the wild plant growth along those streams. As late as 1900 some of this growth still existed along the Merced River and along the nearby San Joaquin, but only enough to suggest something of its previous rank nature. This jungle consisted not only of trees, but of wild grapes, several varieties of tule and willow, wild blackberries, nettles, grasses, and many other plants too numerous to mention.

It was not until the fall of 1925 that the writer became familiar with the last remaining jungle along the Kaweah river, which he was assured had been almost destroyed at that time, but which was even then beyond the belief of many persons who had lived for years within a few miles of it.

During the spring of 1931, while searching for material to be used in constructing two California Spanish-type oxcarts, I made an exploration of the remaining jungle between Lemon Cove and Visalia. A dense portion of this area lay approximately six miles east of Visalia and near East Mineral King Highway. This territory had been burned over the previous fall and did not present one-third of the growth which had existed the year before.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
556 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
● 266 opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

<u>Illnesses and Treatments</u>:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: tomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not
treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

222 salt and acorn mush. The Yokuts habit of going
252 out to clover patches in the spring and there
262 directly eating the lush tender clover growth led to their ridicule by early settlers who referred to them as being like animals turned out to graze. There is a reference to this practice as the favorite opening of a certain myth in versions from the Wukchumni, Yaudanchi, Yauelmani, and the Tübatulabal.[189]

Two other green plants named by M.L. were ida´ma ṭo´mod, "just like cabbage," and čide´d:k, "something like cauliflower"; both were eaten cooked.

According to M.P., any kind of green vegetable food was called ṭomod, which literally meant "greens" just as we use the word in English. She too mentioned kat:k and čided:k. Another plant, mane´ča ṭomod, was boiled and eaten when young and green. Later on the sweet ripened berries were eaten with salt grass which had been chopped fine.

Nočai´yu was washed, boiled, washed again in hot water, and then eaten.

[177] Mustard which is gathered, cooked, and eaten today, was not eaten at all in old times, said M.P. Its use is a white introduction.

Waša´wai, a wild sunflower, was valued for its seeds.

Ka´sy:n, the seeds of redmaid (a Calandrinia), were greatly enjoyed; they were sweet and oily and when crushed could be pressed into small balls, in which form they were eaten.

Ka´wa is a tiny brown seed, very hard to get: "you couldn't get a cupful in a month." Parched and ground, they were added to manzanita cider. (Kawa was also given as the word for yellowjacket larvae by M.L.)

● 272 A´ṭtu (manzanita berries) were used only
262 for cider, although a few might be tasted "just for fun." When the berries were nearly ripe and ready to fall, women went out and cleared the ground under the shrubs of twigs, leaves, etc. Then while one or two women held forth wide-mouthed seed-beaters or sifting trays, another would shake the bushes to dislodge the ripe berries. These came down in a shower "just like hail." A high percentage fell on the ground and these were picked and scraped up; a woman who had to work alone might shake all the fruit to the ground rather than try to catch it. Asked why they did not pick off the berries, M.P. said that that method was too tedious and that only berries ripe enough to fall made really tasty cider. Taken home in the burden basket, the fruit was freed as much as possible of foreign bits, twigs, leaves, cobwebs, or bird lime. The fruit was not rinsed in water "because that would wash the taste away."

Then the berries were put on an old winnowing tray and mashed lightly with a hand stone; some women "just squeezed them hard."

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[189] Gayton and Newman, 68, abstract 57, note 2.

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket
262 and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

The load of wood was held on the back by
313 means of a tumpline. This passed over the
482 upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[171]

[190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

411 Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

227 For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 180 a] Chuckchansi

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were 222] ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed [222 the trees, knocked down the cones, while the 48] women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round [spherical?], are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
salt grass which is covered with a white in-
263 crustation when growing. It was gathered by
hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said
J.R., and no one else can take the berries from
them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe,
222 the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

272 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[35] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
251] The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [35] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 a] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
[272] mentation (toward upper right, second from top); the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[324 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?)
284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

Fishing

Y W 226 Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258 Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now Y W a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put [264] directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ti´k:t koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´l:t, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to Y W cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

[439] Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

● Y W ● 272 263 Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´m:t (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

Cures.--The term for sickness in general
755 was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon·k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor,
755 Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t·pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai·č, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

● 273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 On another occasion he wanted to get some-
825 thing to drink, and went to kumku·mič (humming-
157 bird place) where there was a little saloon.
He came back, drinking along the way, and
finally fell by the roadside. While he was
273 unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let
us pack this man to our den." They took him
home and kept him all night. When he woke in
the morning he was frightened. The bears were
dancing; they told him to join, and all danced
together for some time. At last they let him
go, but told him to be sure to return in four
days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out
as fast as he could and never went back."

756 When talking of the doctor's cache or
~~pački~~ E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any
556 of the objects said to be in them. She told
422 the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went black-
berrying in the direction of Kings River. The
old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea,
and died about one week after her return home.
At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'·č was "just
beginning to get his power." He had gone up to
visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by super-
natural means what was happening at home, so
returned. But his mother died before his ar-
[64] rival. Then he went to his father's pački and
brought back a large handsome basket. This he
placed over his mother's head, and he talked,
saying where he had got the basket and that it
was to be buried with her. This was the only
object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely
knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 To illustrate the danger of a layman en-
556 tering a pački she related the following.

422 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip·t, and
his wife went out to dig roots. The old man
753 went toward his father's pački. Though he was
not a shaman, he danced in front of it and
called to his father. The door opened a wee
bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he
put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings
of humna around his neck; he took many baskets.
He returned to his wife and hung beads on her.
They took these things home. Immediately
Čip·t fell ill. His face and eyes became
swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in
six days. He was a plain man and had tampered
with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but
had a dream helper was Wu'·us, "another grand-
father" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were
very fond of this old man, they played around
him frequently at his house. On one very
foggy morning he told them to run outside be-
cause he was going to die. The fog cleared
suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit.
He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it
had told him he was going to die that day.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of [249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal´a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever [757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly de-
616 scribed several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwıca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ıš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwıč) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

● 276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756b] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special
276 songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the
[756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by
276 shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of
[752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsumni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him un-
791 duly and he became very angry. The following day he called on all his powers (ai´nıč) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čın revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Pušlıln, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai´´ıts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

[P-48a] Paltuyami

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When
276 each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (tɨ´pnɨm, supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell
[262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[789] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

1756 himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi ''isik, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

276 D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta´nai) taken at Fort Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking

[P. 49 b] Koyeti

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi ha´t:m) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek.
668 D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
264 other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and
283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in
276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɛl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yɛ´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y ●276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

T Y 796 276 T Y [832]

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

T Y [285 431]

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

T Y 796 276 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´':t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T Y [551]

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
281 inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received some meat in return. S.G. believes that every-
[262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

J.P. said "there were five animals just
136 like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: ʒo´koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi´yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi´d:t; duwe´s:p, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wɔ´kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily
224 shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[274] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

Musical Instruments

Y 534 All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the M [534] Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Y 198 Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš: ´k'n:ta; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y 534 The flute (uṭoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ṭa´ow:d) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534 The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak 237 trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

● 276 249 Tobacco (šo´gon) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

276 pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but usually there were one or two older persons,
244 men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u´tuna ta´ñhi mita´m ṭu´dan nıp ta´ptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi´am aku´m ṭada´ki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

276 Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (šogen). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they might be taken about and sold; they were said
[435] to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulčí´na, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cyl-

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[223] A full account of Tubatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224] The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogən) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [769] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´w:š) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'up:č. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dk:d) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.949]

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully [788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called ǩuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[225] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but were clumsy affairs.[226] The shape follows the 323 old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

[225] Handbook, 538.

[226] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

533 539 5. aiyama´tːn na pa´nːn
worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yːn do´mto panːn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yːn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 787 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
787 supernatural power might take it each year, or
276 every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it
[262] was announced twelve days in advance by a winatum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the time they were expected to awake several women
276 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
533 mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
276 person would come, give the drinker a feather
755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
276 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
787 her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796
276 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
787 covery through this means would try to render
754 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

796 On the twelfth day after the ritual a
276 general celebration took place. The children dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

796 This little feast provided an occasion for
584 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
884 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[369] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, con[illegible] among themselves, deciding on who shoul[illegible] part, on the date, and so forth. Their [illegible]ons were told to the local chief who, [illegible] his winatum, announced when and where [illegible] affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. [237] said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[369] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sɔt) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

● 276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11]Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12]This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13]Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14]Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´w:š).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiw:š; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´š:n, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´t:l) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called š:´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15]Ibid.

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´čɛm) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the 767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., 773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on 302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream 787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

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[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛn´tɛm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After
[668] that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wis.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwis (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šıš na´mıt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešıš namıt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wıt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sı´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
● 276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or
787 three times around the village. Then he mashed
up the plants and left them to soak in water.
In midafternoon the participants drank, and by
the following morning their narcosis changed
into active behavior. Then "they saw every-
thing and it was all pretty." The causes of
illness could be seen: a man might see another
bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness
on himself. An animal would talk to him and
tell him about it. When he saw something
[supernatural] he would blow it away if he did
not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer"
might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed
it onto a basket; it was removed and buried,
and the basket washed by a winatum. All that
was seen was told about afterward, as the
drinkers returned to their normal condition:
onlookers could ask them about it. This vision-
ary ability during the narcosis was called
tanai ṭ' ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

The participants waited six days before
796 touching meat, then they had a little party
(wi ́te luni ́ǯa) with kam dancing at night.
This was probably given by the participants'
families, as it was the parents of young
drinkers who paid the administrant for his
services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both
moieties engaged in the drinking and party
without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as
"they were afraid of it; it was used more by
the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the
grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the
summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam,
the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case
is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and
Southern Valley informants.

The plant was used medicinally, especially
752 for broken bones, when it was drunk as an
anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poul-
tice form. (No splints were used.)

The mythological source of jimsonweed was
773 not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that
the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief
of which I told him] or two girls [as believed
by the Chunut].

Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ́ǯa)
769 lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n.
The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill
Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was
largely devoted to settling visitors in their
camps. On the second and third days the host
chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as de-
scribed by P.D.W.), which might be performed
in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure
Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two
doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest
was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the
fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɛs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɛs
[262] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɛt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɛ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yɛn) at bedrock
412 mortars (tinɛl), using a large pestle (čɛ'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɛm (ti´pɛn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

● 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɛlao, pipe of cane [sikɛl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɛš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɛ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wɛč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789

ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who
821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiňa´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 <u>Jimsonweed ritual</u>.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was
276 poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 158 b] Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
276 the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[753 189] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co'kon·k and Pusl·l·n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [79] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gon. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 Snake ritual.--This was not performed
796 north of Kings River: "the best doctors were
751 always that way [south]." But in spring everyone wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ʼka) of drinking jimson-
276 weed (ta ñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ʼyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes
[292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ·pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'·č) was present: he
[554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limin) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni ˜ša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owič ano˜ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
321 the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
324 and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

●276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 191 b] Chuckchansi

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 887 [574] Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [171] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe ŏokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A 847 woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied 171 themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, [787] not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the [184 420] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people
787 can't see. When a doctor wants to see something away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a litt e basket; they sang, "I am going to drink , t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk a ell down. But while they slept, they saw their hearts [souls] things which no one el ld see.

At Ah in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take eed. He came from Wawona. He did not wa e down while under the

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit
787 there, see something, know something, talk to
herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young
[887] person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates
[184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869]

During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokup NS29
[P. 228a] Wes Chilkotin NS25

Musical Instruments

W Y 534

Flute.---This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

W Y 534 237

Whistle.---This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.---For this instrument (ča´o'ıč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

W Y 534

Clapper.---This (ṭa´ohıl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

W Y 276 [438]

Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Wakasachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pıt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kın). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lın nım ti´'ıs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ım ti'ıs (round mine [I] make). The Wakasachi terms for shapes were: a

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 228 b] Mono NS25 Northern Paiute NR13

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flat disclike cake (ta´kan), a round ball (unawa´ra po´non co´´og), and little cylinders (pulči´na).

The little cylinder, hereafter referred to as pulčina, had a perforation at one end so it could be worn on a string about the neck. According to B.O., if a man were cold when out hunting or traveling, a bite of pulčina would warm him. But B.O. laughed at the use of pulčina as a "ghost-scarer" by the Wukchumni.

Tobacco was smoked by both sexes, though only men carried pipes in their ear lobes. The favorite pipe was a cane tube (si´k:l, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi) about three to four inches long. The best cane was got at Pasiwana (John Crow's hollow, no. 28 on Local Map E). One end of the tube was stuffed with a bit of oak-fungus tender, then filled through the other end with bits of tobacco shaved off a cake. The end with the tinder was then lighted with a twig burned to live charcoal. The cane tube itself scorched and burned slightly as the tobacco was consumed, yet would last through at least a dozen occasions, as a few puffs were all that were indulged in when smoking. A wooden pipe (šu´kmai) of elderwood was about four inches long, somewhat conical, as it was shaped down toward the mouth end. The clay pipe (wi·nab¹) was a crude imitation of the wooden one. Neither S.O. nor B.O. had ever seen or heard of pipes of stone.

Both Michahai and Waksachi ate tobacco mixed with lime to induce vomiting, which was thought to encourage dreams and insure good health. The tobacco and baked freshwater oyster shells (ke´wi) obtained by trade from Wukchumni and Gawia were pounded in a special small mortar and pestle (pl. 2, d herein). Then a little water was added to form a soupy liquid. The mortar and pestle were passed around among the participants, each person taking a lick or two of the liquid from the pestle.

A second kind of lime [?] (hoso´s:l), like rock, was gotten out of the ground in Drum Valley. This "turned to flour" when heated over live coals. The fire fan was used during the process to keep the heat even.

Among the Waksachi, men only took tobacco this way, but Michahai and Chukaimina women indulged in its use. It might be taken any time of the year. Some men and women took it every night: S.O. said he took it often, that is, about once a week. The process was called, pa´lwi šoga´ni n:m naha´hi (pestle tobacco my eating), according to S.O., who gave tobacco as šo´gen (Michahai, Chukaimina, Choinimni, and Chukchansi), so´´og (Waksachi, Wobonuch, Holkuma), and the growing plant as woi´yan šogen or woi´n:čin (Michahai). The mortar and pestle were koi´w:š and pa´lwi (Michahai) and koiw:š and pa´ha (Waksachi)(S.O. and B.O. respectively).

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The Eastern Mono (Yo´´ots) had tobacco which they smoked in wooden pipes. B.O. said

[P. 241 6] Western Mono VS 25

W Y 755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 787 276 755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP. 245b

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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

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Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

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At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

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take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take it at the same time as the plain people. There were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa ´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

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[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

W Y 796 276

taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752

Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ıč broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276

At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438]

The jimsonweed plants (taña ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki'leš and Koti'diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuŝao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 247] NS25

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokon:k and Pušl:l:n, who were snake doctors (te'e'li čecisu'm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya''in" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chapter 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

881 Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore 276 supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

171 To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlsoxuhqui*, "green snake weed," *ololiuhqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. innoxia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *necazcal* and *teloatzin*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

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> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat differently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master
276 of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sick-
[276] ness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little 754 thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. [533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of re-754 prisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 756 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as [171] among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be [174] avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 171 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *kataawish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 196 not processed]

CHAPTER XII

STORIES AND CEREMONIES

THE BOYS' INITIATION CEREMONY

881 Undoubtedly one of the most interesting customs of the Yokuts Indians had to do with their initiation of the young men into the tribe. Among small tribes it is probable that this was not held at regular intervals, but was performed at any time when a young man was considered to be of an age mature enough to take up the full duties of citizenship. In larger tribes it appears that in order to reduce the number of times that the initiation ceremony would have to be performed during the year, it was held only once and at a regular season. At that time several young men would be initiated.

[184] Old Yokuts men state that some tribes required the initiate to kill a deer single handed before he would be taken into the tribe. An old *Wukchumne* stated that his people often required the boy to break the ice and bathe in the Kaweah river before he would be admitted. This test is also reported from the *Yowlumne*. These are the only reported requirements which involve a test of courage or hunting ability.

881 Among scientists the initiation performance among the southern Yokuts was known as the *Toalache,* or *Jimson Weed* 276 *Ceremony*. The plant used was the Datura Meteloide. The southern Yokuts called this plant *Tani,* and the ceremony *Tani-yu'-wish*. The ceremony was centered about the drinking of a tea made from the root of the Jimson weed and the period of intoxication which followed, during which the unwritten work of the tribe was imparted to the new members.

The Jimson weed will be readily recognized by natives of the San Joaquin as a large, low, bushy bluish-green plant which at the proper season of the year produces a large white bell-, or trumpet-shaped flower. This flower is about six inches in length and three inches across at the opening. It is possessed of an objectionable odor. The root when reduced to a tea is a strong narcotic.

For several days before the drinking of this tea the young men refrained from eating any solid food. Acorn soup or other liquids were the only things partaken of during this week of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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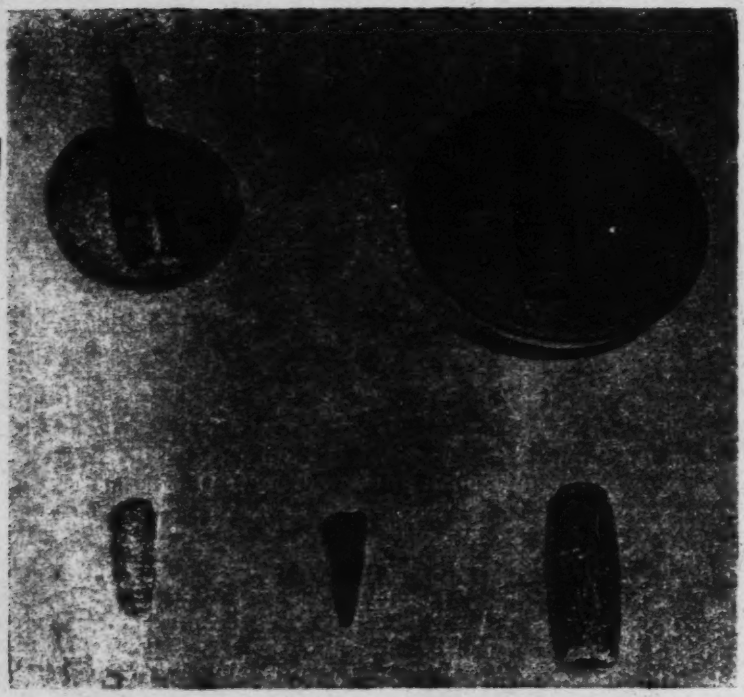

Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Camalino Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokuts and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

624 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot
171 be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[50]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper,
787 usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[50] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'olyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his ascendance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he maintained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Yachumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatim	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwachok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feat[illegible] in hand

minimon	kiolin
coming (I)	meeting (you) i[illegible]

tahan	maiya	we	y[illegible]
going	we	[illegible]	rai[illegible]

"I'm going to take you up north to the [illegible]
Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. [illegible] us.
"You want to go somewhere?"
"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctors [illegible] foothills.
"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then [illegible] on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. Then [illegible] off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference. [illegible] passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the [illegible] moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there 164 was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake 796 dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 [539] [195]

women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most."

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

769 276

769 [539]

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

[301]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [276] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation. 769

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners. 769

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance, 786
535

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and oc-
[276] casional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (taw xo'xo'hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer story-telling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[883] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

[P. 15b] Tachi

Fish poison (yao'ha) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

> Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the tules and ate and slept on it.
>
> They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.
>
> Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[418] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´y:t
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´sy:n, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
[177] translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
752 plant was an introduction of the white people.
A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´h:n tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´:n
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iy:n). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
278 when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times;
usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural
power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the
heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a
Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung
on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and
wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these.
It "caught the sickness" which then would be
squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibi-
tion. When curing, she sat in front of her
patient and held onto his head, meanwhile call-
ing on her dream helpers. She "went around to
fast and dream just like a man."

Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two
755 beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came
and stood at each side of her feet. They told
her to ask God what she should do. Soon a
little baby came and sat near her; it was suck-
ing its fingers; she could hear it crawling
about in the leaves. No one came to help her.
Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob
Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of
the neck and at each temple and sucked. She
got better soon. A girl there cooked some
atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.
When she was a young woman, J.A. had
measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent
for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with
his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked
like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He
cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She
recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiw:s (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony
Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929).
The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of
the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered
from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiw:s.
He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow
and sucked out blood and a little white pointed
object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors
is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any
special term. The poison itself is called añta-
wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu).
Poisoning is thought to operate by means of
actual contact with poisonous substances which
may be put on any object which the victim is
likely to touch, or the poison may be admini-
stered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisi-
ble. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling
of parts (thought to have been touched by the
poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and
753 "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; this was called mets añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ´nɛl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɛpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person
828 in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɛpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and
[683] died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɛpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Port Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɛpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

278 753 that T:pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai 'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki''at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep:s, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[20] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

[20] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw:l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called y:´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y● ● 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.)
227 the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
[237] tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into these were fitted bone points (pi´ĉe tu´h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añpu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and
278 crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

226 Diving for fish was an indulgence of an
481 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

264 Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad),
262 lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ntau) were designated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

262 Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the seaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 80a] Wukchumni

321 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.)
412 were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

An assortment of obsidian blades, also
324 made by and bought from men, was wanted for
412 cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached
[584] a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this
285 was an object of value and a type which a young
431 girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.
428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these"
[764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in-
[437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 The two plants used for poisoning fish
278 (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 80b] Wukchumni

757 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

278 Ša''apaš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with Ša'apaš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Ṭaka'ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

Ṭo'pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka'watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta'mak was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te'semui'sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipat has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 182b] Chuckchansi

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono¹." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokut N529
[p. 183a] Chuckchansi

278 area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.*

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Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the
482 legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

*An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
251 plication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around
[482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in
278 the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
[25] Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but
252 the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a
252 meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [164] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe Ňokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink ● 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied [834] themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being 171 similar to a practice of the Tumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some
died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
842 longer, before a young couple had their first
163 baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth, according to N.W., and kept that name through-
852 out life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wul-will (♩♩♩). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
778 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
556 those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

278 ●
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Fungus, Indian Paint	*Trah'-tah In-o'-poke.*
Fungus, Large mushroom shaped	*Caw-ho'-mik.* Dried and then stewed.
Grass, dry powdered salt	*Al'-leet,* or *Ah'-dit.* Eaten as a seasoning and as candy.
Gooseberry, prickly	*Shaw'-ship in-wah'-yeh.*
Gooseberry, red	*Tong'-e*
Grape, wild	*In'-suh naw'-tip*
Lettuce, wild (Miner's Lettuce)	*Haw'-dum.* Eaten raw with salt.
Lichen, stag horn	*Puh-tri'-chuh*
Lucidum, Ganodenna	*Shok-nud'-uh.*
Manzanita	*Op'-tow.* Used for sweet wine.
Milkweed, tall	*Hung'-uts hung'-uts.* Used for chewing gum.
Nightshade, purple	*Paw-mo'-i-ush.*
Onion, wild	*Sung'-co.* Eaten raw.
Rush, scouring	*Suk'-kaw sick-id'-it*
Strawberry, wild	*Dum-tin'-in mah'-min.* Eaten raw.
Salvia Columbarial	*Kaw'-wah.*
Tobacco, Indian	*Sahw'-kaw.* Smoked and eaten.
Tree, Alder fruit	*Hi-eh'-nen.* Eaten raw, or dried.
Yucca	*Kah'-wid.* Tender shoot baked or roasted.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

278
754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aňtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyemal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and
[823] ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region.
[177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 387.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

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192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to
[281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda'o: Gawia campsite
3. čedepwi'ža: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida'pweš
4. poanai'yu: Gawia campsite
5. hadeta'o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čaše'ža: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau'ču
10. topo'ño: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa'o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo'kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču'm: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya'gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo'ñyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi'yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono': a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu'mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño'našu
21. čoiši'šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi'šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa'o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu'nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though [illegible] always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during [834] bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven 291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi''ič (fig. 13, g). 291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom 294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, 286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki''ič) of thick hide, deer neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very 294 hot weather or when making a long journey. Several layers of hide were cut to the foot 281 pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions 281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

291 their construction were all unintelligible.
281 M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called wońka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern [439] Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k:t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and 302 parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

It is said that in old times every man had 301 at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc- 304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a 281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin 291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat 281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approach- [681] ing puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] 286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
773 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo ʼhɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi ʼtɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[136] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi ʼta pŏ ʼdta ma ṭupɛ ʼnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi ʼpɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[281] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
inside out as it was worked off and the antlers
281 removed with it. For the costume, the cut
under the throat was sewed up and the head and
neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head
rested on the man's head, the skin hanging
down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that
the hunter looked out through the eye-holes,
with the skin tied under his chin, does not
sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the
weapons pushed the skin up at the back making
a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged
pose as he walked. These he cracked together
to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a
man could approach within twenty feet of
grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to
the silent arrow shot, others ran up to in-
vestigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive,
two to scare up the deer and one to kill by
waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons.
J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and
lime and to vomit the night before hunting.
They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel,
and departed in the morning. The only tabu was
on saying where one was going, "if you told,
you would never see any deer." Neither has he
heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or
claims on special places since game was so
plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else
went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to
get deer, but a hunter would often take another
man along to help him, and this man received
some meat in return. S.G. believes that every-
[262] body ate deer meat, but some people do not like
bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar
flesh although many people did.

136 J.P. said "there were five animals just
like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: šo´koi, elk,
wandered east of the swamps in the valley;
soi´yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs
in the valley, seen near the foothills at
Hadi´d:t; duwe´s:p, mountain sheep, had curved
horns and belonged in the mountains; wo´kno,
antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially
in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and
hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.-- Bears were not ordinarily
shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as
game. The meat was not eaten by many people,
and the animal was held in considerable awe.
When deliberately sought to be killed, the
creature was roused during hibernation, forced
to run out into the open, and shot from ambush.
The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by
members of the Bear lineage, certain members of
which would use these parts in the Bear Dance.
As an illustration of the hunting method and
its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[276] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

281 the outer wrapping around a baby while strapped in its cradle. (M.L.)

Much the same process was used for deerskin, which was dehaired with a strong solution of deer brains. Some men were better tanners than others; while most men got enough deer brains in the course of their hunting to keep themselves supplied, dried brains could be bought from expert hunters who had more than they needed. The brains they mashed into flat cakes which they dried on warm rocks, then stored. J.P. said only deer brains were used: he pronounced cougar and bear brains "dangerous" when asked about them.

Hides were pegged out on sand, fur side down, for about a week. When dry they were folded by being stepped on and put in a storehouse, unless they were to be tanned at once, in which case the skin was not folded but was turned over and again pegged out, this time over damp sand or earth. A strong solution of deer brains, which had been soaking overnight, was worked into the fur. This was left for twenty-four to thirty-six hours and, if the brainy ointment had dried out meanwhile, the dry places were remoistened. When the skin was ready, a scraper of deer rib bone was used all over the hide to scrape off the fur; finishing was done by careful plucking with the fingers. On the inner side all adhering tissue was scraped off with a dull obsidian blade. The skin was then rinsed thoroughly in water and wrung out. A man alone would wring it by bunching it lengthwise and looping it around a ramada post or near-by strong sapling and twisting the ends. Two men would wring a hide by having one hold the two ends while the other turned a stick thrust through the loop. After as much water as possible had been pressed out, the skin was pulled out, stretched, and rubbed. At this stage care was taken not to get dirt on the clean damp skin, the work being done on tule mats or grassy ground. When ready for [47] final drying the skin was hung lengthwise over a horizontal pole in the shade (today wire fences serve this purpose). To soften the skin later it was folded twice and pounded lightly with a round hand stone, then pulled and rubbed until soft. (J.P., S.G.)

Rabbitskin Blankets

The skins of rabbits were invariably saved for blankets. Their only other use, according to M.P., was as warm padding to be laid around babies on the cradle board. Such skins were split ventrally, after skinning; they were usually skins already mutilated. The normal method was to cut the skin under the throat and around the head in front of the ears. The four paws were cut off just above the toe joints. Then casing was commenced by pulling on the ears; when the skin was pulled back over the

281 shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

281 286 These strips were tied together into about twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four
286 inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ṭ·ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su''iu ṭ·ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čitak string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of
[516] the smaller round tules (šu'yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[198] A pair of tules was

[198] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.S. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɛs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɛs
[262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɛt (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɛ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´yɛn) at bedrock
252 mortars (tinɛl), using a large pestle (čɛ';
412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɛm (ti´pɛn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɛlao, pipe of cane [sikɛl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɛš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɛ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wɛč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 177 b] Chuckchansi

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulbchul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-
cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

283 Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts
286 were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under
[136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (č'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukchumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (Ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 226 b] Western Mono NS 25

Cordage and Nets

W Y 281 [237] 283

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wi:ši:b) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

W Y 283

Milkweed string (wi´šib:b wiši´bi; milkweed, wi´šib:b, Waksachi; če´, Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa´hap (the Yokuts ša´) was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

W Y 482

The carrying net (tapi´h^a) and tumpline (ta´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi´kuoš) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river [262] tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. [281] They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were 361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343 on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a 342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves 291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and
237 carried a longer string than other bows of the same length. The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer
[38] in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was
281 sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and repointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These 237 were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary [513] blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, [291 in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they 294] were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call- 513
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 513
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. 237
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove. [438]

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
● 281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237 therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

264 Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the other in the midafternoon.

283 String.--It appears that both hemp and nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

276 Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

622 Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
624 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

The size of the house depended upon the 342 needs of the family, that is, the number of 592 persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ṭi', those covered with brush, ṭi´yao´w:l (yao´w:l, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu´muk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of [283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

[151] Ibid., 522.

[152] Ibid.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during [834] bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven
291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi''ič (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish in-
286 fluence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

A sandal (daki''ič) of thick hide, deer
291 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very
294 hot weather or when making a long journey.
281 Several layers of hide were cut to the foot pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

Sandals were not worn by women. No type
291 of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions
281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

285 taken up and tied in four places with long strands of string which were to be the twining wefts. The tules were added in pairs. Twining progressed over some six to ten tules in the first row before the string was tied in a single knot; then twining was commenced on the second, third, and fourth rows and continued in the same manner. The manipulation is shown in figure 12. While the first finger of the left hand held down one string which was turned back over the last pair of tules, the second and third fingers held the pair just being inserted by the right hand. The next move was to bring the loose string up over the latter pair, and have it replace the taut string which was released to become the next binding element. A well-finished mat would have a three-ply braid of fine tules sewed on all around the edge.

[516]

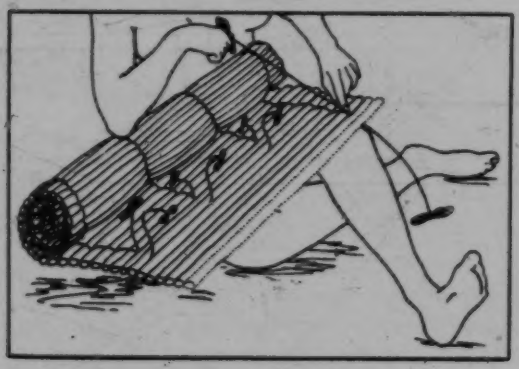

Fig. 12. Wukchumni method of twining small mats. Left hand about to press down on tightened wrapping, freeing right hand which will place next two tules (dotted in position) and pull under string up over them.

The same technique was used for all household mats, babies' mattresses, casings for feather ornaments, etc. Women invariably sat on mats when working outdoors in front of their homes (N.L.).

Flat tule (kots, "cattails") were little used.

Cordage and Nets

283 The strongest cord or rope (ho'), which was employed for all heavy purposes, was made from the inner bark of the button willow. Trees were ringed by means of an obsidian blade at intervals of three to five feet, depending on whether one or two sections could be gotten. The ringing and stripping were done in the fall. The inside bark peeled off readily after it was removed from the tree. It was laid out on flat

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Wakasachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čitɨk) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čitɨk, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (wa´dak) and tumpline
283 (šu´ñdɨč, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches, then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a]

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordinary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ǂč, in reference to the beads.

286 291

283 Sinew string (pikǂt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 [12] Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

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Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. [illegible] were immersed in icy waters before they [illegible] to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

283 Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 286 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were [136] available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (ʒ'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukshumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 226 b] Western Mono NS 25

Cordage and Nets

W Y 281 [237] 283

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wišib) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

W Y 283

Milkweed string (wi´šibib wiši´bi; milkweed, wi´šibib, Waksachi; če', Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa´hip (the Yokuts ša') was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

W Y 482

The carrying net (tapi´hᵉ) and tumpline (ta·´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi·´kuoë) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle
352 or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is
285 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is carried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [171] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in [171] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the princi- [142] pal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the re-
302 mainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves. 224

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed. [283 286]

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish. [286 226]

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They 791
were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would 484
leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents [789]
apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting par- 411
ticulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but [237
by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian 322]
overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints [381]
of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its [283]
diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store 85 they sell among themselves for 83, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

● 283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797
648
[361
162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired [765] this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place 133 of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; [137] there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and [283 strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) 227] for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very 263 savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally [197] produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and [252] dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San 797 Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to 648 Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had [609] their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra 648 [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to 797 his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was 574 to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of
342 the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The
[284] individual stalks were held together by rows of single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a handspan (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats.
[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons'
[354] families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi´yohono; tule-covered house; woi´yohon ti).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Wakasachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čitiik) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čitiik, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

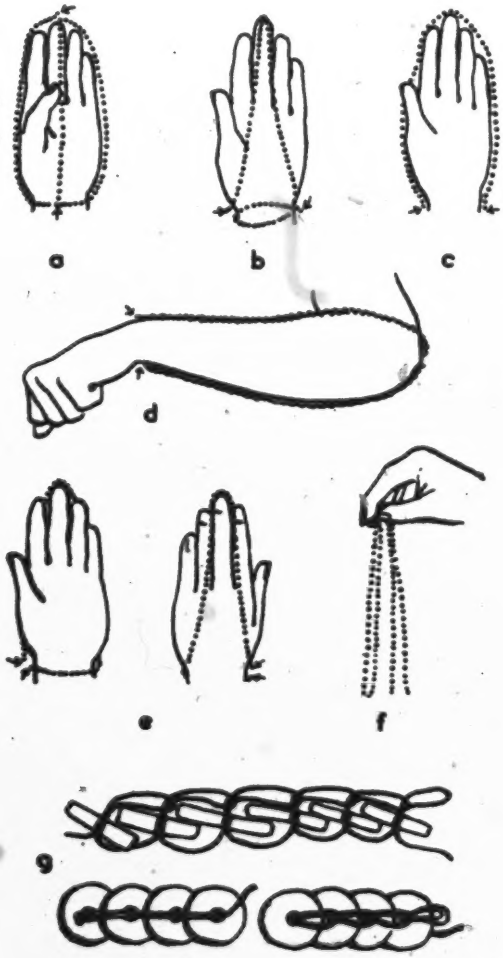
482 The carrying net (wa´dak) and tumpline
283 (šu´ñdič, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches; then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p.85a]

436 attached to them differ slightly from in-
formant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok,
804 the measurement around the hand, all informants
agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values
435 were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called
hista´'a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a
equaled 20 cents. A single strand which
reached from the wrist around the elbow and
back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously
half-hitched strand covering the same distance



[284]

Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Waksachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
● [284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

The fire was placed about two feet inside
35f the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 a] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (*Chukchansi*) and at *Awa'ni·* (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

285 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o'yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
mentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
358 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[924] with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
284 was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] "Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (sarar?).

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were
342 used on side walls. For the rounded ends of the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
● 285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The individual stalks were held together by rows of
[284] single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a handspan (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats.
[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons'
[354] families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi ´yohono; tule-covered house; woi ´yohon ṭi).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757] little dishes (ṭipe´kıl ki´wıs). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[439] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

● 285 No detailed description of basketmaking
438 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of
285 California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

285 basket made of tules was called a´nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama´l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa´pːt) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai´'iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po´mːk) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pomːk) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o´sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha´lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu´was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

[482] The tumpline (tsono´lhi) and carrying net (tsuno´lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo´to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao´); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a´ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča´'aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po´dano).

The tumpline she called šu´ñlːk, the soaproot brush ṭoho´ṭ.

Blanketmaking

286 The Tachi made blankets (woi´yon, the word used for mats) of strips of mudhen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers.[47] [text continues p. 21a]

[47] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Nutunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

1: Gayton E[illegible] 25-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 18] Western Mono NS25

Y
W
285

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

TWINED BASKET TYPES		YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
		CHUNUT	WUMCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
	close twine; always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern					
1 COOKING BASKET		?	pola'na	po·no	poto·n	tapond'li
	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes				
2 BURDEN BASKET		a'nas	a'llaš	a'naš	wono po·no	?
	medium open twine; handled					
3 SEEDBEATER		ha'lai	yomoki ta'myuk	ča' phai	potso·'	tonoho
	fine open twine; no handle					
4 SIEVE		?	ta'myuk	ča'phai	pu''an	?
	coarse open twine; no handle					
5 FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER		?	a'pol	ča'phai	pu''an	?
	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	ta'a'ti^{u}a	?
6 WINNOWER						
	open twine; cage has lid					
7 HANGING BASKET OR CAGE		used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

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[824]
[438]

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 19] Western Mono NS25
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GAYTON, YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY: I

COILED BASKET TYPES	YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
	CHUNUT	WUKCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
1 MUSH, STORAGE, OR WASHING	?	?	a'oki	sai'op	?
2 "BREAD BASKET" (MODERN)	used exclusively for storing loaves of bread (native word not recorded)				
3 INDIVIDUAL FOOD BASKET	?	ka'čao	amat	?	a'po
4 WOMAN'S CAP (SELDOM USED)	pukiu'was	waki'nits	amat	?	pi'kwo'E
5 WINNOWING TRAY	tso'pit	kaiya'ło	kaiya'to	sai'ya	?
6 GAMBLING TRAY	tal'iwan	tai'wan	tai'wan	sai'ya	(Patwisha) ba'gtu
7 TREASURE BASKET	little used by Chunut a'sa	a'sa	a'sa	a'sa	?
8 GIFT BASKET	po'mik	(8 and 9 are shapes made by the Chunut and probably by other Lake tribes)			
9 TREASURE BASKET	tsełpo'mik				

Fig. 3. Yokuts and Western Mono coiled basket types.

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´wekad, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [77 reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, 657] strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-323 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´ʼɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the 838] latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other-764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

T Y 796 276

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

T Y [832]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

T Y [285 431]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[353]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

342 Mats were rarely used on a conical frame as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[353] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the lake peoples.[354]

285 The oval house was also frequently built in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this 342 form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod though they did not reach the extreme dimensions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts were erected and a ridgepole laid between them. Side and end poles with pliable tips were braced in the ground at the periphery of the floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with the conical house, horizontal side braces were lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

These were tied to the framework and, in expectation of stormy weather, were bound down by a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was left, the smoke merely escaping through the rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole. [184] The oval house of the Central Foothills was not usually divided into compartments as it was in the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in size than the thatched or mat-covered type. Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark house may serve here, as this structure was not well known to Wukchumni informants.[355]

A bark house of similar type [conical] is called asmish. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering,

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[354] Handbook, 521, 522.

[355] Ibid., 522.

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ́ ́niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from [621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157]An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, e).

[158]The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nıp) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čine ʔil) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types
482 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ñaǩ) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a
[222] beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na) was invariably of twined weave, coarse and
415 close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n:ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´w:c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa´'uk, M.L.; ap´'up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket. 428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" [764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in- [437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka´di´an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four
286 inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ṭ·ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su''iu ṭ·ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čitak string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of
[516] the smaller round tules (ǧu'yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[190] A pair of tules was

[190] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.G. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

285 taken up and tied in four places with long strands of string which were to be the twining wefts. The tules were added in pairs. Twining progressed over some six to ten tules in the first row before the string was tied in a single knot; then twining was commenced on the second, third, and fourth rows and continued in the same manner. The manipulation is shown in figure 12. While the first finger of the left hand held down one string which was turned back over the last pair of tules, the second and third fingers held the pair just being inserted by the right hand. The next move was to bring the loose string up over the latter pair, and have it replace the taut string which was released to become the next binding element. A well-finished mat would have a three-ply braid of fine tules sewed on all around the edge.

[516]

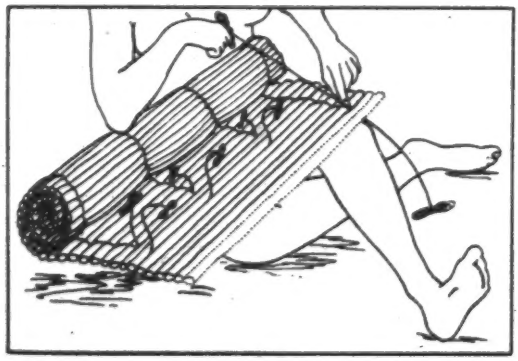

Fig. 12. Wukchumni method of twining small mats. Left hand about to press down on tightened wrapping, freeing right hand which will place next two tules (dotted in position) and pull under string up over them.

The same technique was used for all household mats, babies' mattresses, casings for feather ornaments, etc. Women invariably sat on mats when working outdoors in front of their homes (M.L.).

Flat tule (kots, "cattails") were little used.

Cordage and Nets

283 The strongest cord or rope (ho'), which was employed for all heavy purposes, was made from the inner bark of the button willow. Trees were ringed by means of an obsidian blade at intervals of three to five feet, depending on whether one or two sections could be gotten. The ringing and stripping were done in the fall. The inside bark peeled off readily after it was removed from the tree. It was laid out on flat

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ič, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikıt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking
[121] was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

285 materials have been analyzed by Merrill.[200] In the present paper under the heading "Woman's Household Equipment" is a description of basket types; a comparative display of shapes and techniques is shown in figures 2 and 3, and plate 1 shows a typical collection of Yokuts baskets.

[461] The informant M.L. said that not all women made baskets: "anyone could learn that wanted to but some were too lazy."

All Yokuts coiled baskets were made on a multiple-rod foundation, the favorite material being a grass called toša´k:s. The wrapping was usually a split root called ho´pət, which came in 4- to 6-foot lengths. The outer bark was scraped off and the interior split into two parts by holding one half in the teeth and splitting the other away with the fingers. K.G. started a coiled basket for demonstration.

To start a coiled basket a piece of the wrapping material about four inches long was shaved down to a point at one end. This end was rolled into a tiny coil, the loose end projecting to the maker's right. Another short piece of the same material and of fine grade (i.e., split thin) was set with one end under the turn of the coil and held in place with the fingers of the left hand. The coil, with inserted binding, was of a size to fit securely within the worker's left thumb and forefinger. The right hand began the wrapping process. The free end of the wrapping was poked repeatedly through the center hole of the coil with the aid of an awl until all the coil was wrapped and the center hole filled. By this time the first round of the coil had been made and the next wrappings were passed around the turn of the foundation "rod" between the previous stitches: a skilled basketmaker did not split even these small beginning stitches. Now a transition was made from the single foundation to the multiple-grass filler which would continue throughout the rest of the basket. This was done by inserting a few grasses under the end of the single "rod," and more and more were added as the coiling progressed until the desired foundation thickness was obtained.

The loose ends of the foundation grasses, which jutted out to the right from 2 to 4 feet, were kept under control by a small ring of the wrapping material (nowadays more often a twist of string) which could be slipped up and down the bundle of grass stems and through which each new grass was inserted before its butt was poked in under the last turn of wrapping. Only one grass was added at a time and these at about three-inch intervals, depending, of course, on the dimensions and coarseness of the basket under construction.

Work progressed from left to right (clockwise) from the worker's point of view, and for

[200] Kroeber, Handbook, 531-533; Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry.

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nap), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hič). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, [237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to 531 which I can add only one called "waves" which 285 is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used ex- 335 clusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated [184] cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan,
056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
756 would change into an owl that went and talked
789 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form
778 of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

796 Then people began shouting for the "biting"
825 display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

224 The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušl:l:n get snakes for a dance at Maštinao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´m:s. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu´čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or m:ts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokon:k (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiw:n (Wukchumni), and Šu:t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on.
[285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi´č:t, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

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[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ni who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 783 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those the Wakachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried. [285 171]

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The [465 431] washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 613] During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, [237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of [262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 140] Miwok NS 16
Western Mono NS 25

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M
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Explanation of Plate 1

Yokuts Specimens in Case 76, Room 15, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Miwok specimens to left of verticals, Western Mono specimens to right of verticals. (Photograph by courtesy of Peabody Museum, 1939.)

Top: large ceremonial basket flanked by other baskets of gift or ceremonial type. Across center: twined ware -- left, sieve with stripes; center, fish basket; right, seedbeater over coiled ware circular winnowing tray (perhaps a shaman's), flanked by small bottleneck or "treasure" baskets. Three fine bottleneck baskets with quail plume ornament. Bottom: gambling trays, mush basket type, small mush baskets. On floor, right: stave dice, arrow straightener, pair of hiding bones; center, bone awls and cane arrows; right verticals, looped rocklifters, plain bow, digging stick, and shaman's staff (black).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 141] Miwok NS 16
Western Mono NS 25

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PLATE 1. YOKUTS SPECIMENS, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´m:s, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´p:s
[262] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´h:t (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·č:´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´y:n) at bedrock
252 mortars (tin:l), using a large pestle (če';
412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´n:m (ti´p:n, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plenti-
276 fully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gen. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´k:lao, pipe of cane [sik:l]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´w:š) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin
281 blanket (xeu´či; cex:´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
481 but children, sick persons, and goods some-
501 times had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´w:č (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 [624] When a death was imminent, a winatum was sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ıč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cremation fire and carried the corpse to it. Every-
767 one came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a basket and buried them. The basket was a
[285] special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponık. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lıt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes[1] and dis-
[855] tribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken.

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork
● [285 basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same
415] shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita
[263] cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse
222 Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these
252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for
252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped
[251] off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[1] i.e., of acorn meal dough. —Amethyst]

271 scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and
222 all, she put them in a basket.[95] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same
272 basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell
251 with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

272 When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regu-
[222 lar mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild.
251] The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was
[177] first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

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[285] [95] The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 a] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
[272] mentation (toward upper right, second from top); the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
358 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[924 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?)
284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 221 b] Western Mono NS 25

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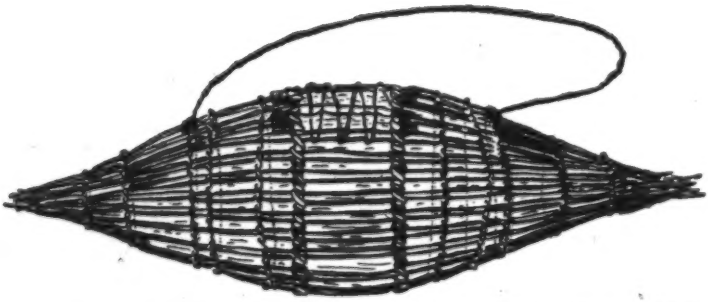

Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

W Y 252 262 nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on W Y rocks to dry, then stored in large covered [251] baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were Y of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; W granite was never used. The mush basket was [285] always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a Y big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

W A plant called paš̌a was used to flavor [263] acorn much.

Ya´´ap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

W Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta´beko´ot, Wakšachi) deposited Y honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, [237] or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš̌; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Wood-

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´iwa'ü ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokut NS29
[P. 225 b] NS 25

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uṭi´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ṭa´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 294] western Mono NS 25

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Explanation of Plate 2

Yokuts and Western Mono Specimens, Göteborg Museum

a, Wobonuch winnowing tray, burden basket; b, Wobonuch rock-lifter, mushbasket, cradle; c, Wobonuch fish basket, sieve, individual eating basket; d, Wobonuch pestle for bedrock mortar, handstone, arrow straightener; Wukchumni tobacco mortar and pestle; e, Wakaachi fire fan, Wobonuch soaproot brush and "treasure" basket; f, Wukchumni gambling tray, dice, counters.

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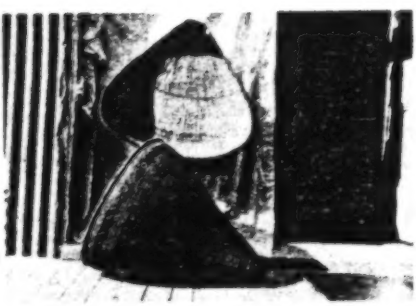

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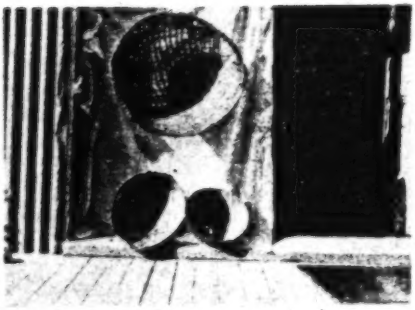

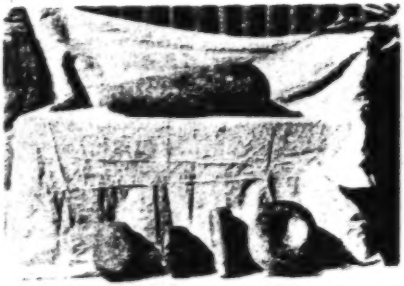

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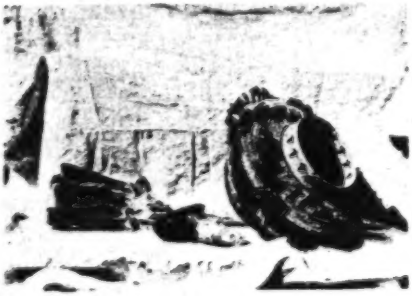

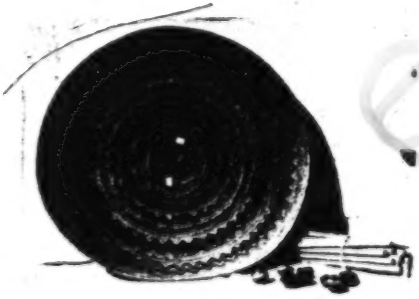

PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry. 224 [789]

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed. 223

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles. [782]

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *nademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the 226 [285]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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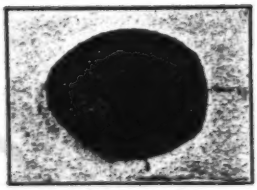

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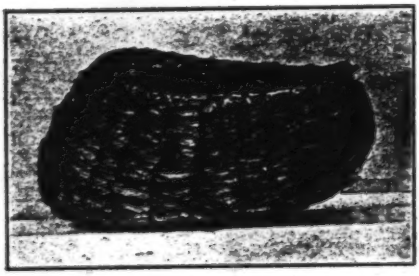

c

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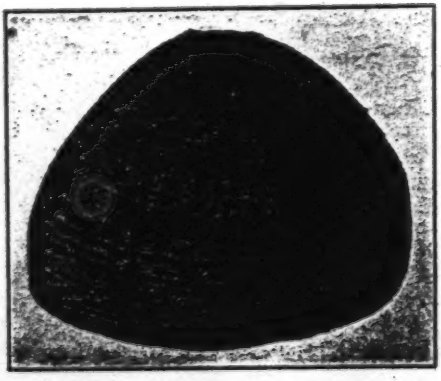

e

YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for sunpainting; c, soft basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 531 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes reflaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity 285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the 531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is 171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, 285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the 171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [531] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em- [525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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tula, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [501]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chuk, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutis*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle
352 or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is
285 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is carried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder
[171] hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in
[171] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found. 854 352 285 [171]

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

[171]

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is [171]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f*
352 is found without a hood as well as with it.

Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the
285 same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel
352 diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
285 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*).
531 Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 184 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the 285
lake houses.

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of 342
the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright.

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles 501
of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward [354]
end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time.

To understand the reason for this difference between the 133
method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved.

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent [132]
winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [281] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

361 "The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a 342 sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

291 "In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[415]

A typical Yokuts camp. In the foreground is the firepit and the woodpile for outside cooking. In front of the house is the universal tule-mat shade. The oblong tule covered house has a slot shaped smoke hole directly over the door. Beneath the smoke hole is the firepit for indoor cooking and heating. The ends of the house are round. Wahumchah, eighty-five years of age and last surviving full-blood man from the Yewiumne tribe, appears at the left. He lived in such a house until he was sixteen years of age. He supervised the construction of this camp.

lashed together. These houses were probably not larger than ten by eighteen feet. As in the case of the other temporary houses this house was also covered with tules and was called *Che*.

On Tule River the *Yaudanchi* built their winter house of tules in a cone shape. The house had a hoop at the top to which the poles of the leaning framework were attached and which left an opening for the smoke arising from the fire pit directly below.

[285] The framework was covered by sewn tule mats. The houses were placed in rows with brush covered shades in front. These Yaudanchi houses more nearly approached the tepee of the plains Indians than any other Yokuts houses. The Yaudanchi also built a larger house, which had a ridge, two fire places, and a door at each end; but we have no details of the construction.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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Wohamchuh, aged 85 and last surviving man from the Yowlumne Yokuts who once lived about present Bakersfield, showing the use of the tule-mat door in a tule-thatched house.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[482] [462]

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[482] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[Text continues on p. 107]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wahsamhot demonstrating the use of *ahng'-uh*, the cone-shaped Yokuts carrying basket. When loaded it was balanced by means of the shoulders and hips. In her hand she holds *kiota*, the winnowing tray. The carrying strap is twisted so it will not slip from her head when she is walking.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Acorn granaries and a Chukuimne Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wik'-sid*, by the In-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

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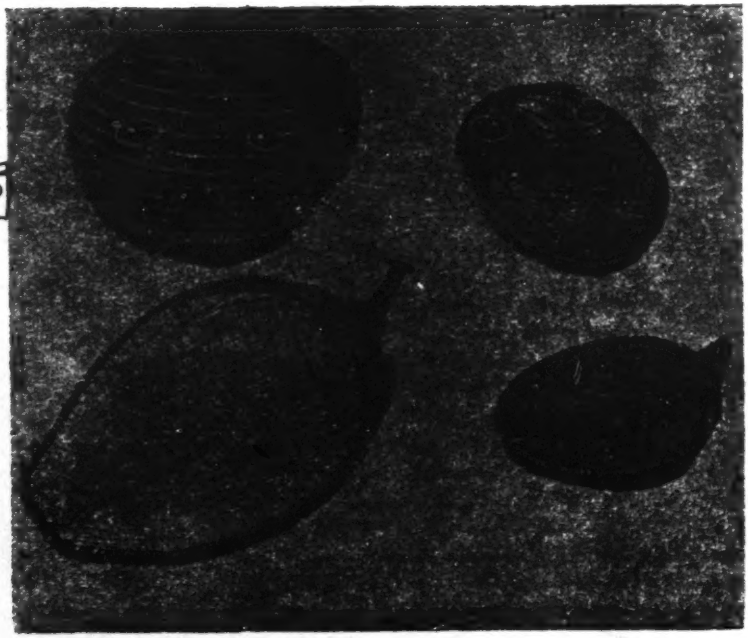

Four Yokuts harvesting and camp wicker utensils. The two at the top are tuh'-meuks or simple collanders. Those at the bottom are seed beaters. With one of these in the right hand a woman was able to beat the seeds of oats, wild rice and other standing grasses into a large wide mouthed basket held under her left arm.

mush, the cake was pulverized in a mortar and placed in a basket. Water was added, and the whole cooked quite thoroughly by means of hot rocks (*chak-toy'-tuh*). The rocks were placed in the basket by means of two green sticks used as tongs and removed from it by a looped stick (*shi'-ow*) which was also used to stir the soup. When first removed from the fire by means of the green tongs, the rocks were quickly dipped in a basket of water. The flash of steam caused by this removed from the surface of the hot rock most of the ashes and burned acorn meal with which they were coated. The Wukchumne used soapstone cooking rocks, claiming they were superior to any others. Much of the cooked mush was allowed to harden into a loaf, or cake, of bread.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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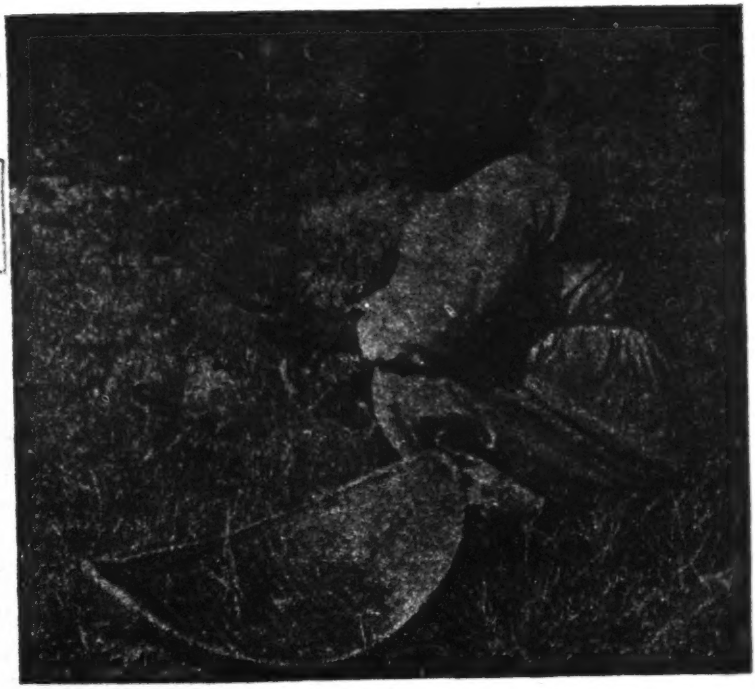


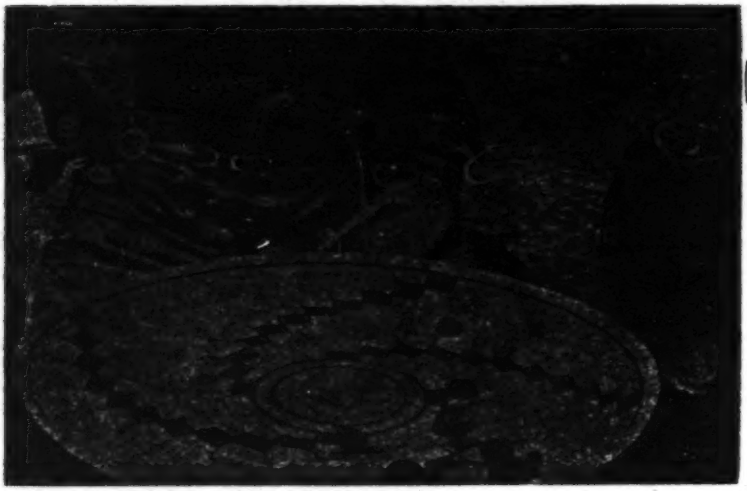
Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **tah'-meuk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Wohnesakot, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huuhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-clm'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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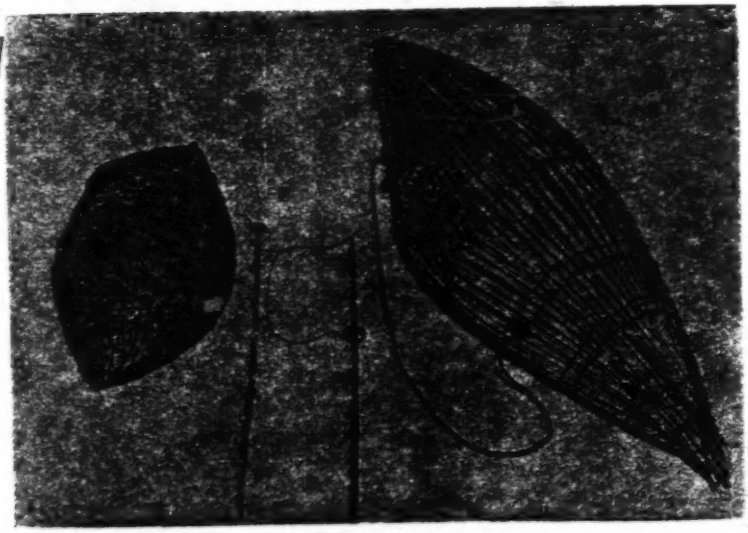

At the left is a **Koyeti**, and right a **Wukchumne** decoy pidgeon cage. At the left center is a **Chukaimne** pidgeon snare, having a spur to prevent the ring from sliding down the pole and closing the loop. At the right center is a **Yowlumne** pidgeon snare. These snares are about six feet long.

tailed and interesting description of this practice was that furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choinimne* Yokuts on upper Kings River and who left a more or less detailed account of his experiences. The Mayfield story follows:

"When I was quite young the Indians used to kill many deer by stalking and shooting them with the bow and arrow. For this sort of hunting they prepared the horns and hide of the deer and placed it over themselves.

"The head of the deer was hollowed out and fitted over the head of the hunter. The skin covered the back of the hunter.

"A short stick was carried in the right hand, and was used, when the hunter bent forward, to imitate the forelegs of a deer. The bow and arrows were carried in the left hand.

"They would imitate a deer feeding and rubbing the horns on the brush and many other actions of the deer until they approached quite close to the game.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER IX

BASKETRY

YOKUTS STITCHED BASKETRY

The Yokuts tribes will probably be noted throughout all time for the wonderful basketry which they manufactured. There were several types of this basketry, as well as a number of forms. These baskets, mortars, steatite vessels, round wooden boxes, dried animal bladders and crude bags were the only containers known to these Indians. 285

Practically all of the Yokuts baskets were of coiled construction. They were not woven, but were stitched together. This process was much slower and more difficult than that of weaving, but produced a basket as strong as though it were made of sheet metal. Many Yokuts baskets were used for cooking and, when completely dry, would become water-tight twenty or thirty minutes after they were placed in water.

The filler, or coiled material, was obtained from a tall grass which grew in clumps along the valley streams and sloughs. To pioneer white cattlemen of the Joaquin this was known as bunch-grass (Epicampes Rigens). It had no joints, being perfectly smooth from one end to the other, and attained a length of more than four feet. The Indians called this material *chaw'-kish*. 285 824

The white, or light, straw colored material with which the stitching was done, came from the root of a swamp grass (Cladium Mariscus), which was at one time quite common throughout the entire overflow area of the valley

Cladium roots attain a diameter of about three sixteenths of an inch and a length of three or more feet. Yokuts women still dig it from the ground by means of pointed sticks. The bark is removed from it and it is split into two, three, or four parts. [412]

The splitting of this material requires great care and much practice. One piece is held between the teeth, the other two between each thumb and the next two fingers. By equalizing the pressure between the two hands and the teeth the root is split into three equal parts. In this way Yokuts women can split a root four feet long into three parts so even in size that the dif- 285

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Here are shown Yokuts basketry materials and the beginning steps in making a basket. Top left shows the cladium root (cladium mariscus) after the bark has been removed. Top center is a standard sized trade bundle of split root. Top right is a similar bundle of red bud. Center is a long bundle of the bunch grass used as a filler. Bottom left shows the beginning of a basket, using cladium root for both stitching and filler. Bottom center shows the introduction of bunch grass. Bottom right shows the use of bunch grass alone as a filler, also the bone awl used in stitching.

ference cannot be detected by comparing them side by side. If a root is large enough to make four splints, it is first split in two and then the halves are split.

By means of the sharp edge of a rock, or blade of a caseknife, the split roots are scraped smooth and made into rolls of uniform size for use in trading for basket materials that do not grow in the locality where the roots are harvested. This root is called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

In beginning the basket, short lengths of hupud are twisted into a small coil and stitched together. When the coil becomes large enough, generally about two inches in diameter, the chawkish is introduced. The chawkish cannot be used in beginning the coil because it is too brittle to bend to such a small diameter. The basket is built from this point to the rim by stitching one continuous coil of chawkish to the previous one by means of the grass root called hupud, or by colored stitching materials.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-mup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yahmah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses
[222] and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
412] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wahsemkot about 1928. In her right hand she holds a basket made to be suspended from the neck, leaving both hands free to pick blackberries. Leaning against her is a boy's baby cradle. In her left hand is the flexible cradle, made before the child is born and for use until the other is completed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
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They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally
[353] hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[222] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS BABY CRADLES

One of the most interesting phases of Yokuts culture is their method of handling and carrying their children. Many of the things to be discussed here vary slightly among the Yokuts tribes, but the general scheme was once much the same from the Cosumne River and Martinez on the North to Tehachapi and Paleta on the south. By far the most effective Yokuts artifacts, at least as regards the rearing of children, are these baby cradles, or baskets. The most detailed account concerning this interesting piece of equipment was that furnished by a prominent family of the *Wukchumne* tribe. 854 285 352

Among the Wukchumne it was customary to hold a ceremony, or meeting, practically identical with the modern baby shower. Even though many of the primitive customs have held over into civilized life, and persons who have studied primitive life are more or less accustomed to such parallels, it comes as a surprise to everyone to find that such an interesting custom was so well established among the primitive inhabitants of the San Joaquin Valley. 851 854 352 285

The materials used in the construction of the baby cradle varied slightly among the numerous tribes. The Tachi, who occupied the north shore of Tulare Lake, wove a very interesting cradle of tule. It was soft and pliable and formed a good mattress for the child. The *Choinok* and *Wolasi* attached a tule pad to the bed of a wicker cradle. 854 352 285

The plains and foothill tribes made a very light and strong cradle. Some tribes used slender willow wythes. In the construction of their cradles the Wukchumne used cottonwood twigs.

Among the Wukchumne two separate cradles were used for each child. The first cradle was sometimes made by the mother, although a grandmother, or some other old lady of the tribe, often made it and sold or presented it to the mother. This cradle was about thirty inches in length and so woven of cottonwood twigs that it could be rolled up like a piece of matting, the cross stitching being made of pliable cladium roots. This was a temporary cradle and the baby was kept upon it for a matter of three or four weeks.

As soon as the child was born, materials were assembled and construction started on a large, permanent cradle. This was not possible before, because the design used in weaving the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Left: A Wukchumne infant cradle, used until the larger cradle was completed, and then tied high in an oak tree until the child learned to walk. Right: A Yaudanchi infant cradle with hoop to support the covering over the face of the baby.

cradle for a boy differed from that used in weaving a girl's cradle.

At the time when construction of the large cradle was started, all the grandmothers and older women of the immediate family group held a meeting. They called upon the mother and her child and brought with them all sorts of materials, including toys and play-things for the baby.

The mother never constructed the larger, permanent cradle. No reason is given for this, except that the mother had many other duties in caring for the child. It is said that the maternal grandmother took a considerable pride in preparing this permanent cradle and I have observed this always to be the case among the Wukchumne.

When the temporary cradle was discarded it was rolled tightly and tied securely, high in an oak tree. It is explained

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854 352 285

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections.

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.

352 285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

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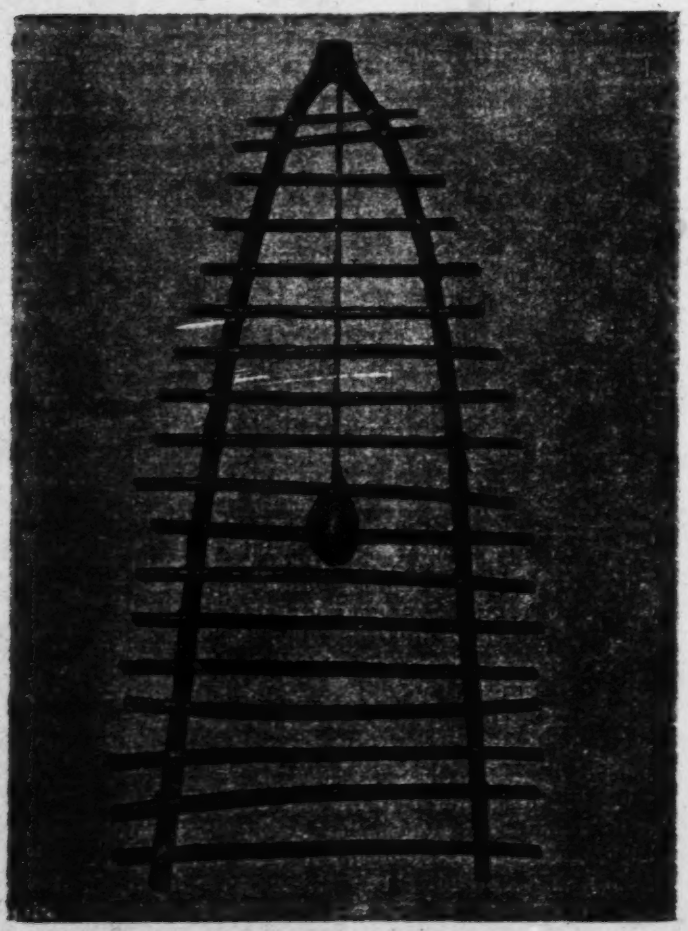

Type of baby cradle used by the Keyeti Yokuts on Tule River. Suspended by the string is a piece of soapstone from which was scraped talcum powder to put on the baby when the grass or moss diaper was changed. This cradle, together with the soapstone, was collected in 1868.

Verily, there is nothing new under the sun.

The *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, could leave her baby cradle leaning against a bank, a rock, or a tree, and be gone for hours with the certainty of coming back and finding the child

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Left: A Wukchumne Yokuts baby cradle with milkweed fiber tie-strap and hemp fiber carrying-strap. Suspended at the right of the sunshade is a steatite reel-shaped stone from which talcum powder was scraped for use when changing the baby. Right: A Nutunutu Yokuts baby cradle padded with tules.

exactly where she left it. It is said by persons who have been close observers that it was often customary to keep the children on these cradles long after they were able to walk. Why the white persons who first settled this country failed to appreciate and appropriate this effective article of primitive culture is beyond understanding.

Probably more interest is shown by whites concerning the Indian name for baby cradle than concerning any other thing relating to Indians. Among the Wukchumne and other Kaweah River Yokuts tribes, the name was *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se). Almost every other tribe of Indians in the western hemisphere had a different name for this article. So did they have different names for *moccasin, squaw, tepe,* and every other primitive article.

The word squaw, was adopted from the Narragansett Indian dialect. *Papoose, chuck* (meaning food), *moccasin* and *tomahawk* were taken from an *Algonquin* dialect. Tepe was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 285 531 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 531 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 531 825 776 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winatun,* for *Tihpiknits,* the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 531 825 773 [776] Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant had the most painful sting of anything about them. The story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 531 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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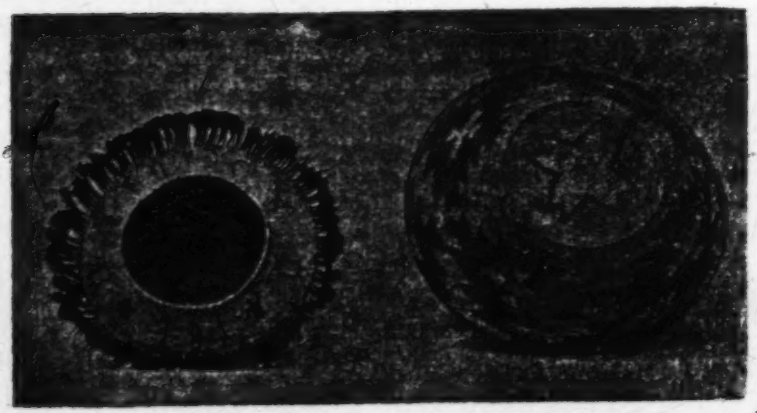

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Left: Top view of a Wukchumne creation basket with quail top-knot feathers as decorations around the edge. It was made to be burned at the periodic pageant which reenacted the creation of world. The stitches are very fine, some almost fifty to the inch. In the bottom is Choltus, the morning star. The world was finished just as the morning star was beginning to fade. Around the side is a design taken from the pattern on rattlesnake's back. Rattlesnake was the agent of Tihpiknits, Yokuts St. Peter. It was his business to crawl about spying on bad people whose names should be sent in to Tihpiknits. Around the rim are the bow and arrows, sent to the earth by the sun when he went to live in the sky. To the right is the new moon. The world was created during the new moon. Next is Yohk, the watersnake, first water dweller. Next is Sahwukit, the turtle, who brought up from the bottom of the universal water the mud from which the world was made. Next is Wyness, the first man, swimming up from the water. Next is bow and arrow, repeated. Then is Tsah-tsah, the oak tree, first tree in the Yokuts world. Next is turtle repeated. Last is mah-min (blackberry), the first fruit. Right: On the bottom is Choltus, the morning star. This is another creation basket, one of the most difficult patterns the author has seen. It shows Eagle, the Yokuts Creator, in white, with a red border, which creates another eagle, the white spaces between the four eagles making another eagle. It is an all over pattern which dovetails so as to allow of no waste space. The stitches are fine, about thirty-two to the inch.

among the old baskets a representation of either the bow or arrow in a form resembling their true shape.

Houses are often shown by a small low triangle which makes no attempt to show either the smoke opening in the top, or the door-way. Houses may be shown in any color.

Among the many traditions about basketry designs which are, according to the experience of this writer, clearly in need of correction is the one which states that purposely none of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 531 the old Indian basketry designs were made complete, or without imperfections. Old basket makers say that there is no foundation whatever for the above statement. They say that broken places in the design or places where parts of the design do not match exactly are simply the result of a lack of skill or forethought on the part of the basket maker. When, over a period of weeks and often months, one has watched the developing of the basketry design while the tedious work has been in progress, he can readily appreciate the above explanation.

The Indian woman begins her design at the base of the basket. As coil after coil is added and the circumference of the rim of the basket where the design is being worked out becomes larger, no small amount of ingenuity and mathematics is necessary to make that portion of the design near the top of the basket conform to that which already has been worked out on the smaller portion near the bottom.

In all of this work no pattern is used. The upper portions of the design are left entirely to the imagination and it is often quite difficult to bring them into proper position upon the flaring side of the basket. This whole matter would be comparatively simple if the basket were the same size at top and bottom, but new stitches must be added every few inches as each coil is added, and this not only increases the surface area upon which the design is placed, but also makes necessary with each coil a new count and division of stitches.

In the solving of this whole problem an Indian woman will display a truly amazing amount of ability, not only in placing the design itself, but in the mere mathematics of dividing the various portions of the basket into equal parts.

The writer has in his possession a small basket, illustrated in this chapter, which is about eight inches in diameter and two and one-half inches deep. This basket is of very close weave, having certainly more than 30,000 stitches, spaced about thirty to the inch. Upon its flaring sides are reproduced four conventional eagle designs, about which is quite elaborately worked out a wide border in two colors. The borders about the eagles make more similar eagles which dovetail so that the design covers the basket completely, and there is on the entire side of the basket no space not involved in representing an eagle. The entire design is worked out from start to finish without a single flaw and shows perfect uniformity, not only

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

rectangles construct an amusingly accurate fly, and resemble a head-on view of an airplane. Five small rectangles create an unforgettable water-skater. Small wavy or straight lines are caterpillars. Small groups, or long, winding strings of small squares represent ants. 285 531

In the selection of her materials, in the dyeing, preparation, and assembling of them, in the accurate weaving of myths and historical events into the designs on her baskets, it can truly be stated that the Yokuts Indian woman was one of the most versatile artists in the world. She was mythologist, craftsman, weaver, designer, historian, mineralogist, botanist, mathematician, and poet. 285 517 531

YOKUTS ART

The mere mention of Yokuts Indian art seems a challenge to most persons. The thing farthest from their thought is that a Yokuts Indian could have developed anything which in any way could be termed true art. This is not the case. It is true that many of the old forms of Yokuts art are gone, perhaps never to be known, but it is due only to our destructive powers that there is not today more evidence of several forms of their art. 517 531

The Yokuts were developing to a point where art was appearing in their manufacture of pottery. True, this had advanced only to the stage where simple ornamental forms were being attempted and where borders and designs were being applied with the thumb nail or a sharp stick. But the beginning was there and there have been found within Yokuts territory several pieces of pottery which were banded with interesting designs and which probably were not traded into this territory. Border designs were also cut into the large steatite cooking vessels around the opening in the top.

Indian art was applied to many articles. The small apron on the front of the breech clout was sometimes painted with designs symbolic of the local tribe, or clan. The colors and pigments used were the same as those used in rock painting, being earth colors mixed with the juices of plants, most commonly chilicote oil, mixed with the juice of the tall milkweed, the fiber of which was used for making string.

Of all the art common to the many Yokuts tribes, that which has made famous the Yokuts *moke* (mo'-ke, woman) throughout the world, has been applied to their several forms of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
● 285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to
825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more
776 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I.
825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest
[285 rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On
531] some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water
[237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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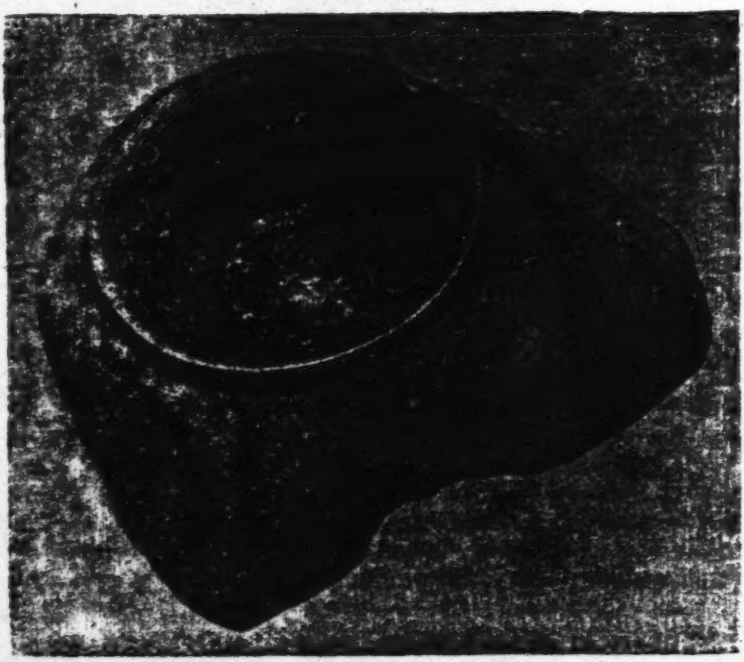

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
592

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Lewaynit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wehnoakot. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 323

cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

Y W 171 184 323

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

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[6] Tai'in na ki'wie nim ki'am ti'ei, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 36d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extracted by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Figure 41.—Baby-basket, acorn-baskets, sifters, &c.

[Facing p. 376]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [531]

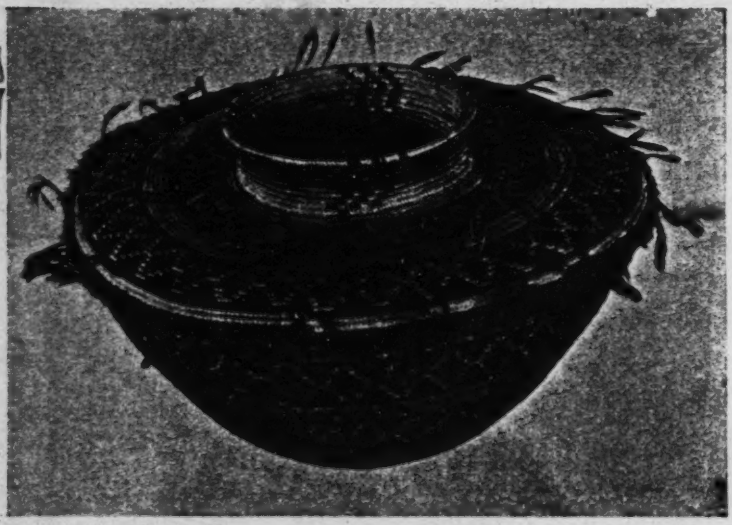

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be-
[789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

285 basket made of tules was called a´nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama´l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa´pıt) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai´´iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po´mık) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pomık) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o´sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha´lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu´was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

[482] The tumpline (tsono´lhi) and carrying net (tsuno´lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo´to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao´); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a´ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča´´aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po´dano).

The tumpline she called šu´ñlık, the soaproot brush ṭoho´ṭ.

Blanketmaking

● 286 The Tachi made blankets (woi´yon, the word used for mats) of strips of mudhen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers.[47] [text continues p. 21a]

[47] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Nutunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y [354] of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524 MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mon) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to
[281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states
[834] that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth
[281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

The belt was of milkweed string woven
283 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band
291 (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down
[304] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi´koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´´ˌč (fig. 13, g).
291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom
294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool,
286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

A sandal (daki´´ˌč) of thick hide, deer
291 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very
294 hot weather or when making a long journey.
Several layers of hide were cut to the foot
281 pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

Sandals were not worn by women. No type
291 of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions
281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat
281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un- [881] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

On dress occasions aprons of deerskin
292 (ki´nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always
291 coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

Women's hair was long save during the
302 period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

281 shoulders and off the forelegs, the ears were cut off at their base. The skins were dried reversed, and adhering tissue was gently scraped off with a small rib bone; an obsidian knife was "too sharp." When ready, the skin was converted into one long strip by cutting around it spirally, beginning at the neck. This was done with an obsidian blade against a smooth flat stone.

281 286 These strips were tied together into about twenty-foot lengths (four to six skins). Doubled, the open ends were tied to something firm, often a ramada post. The worker then held the loop end taut with a hooked stick and twisted it. When the tension was sufficient, the double rope was allowed to turn back on itself, making a rope of four strands in all.

This informant (M.P.) insisted that no loom was used for blankets, a point on which there is much discrepancy among all informants. She said the doubly twisted ropes of skin were laid out parallel on the ground "just to measure them out nice." They were then picked up one by one, and a milkweed string in a split wood needle was sewed through parallel twists. The technique is the same as that used in making packstraps, but, of course, a rectangle some 3 by 5 feet was produced. While this informant is a relatively young woman, she nevertheless said she had made a blanket that way, and her motor actions of demonstration were convincing. It is her generalizing statement that no frame was used which is dubious, not her description of the method she herself used. Probably there were different ways of making them. At least there is common agreement that double twisted warps of rabbitskin were always used, and that the weaving frame, if any, was not horizontal.

The skins of jack rabbits and of cottontail rabbits were never combined in the same blanket. Ground squirrel skins and duck skins were sometimes used for blankets of this type, and a particularly delicate little blanket for a baby was made of quail skins. M.P. says men made the skin strips and twisted them into ropes for use, but that women did the "sewing." Men sometimes "sewed" wildcat skins, cured with fur, together to make a big blanket. This "sewing" was with an awl and sinew thread.

The Yaudanchi informant (M.S.) gave a different but equally circumstantial account. Her father, a fine hunter, went out every day to shoot rabbits. They were wanted as food, and for their skins. The skins were cut in strips and rolled on the thigh with two strands of milkweed string. The finished ropes were 8 to 10 feet long; they were then twisted double [method?], making them half that length. A pole resting on two forked sticks served as the frame for "weaving." The ropes were hung from it by passing the loose ends through the looped end. The split wooden needle was not used; the weft string, which was several feet

281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four
286 inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ṭ'ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su''iu ṭ'ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čituk string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of the smaller round tules (ǩu'yu). The worker
[516] sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[190] A pair of tules was

[190] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.G. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čit:k) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čit:k, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (wa´dak) and tumpline
283 (šu´ñd:č, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches; then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a]

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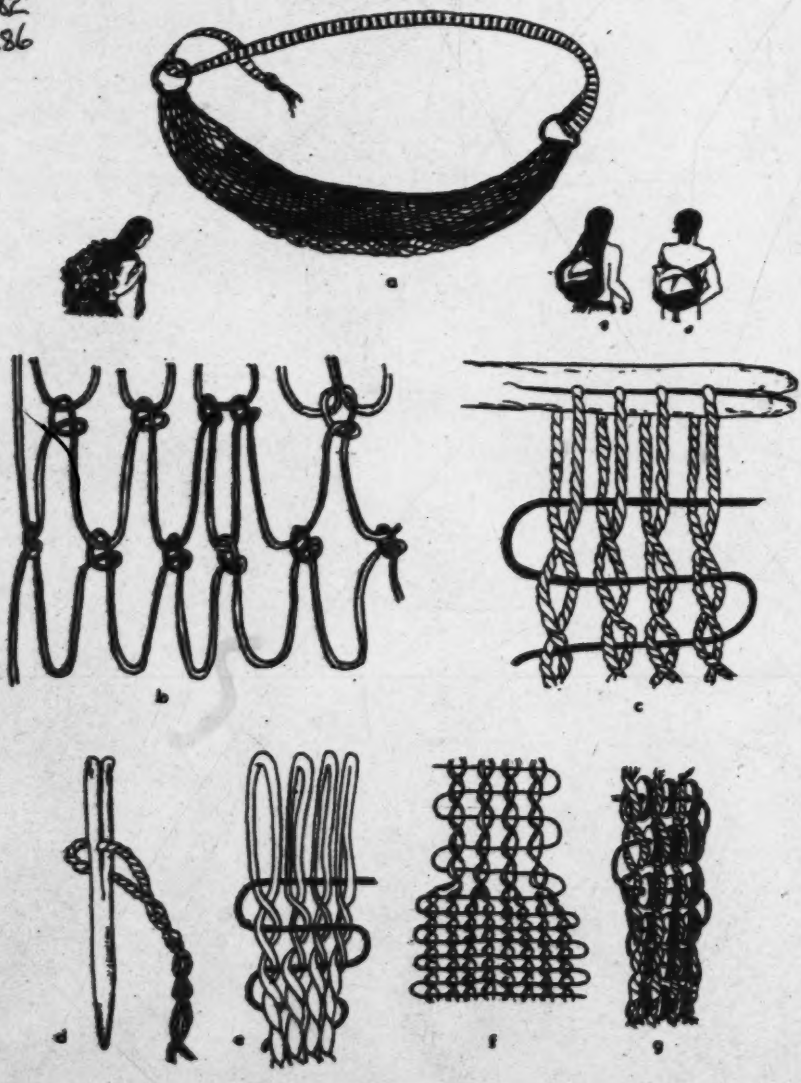

Fig. 13. Wukchumni netting and weaving techniques. a, carrying net and tumpline. b, enlargement of simple netting knot. c, enlargement of tumpline weaving. d, weaving needle. e, tumpline with warps and wefts expanded. f, change from 4 to 8 double-twisted warps. g, belt with shell discs inserted on weft between warps. Vignettes: manner of using tumpline.

286 hitches; then the netting stitch began. This was a simple knot and the same throughout, merely being reversed when work changed from right to left progression and vice versa. There was no rule which way the worker should start. Some workers endeavored to keep the length of twine with which they were working coiled in the right hand, others allowed it to dangle. Knots were made when a new cord joined on.

The loops at start and finish were about 4 inches deep, that is, the length of twine between knottings was some 8 inches. As work progressed toward the center of the net, the loops narrowed to 3 inches or 1-1/2 inches doubled, thus producing finer netting where most needed. As each knot was drawn taut the fingers of the left hand were spread along the cord of the loop next being formed, the adjustment of the fingers determining the amount of cord in the loop. No netting gauge was used. Each knot was made into (i.e., around) the cord of the loop above it save when widening and narrowing the width of the net was desired. Widening called for additional loops made into the same host loop. Narrowing was done by pulling two host loops together into one knot. When the last row of loops was reached they were strung on a coil of cordage similar to that at the start. The coil passed through the looped end of the tumpline.

There were 18 rows of loops in the net used for demonstration. It measured about 3 feet in length and 5 in breadth when pulled taut in one direction or the other. Spread equally in both directions when in use, it formed a capacious and adaptable hammock-like container.

Tumplines, which appear to be woven or even twined since the longitudinal strands are twisted in pairs, were made by what is more nearly a sewing process. (The same process was used in making rabbitskin blankets, according to two informants; see above.) Four cords, about 12 to 15 feet long, were twisted individually and doubled on themselves, forming loosely twisted two-strand cords about 6 feet long. The closed ends which formed a loop were inserted in the cleft of a split stick. They were pushed close together and, as they were practically identical and had been twisted at the same tension, the turns in each of the double cords were in line with their neighbors (see fig. 13, c-f). We will call these the "warp" cords. The loops of the warp cords were forced open with the forefinger of the left hand to a point about 4 inches below the binding stick, and here a cord ("weft") attached to a split-stick needle (awo'ka) was drawn through to its end. From this point on the weft cord was drawn back and forth, progressing through each series of adjacent turns in the four warp cords (see fig. 13, c, e). When the weft was drawn tight, it disappeared from view save at the sides of the band which

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi´´ĭ, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikĭt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Wakaachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking
[121] was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

764 All Wukchumni informants stated that it
767 was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´'ɨs, who was cremated
[766] by his two wives, Mawo´kono, a Wukchumni, and Paweč'ku´do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tump-
286] line and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinemniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the
767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray
262 squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

283 Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 286 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under [136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

412 Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (ǎ'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukchumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [501]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chok, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

it was an occasion of great enjoyment and feasting, and in that way closely resembled the rabbit drive of the eighties, with its large cans of hot coffee, wagon loads of bread, and barbecued beeves. 224

Instead of the fence built by the white people, which was often two miles in length and made of wire netting or lath fencing, the Indians themselves formed the line. Instead of the pen into which the rabbits were driven by white people the Indians used a net made of milkweed string against which the rabbits ran, and where they were killed. [283 284]

A detailed account of the rabbit drive as practiced by San Joaquin Valley Yokuts was furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who has been so freely quoted in these sketches and who was raised by the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts Indians. The Mayfield account follows:

"One of the great sports at the lake was the jack rabbit drive. The flat sage brush plains around the lake were fairly alive with jack rabbits, and the Indians used to plan a drive much like the drives later made by the white people, except that they used no pen or corral.

"A milkweed string net was made. This was about thirty feet long and four feet high. It was tied like an ordinary fish seine, but I never saw the Indians seine fish. [286 226]

"The net was used for catching rabbits. The net was erected between two large sage bushes. Then a long line of Indians marched out at an angle from each end of it.

"The most of these Indians carried a stick about two feet long. When the two lines of Indians had formed wings several yards long the outer ends closed in and then they drove the enclosed rabbits toward the net.

"When an Indian came close enough to a rabbit he would throw his stick at it and would generally break its legs. But the most of the rabbits were killed at the net.

"As the rabbits ran along between the two lines of Indians they saw what they thought was an opening in the line at the net. They attempted to run through this opening, but hit the net and bounced back. Then they were promptly clubbed by one or two or three Indians who were hiding there for that purpose.

"It surely was exciting when the drivers had closed in. There would be hundreds of rabbits, and almost as many sticks flying in the air. Many of the rabbits would break through the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

● 291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

343 The ramada or shade, čé´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157]. The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, ~~shelled~~ acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from [621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157]An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158]The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during [834] bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band 291 (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi´koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´´ɨč (fig. 13, g). 291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom 294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, 286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki´´ɨč) of thick hide, deer neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very 294 hot weather or when making a long journey. Several layers of hide were cut to the foot 281 pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions 281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

291 their construction were all unintelligible.
281 M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called woñka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi
[439] bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k:t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and
302 parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

It is said that in old times every man had 301 at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc- 304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a 281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin 291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat 281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, [681] although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] 286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nɛp) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ǽ, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikıt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking
[121] was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 146 b] Choinimni

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

●291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
598 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
[281] chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

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[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

W Y 343 515 clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513] Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533 No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kač) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´tač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y ● 291 [439] Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

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Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Y [237 439] Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Y 292 237 Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt, which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bⁱ, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´bⁱ, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W Y 292 462 435 The skirt was made by either men or women, but the headdress was made only by men. An old man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Y 301 304 Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

Y W 304 Tattooing.--There were no special practitioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

W Y 302 [192] Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka o´čɨk (red), toiye´'i očɨk (white), and mutskei´wɨk očɨk (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon c[illegible]s, fish, water
[262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ-
[285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used
[28] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about
137 the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were
361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules
[343 on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a
342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves
291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall
281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] [522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [161] [618]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the princi- [142] pal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under [237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, [301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and [301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and 302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be 291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design [531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh,* and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in [137] the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com- [177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Lewunit and Hawtoy, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wahnemkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have
824 them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *ku-pahs'-mas*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 172 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [86] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 484 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, "*He'-am tan'-se,*" meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These
237 were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary
[513] blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl,
[291 in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they
294] were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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"Old Brin," an aged, blind Wuhchumne, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-ki'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo.
[302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I donot know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) vashed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black. and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to makefire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
524 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Lewaynit and Hawtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ishow and Wehnemkat. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

181 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself
515 only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across
[609] between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854
648 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true
515 to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine
[291 fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing them-
302] selves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels
[291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is re-
657 ceiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237] therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox [202] skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat
281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[681] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[368] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything. Then he played the chip and pole game
539 with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 68] Western Mono NS25

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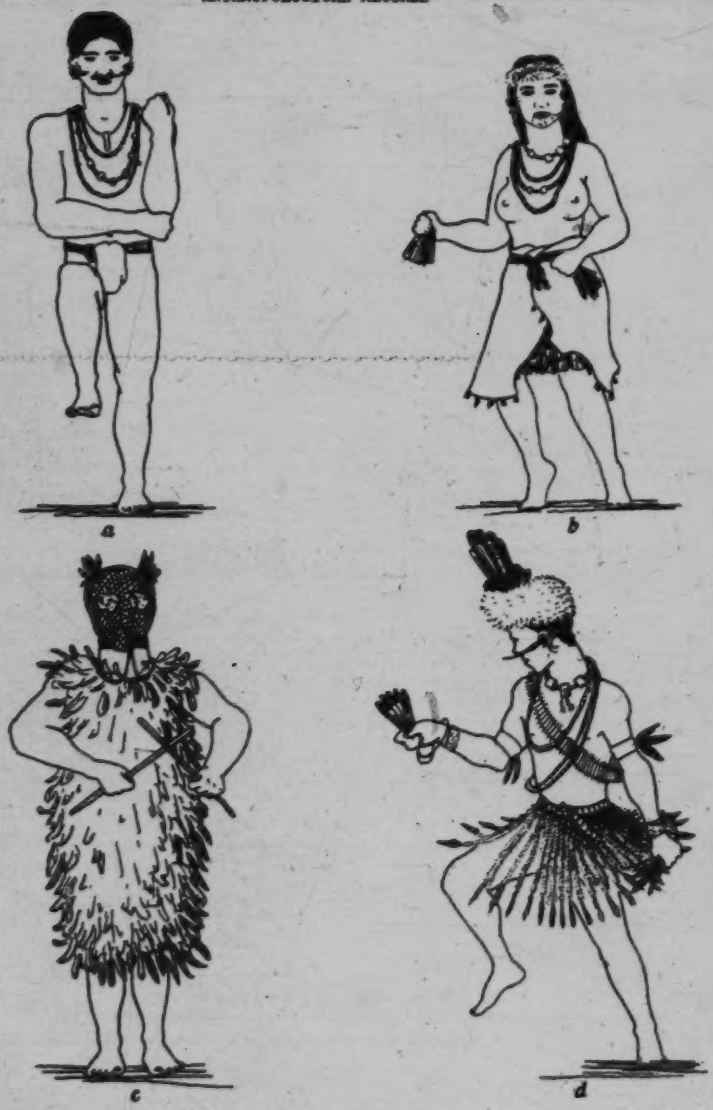

Fig. 8. Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonial dress. a, Wakachi male dancer at naming ceremony. b, woman dressed for any ceremony. c, Ruhuna costume. d, shaman in full regalia. (Reconstructed from descriptions, photographs, and museum specimens.)

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´niš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´''ıts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nıt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 <u>Paint</u>.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yıŋ, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chehun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa'tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho'ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (sho'ot) skin.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 796 751 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were always that way (south)." But in spring everyone wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 276 The ritual (tañi ʼña) of drinking jimsonweed (ta ʼñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ʼyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet (seed or acorn soup). The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes of relatives living some distance away. They [292] all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ:pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'ːč) was present: he [554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was
[292] arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deerskin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Ahwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. [177] The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a moral restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
237 string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W The skirt was made by either men or women,
Y but the headdress was made only by men. An old
292 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
462 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he
435 sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done
Y with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
301 ed point was pressed from in front against the
304 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

W Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o´čik (red), toiye´'i očik (white), and mutskei´wik očik (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415

Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482]

2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O. It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524]

5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po'´no (Michahai), tapono´či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uṭi´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482]

7. a´naš (Michahai), wo´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231]

9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

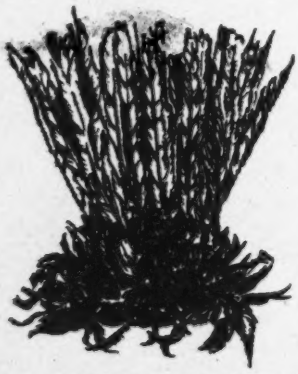

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachem*
237 and the *notmat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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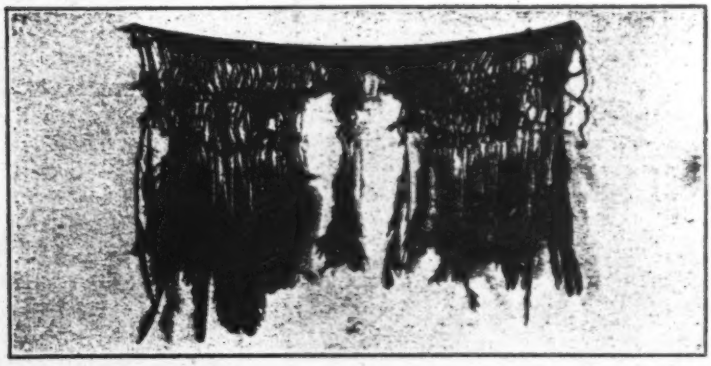

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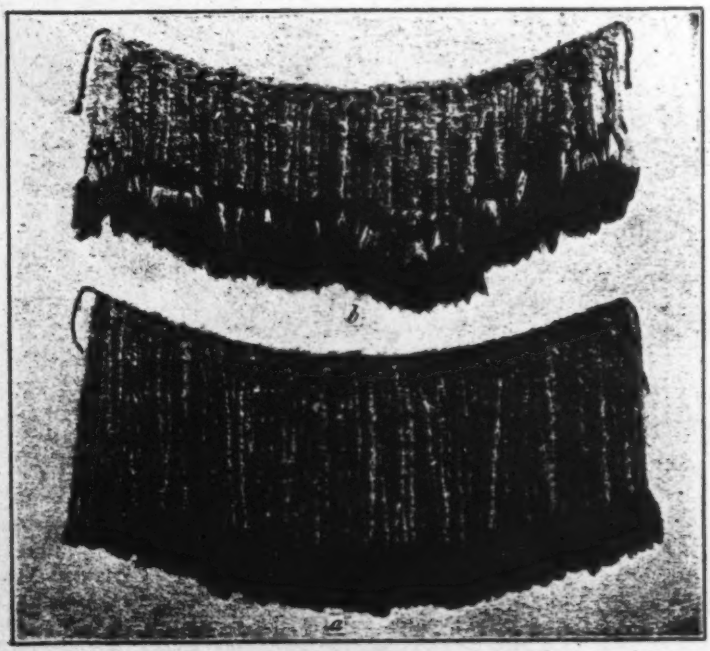

FEATHER DANCE SKIRTS

a, Kaw; b, Yokuts; c, Luiseño

[p. 508(B)]

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed 756
and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were [302 painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been 292] taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the [535] hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was 752
lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured 755
rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison.

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, 756
as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and 171
rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act.

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285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [531] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women employed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the [525] type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 in a shinny game, often placing the ball on a small mound of earth resembling a golf tee. We are told that in some instances the ball was buried in the earth and that the two who started the play were required to dig it from the ground with their clubs before striking it.

I remember well that when I was a boy in the San Joaquin Valley I visited relatives who used this last method of starting the play in shinny. It was with great surprise that I afterward learned that the Indians had used the same method many years before, and that we had probably obtained it from them. Many pioneers have been surprised to find primitive Indians playing shinny. Few of them ever realized that it was originally an Indian game and that the whites first learned it from the Indians. [177]

On May 2, 1943, I for the last time interviewed the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of Bakersfield. He told me of playing shinny with the Yowlumne Indian boys who lived in a village located in Bakersfield between where the Santa Fe passenger station and Mercy Hospital are now located. It is typical of the pioneer accounts of Yokuts shinny: "I remember that I used to play shinny with the Indian children. They used a block of wood about the size of a tennis ball, and almost any old stick they could find for a club. They were surely hard to beat at shinny, and were as rough as could be in their play. I have always been amazed that the Indians learned to play shinny so well so soon after the white people came here."

In playing the game most like ours, which was called *Daht'-k'hoo Nun-coo'-ish*, the goals were established about four hundred yards apart and consisted of two holes in the ground. The play was begun in the middle of the field, equally distant from each goal. Sides were chosen and the play began. One side attempted to take the ball to one of the goals and the other side tried to take it to the opposite goal. The game might continue for four hours and was ended as soon as the ball was goaled by one side.

The game most commonly played and called *Kahdahdwitch* (Kah-dah-doo'-itch), was in the form of a race, and was elaborately staged and carefully managed. A paid umpire was necessary in conducting this game. He was dressed in Indian finery, consisting of feather headdress and feather skirt. Compared with one of our present day football officials, he would have been a striking figure. [292]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops,
791 know that rainmaking was a well established profession long
before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such
was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the
business of rainmaking had become a profession among the
Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San
Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion
of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield
and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of
primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on
down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts
rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of
Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to
surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell,
the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his
dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body paint-
[292 ed dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about
a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by
Ahanich, paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring
tribesmen.

To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
789 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor
648 appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people
to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island,
near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part
of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain
dances.

Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
789 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could
778 produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could
bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-
channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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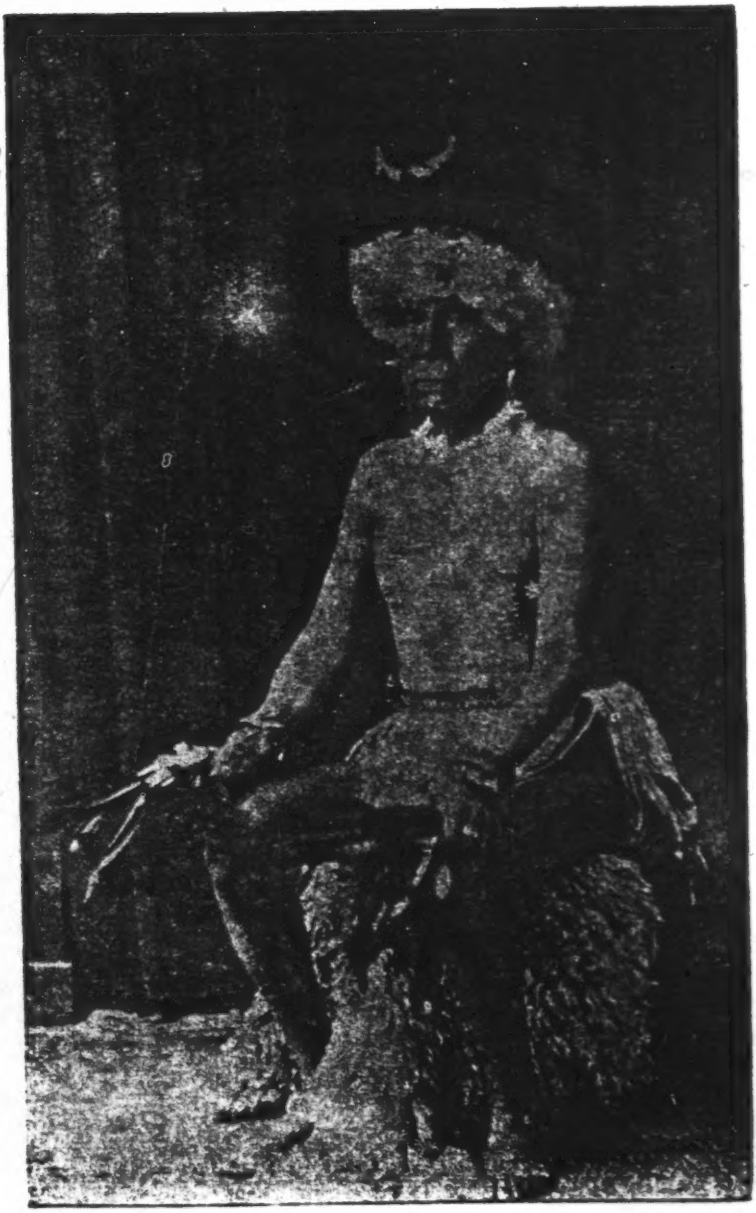

[p.202]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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[p. 203]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-ah-hah*
	(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o	*We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again)	(We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh	*We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang [533] together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. [302] They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was 159
made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It 769
fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was 292
out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a 237
horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. 159
About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. 769
The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little 293
bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepɨs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepɨs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyɨt.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.
[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

769 special mourning singers (ahe´n:č) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa´'ič) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´tek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, [293] was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

769 On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony the doctors' contest (he´swas) took place in
756 midafternoon. There was no preliminary or little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´m:n, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (ṭo´hot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Čiau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 68] Western Mono NS25

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Fig. 8. Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonial dress. a, Wakachi male dancer at naming ceremony. b, woman dressed for any ceremony. c, Huhuna costume. d, shaman in full regalia. (Reconstructed from descriptions, photographs, and museum specimens.)

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´ʼʼts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (poʼ) surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nʼt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yʼn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chehun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the
624 Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had no special mark or manner of dress. But when
[293] traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
202 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he was through his collation, gave his message.
[437] If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called guśta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ñod), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´nsañwide´'ıt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu)
535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du)
[613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The [237] usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owits [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´nil). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

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[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers witnessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.
293

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]
[171]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

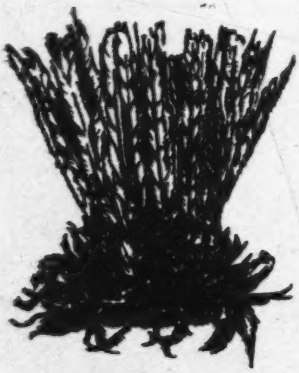

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachum*
237 and the *wetenat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

3: Latta Y-5 (M[illegible]1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[p.202]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Walu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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[p. 203]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)

Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang [533] together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. [302] They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was 159 made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It 769 fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was 292 out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a 237 horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. 159 About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. 769 The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little 293 bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during [834] bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven 291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´´ič (fig. 13, g). 291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom 294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, 286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

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[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These
237 were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary
[513] blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

"Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl,
[291 in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they
294] were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

526 616 The pole and stick game (aiki´wıč) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[184] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wıč) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyıt and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wıč as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 221 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

301 221 were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it [171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 825 The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust [262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" [237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill 844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´' elac´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'ĭ (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutumtu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Tokuts Language, 374.

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a door-
T Y way frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two
[354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely
T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tɛm (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wɛs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y● ●301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mɔn) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to
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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 304 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a 281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin 291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the 281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approach- [681] ing puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by 291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] 286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[1482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'ati (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo´dis (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´hit (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamik were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin 431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
301 at other seasons because they attracted thunder [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the
[823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

000
302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men.
[304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a
301] bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema,
301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and
[868] creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small
501 tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons,
[502] usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the
[283] conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

821 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
773

u´pɨš: sun
toiyu´nəm u´pɨš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɨš: morning star
tomo´lo'o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačɨt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

wɨ´čɨn čano´'onɨt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pɨš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɨn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɨpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

825 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
386 follows:
822

192 ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52]One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53]This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 <u>Redemption of totem animals</u>.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers
825 were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pıt, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hıp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipıt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

<u>Pets</u>

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yıl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62]Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
292 string into which chicken-hawk down had been
237 rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bⁱ, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´bⁱ, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W The skirt was made by either men or women,
Y but the headdress was made only by men. An old
292 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
462 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he
435 sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done
301 with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the
304 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

W Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o´čak (red), toiye´'i očak (white), and mutakei´wak očak (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

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535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

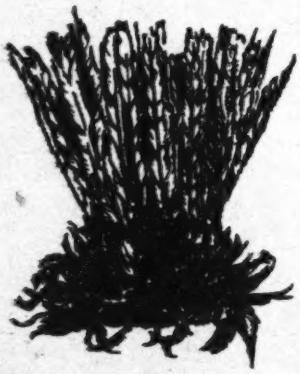

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments
301 to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachem*
237 and the *wetamat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor. 436

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley. [454]

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money. [301]

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well 436 324 [438]

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436 as more thousands in all stages of completion. A study of these
324 proved that the steatite was first split into thin slabs, gouged, scraped, and sanded smooth, then cut into strips by means of a chipped stone saw. I found two of these saws, their chipped
[412] edges still coated with steatite. The strips were next cut into squares. Cuts were made from opposite sides until the strip was severed. Then holes were drilled in the square blanks.

Ichow, last chief of the Wukchumne, explained to me the whole process of making steatite beads, not knowing at the time that I had already found proof of almost every statement he was making. Said Ichow, "When I was a boy I saw an old Wukchumne man make lots beads. He drive stake in ground. He sit on ground straddle that stake. He cut little square hole in top that stake. He put square bead in that hole. Then he take little stick with *kots* (obsidian) drill point on end. He spin that drill between his hands and make holes in them square beads."

Ichow went on to explain that the square beads were strung on a small, hardened rod of chamise wood and rolled between the hand and a gritty, flat piece of sandstone. This ground the corners from the square beads and left them of uniform size. This steatite bead was the most common form of Wukchumne money. Said Ichow, "Most our money was them soapstone beads. Them *Telumne, Kaweah, Koyeti,* and *Choinok* used the same beads almost all time. Them *Chunut, Tachi,* and *Wowol* people used more shell money, but they used some our soapstone money, too."

The most interesting feature of this steatite Yokuts money is that the edges of it were milled, almost exactly as are the edges of our silver dollar. The principal difference in the milling was that the Yokuts bead-money was milled at an angle with the flat sides. This milling is surprisingly uniform and will be found on this form of Yokuts money at old village sites from Paleta and Tejon Canyon on the south, to Coalinga and Friant on the north.

436 Spangles and ornaments of various forms and sizes were made from abalone shell. I have several statements establish-
● 301 ing the fact that they passed from person to person as money; but because of their supernatural power, they were valued so highly that such use was greatly restricted. They were known as *Tahp* and were used on *Tripne* (supernatural) ceremonial costumes. They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or

They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.-Analyst]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under [237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, [301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and [301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and 302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be 291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design [531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh,* and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

[137] We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com- [177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Lewemit and **Hawtoy**, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, **Ichow** and **Wehnomkot**. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Weh-puk'-in showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine 252
material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it.

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[p.202]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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[p.203]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Lowaynit and Newtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ishow and Wahasmhut. Lowaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho'wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

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12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769

women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most." [539] [195]

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation: 769 276

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart." 769 [539]

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they [301]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens' 769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume, 237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' 293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted. [532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, *sister to Kolomusnim.*

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians 786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon 152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

533 22. Mountain-sheep song.

539 ' hiyeu-na ukunumū

192 or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dòuto ukun
for I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

limini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run as-two

hiam-ā na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunau nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait· hāhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dañaad-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

CEREMONIAL PAINT PATTERNS

302

YOKUTS: CHUNUT

YOKUTS: WUKCHUMNI

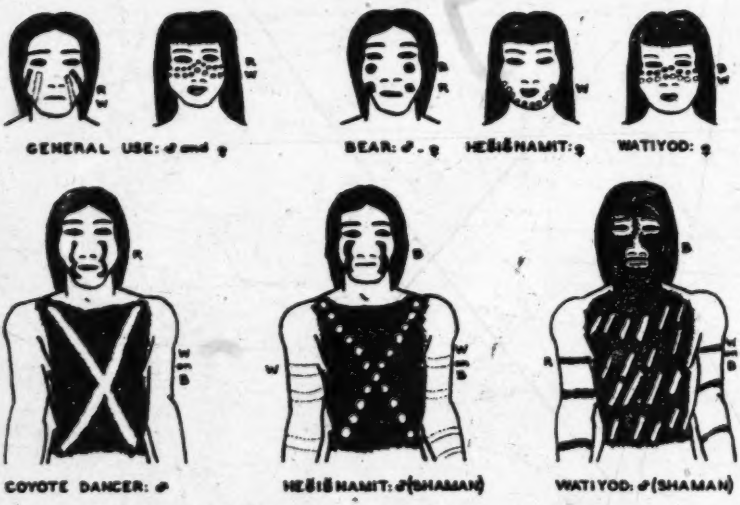

Fig. 4. Yokuts ceremonial paint patterns: Chunut and Wukchumni.

Balsa Construction

501 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi in- [524] formant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

● 302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
[439] coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill
[237] on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48]Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49]Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.[1]

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[765] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heŝwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[1] [i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

T
Y
756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T
Y
796 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum,
668 Ino'lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part
T of the valley. They circled to the left; there
Y were no prayers, "just songs." People painted
[302] their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, a[illegible]r women, two or three vertical rows of t[illegible] white, and red dots below the eyes. Body [illegible]g was not done. They danced all night, s[illegible] daybreak, and rested during the day while [illegible] singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

291 their construction were all unintelligible.
281 M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called wonka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi
[439] bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´kıt (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and
302 parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat
281 longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[681] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always coiled, of a shape similar to the small in-
285 dividual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
38] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the 302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do 515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of [388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of 754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow [826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the [841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected. 826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every- 539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts 292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´'ıts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 293 (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nıt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yın, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cinnabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at [177] the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chehun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

302
386 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hıt, M.L.; white color, čau´dəd, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

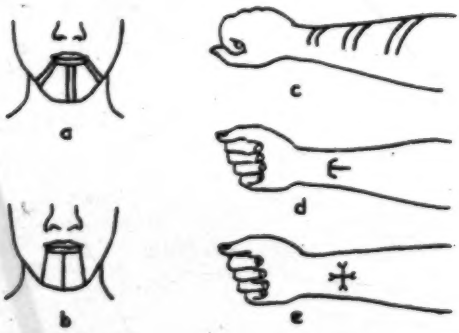

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 799] Wukchumni

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (ǒ·ne ʒ·l) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types
482 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ʒaǎ) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordi-
291 nary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ič, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pik·t) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 Practically no information on basketmaking
[12] was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them,
[533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam,
574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be
[756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or
765 four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the time being. J.P. said that in the old days
541 "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by
756 shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowed). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[302] down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

Usually there were four or five men and
535 four women participants. The men wore feather
302 skirts (ṭu'hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins
237 fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers
[534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their
533 songs follow:

539 1. so´nowau n:m luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun hus:m ñohõ´'õ na hus:m
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-
[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 522 237 [613] While the doctors were doing their preliminary dancing before picking up their snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene. There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over his own. He was painted with black about the [302] eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was <u>not</u> the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 522 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the [786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ·pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

000
302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men.
[304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a
307] bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema,
301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.---As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and
[868] creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small
501 tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding
[502] and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the
[283] conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kič; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sa´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kil (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´čɛm) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the 767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., 773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on 302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream 787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was 276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛn´tɛm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

1: Gayton E-5 (19[illegible]30) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 152 b] Choinimni

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ʒu') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

796
535

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·'l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·'l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·'l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·'l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. [302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

821 192 773 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pːš: sun
toiyu´nom u´pːš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nːš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačːt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

wːč´čːn čano´´onːt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pːš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčːn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lːpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 386 822 192 Paint.--The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

302 192 386 822 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. ṭe´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi'op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 [616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[583] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´osaho) is called by the name because it starts in
[343] the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n t:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 173 9] Kechayi

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
●302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ıč, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back,
[302] with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi.

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
tain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoači: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people
[152 go after something, when they get it they come
straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 177 b] Chuckchansi

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were
513 "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 769 especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they 775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[531] They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

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[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

-1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese
[177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek
[775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women
[535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning
[302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754
776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been
237 rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma,
W Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.
Y The skirt was made by either men or women,
292 but the headdress was made only by men. An old
462 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
435 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
301 ed point was pressed from in front against the
304 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.
W Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
W S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.
Y Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
302 o´čik (red), toiye´'i očik (white), and
[192 mutskei´wik očik (black, i.e., charcoal) [all
terms Michahai.]

W terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two
302 specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

W Y 411 Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·'dᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no'jᵢbᵢ; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was W strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

Y 411 322 The sinew-backed bow (ta'mued^u) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pres- W sure on the center of the bow. This was a slow Y task requiring many repeated efforts. After 411 the bow was shaped, sinew (ta'mobᵢ) from deer 322 legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling 237 deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply W sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the Y looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied 411 permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 237 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 775 539

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W Y 765 [768]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y 302 82 [6]

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point E.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´'a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reemphasis of native custom.

W Y [783]

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [535]

W Y [303 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

W
Y
796
C68

B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

W
Y
[302]

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [825]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Hesheoash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

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412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadnoush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317 blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135] I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

[302] In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[824] to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

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Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [324]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made [261]
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers 302
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

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[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 114 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the princi- [142] pal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among [177] them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally [283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it 237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under
[237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers
might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red,
[301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were
hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being car-
ried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the
rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and
[301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a
pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of
flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and
302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be
291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), sup-
ported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn
much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains In-
dians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It
was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and
breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two
ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were
held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the
breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While
the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee
string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the
breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small
apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design
[531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be
left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in
[137] the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San
Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com-
[177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of
the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

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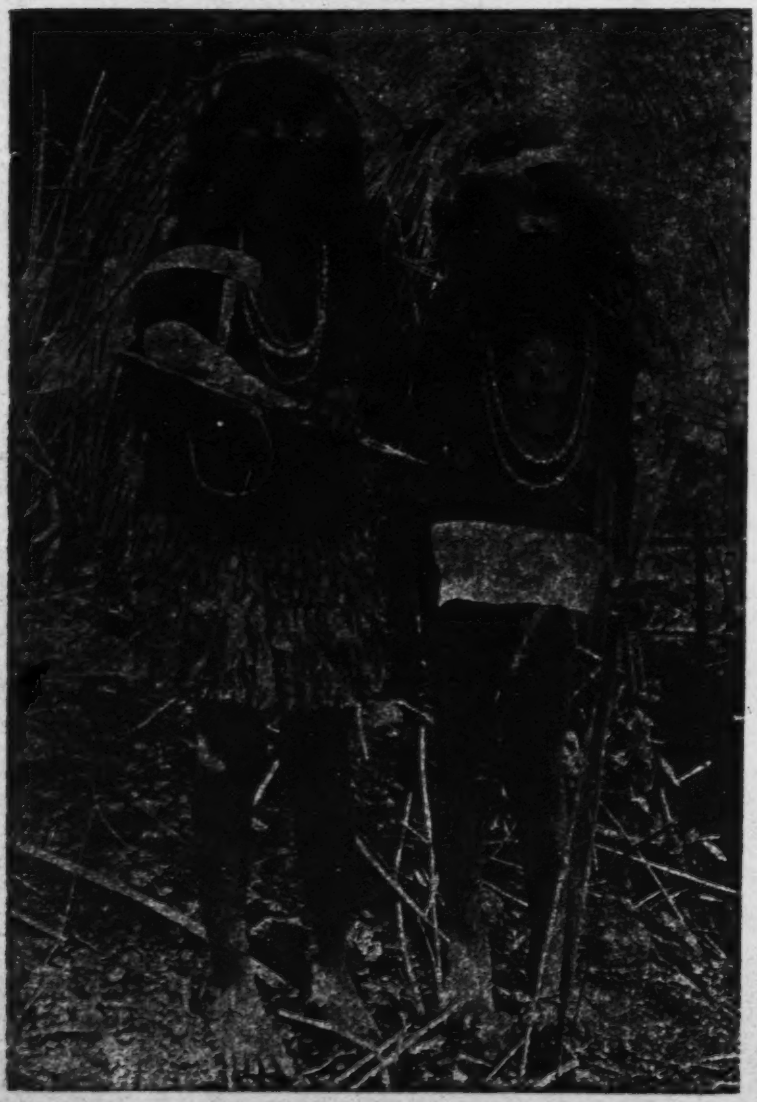

Lewumit and Hawtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wahnomkot. The beads are of Indian manufacture, of steatite and shell materials. They were constructing the tule house which appears in the background.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is [177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was [304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of [283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts 172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

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Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the
172 present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [185] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that mat-
484 ter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

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Weh-puk'-in and Ha'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawasish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 168

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Acorn granaries and a Chukchansi Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wik'-sid*, by the In-

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Weh-puk'-in showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine 252
material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it.

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

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Wahnomkot, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **tsh'-mauk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Indian. Here again natural colors, often earth colors, were used and the paint was applied in thick coats, not only to the face but often to the arms, legs and bodies. Different designs were used in connection with different ceremonies. These varied somewhat among the numerous Yokuts tribes. In this way a great variety was worked out.

How common was painting on buckskin will probably never be known. In several graves where bodies had been cremated, I have found fragments of charred buckskin which showed quite plainly a painted design using at least two colors. How much of this sort of evidence has been destroyed by careless "digging" will never be known, but I am of the opinion that such art was at one time quite extensive.

Another form of art was developed in connection with the handles of soap root brushes, dice, wooden utensils, knives, ceremonial equipment and stone mortars. This consisted of coating the articles with asphaltum, or pitch, into which were pressed beads and bits of abalone shell. The beads used were generally of white sea shell and contrasted quite nicely with the black asphaltum. The writer has seen many examples of the above art, although almost all of them were in an advanced state of decomposition. The rims of mortars were sometimes coated with asphaltum and covered with beads and abalone shell and must have presented a rather pleasing appearance.

Due to the perishable nature of much of the old Yokuts equipment, a considerable amount of their art will probably never be known. How many other pieces of paraphernalia and peculiar but artistic creations have not been recorded can only be imagined. However, enough is known about their art and painting and applied designs to be certain that at least upon occasion the Yokuts Indian was able to dress himself up quite colorfully and was not the sombre, drab person that we perhaps imagine.

YOKUTS PAINTINGS

When white settlers first came to the San Joaquin Valley, one of the things which attracted their attention was the many Indian paintings which were common upon the walls of the rock shelters and caves along the Sierra foothills and at some places in the Coast Range. These paintings have been the subject of much speculation and some investigation, and a ready topic for many writers. From time to time various persons have claim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about
302] a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
789 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor
648 appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
789 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could
778 produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down. 159 756 796

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit." 159 755 796

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds a few details which are related below: 159 756 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too. [302]

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 756 796 198 [533 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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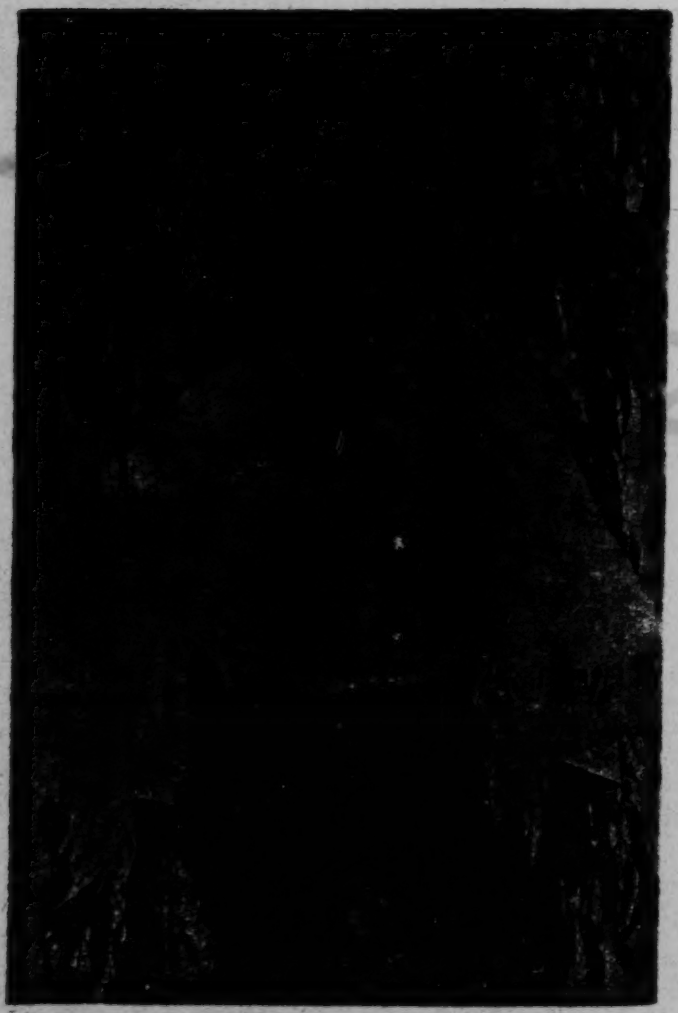

The late Yel'-mut, last full-blood survivor of the Chunut (Choo'-noot) tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. She spoke seven languages and could read and write both Spanish and English. She dictated to the author many stories and songs that she had memorized. She was the historian of her tribe and the best informer of all races that the author has interviewed. Notice the scares on the bridge of her nose, the result of cuts made by Indian medicine men. She passed away at Hanford.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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"Old Brin," an aged, blind Wukchamna, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang [533] together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch.* We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. [302] They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was 159 made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It 769 fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was 292 out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a 237 horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. 159 About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. 769 The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little 293 bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such **doctoring**. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
[775] hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[134] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black. and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
524 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

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Lewaynit and Hawtey, dressed in native costumes made by their grandparents, Ichow and Wehnemkot. Lewaynit was a good student. During her first year in school, where all other children were white, she completed two years of work in one and stood at the head of her class. She died of tuberculosis while in her Sophmore year at Exeter High School.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

181 515 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, [609] and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 648 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 515 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and [291 302] do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels [291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 657 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: witi hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakeachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[206] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there 164 was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791 chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796 arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302] either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177] Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535 inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177] from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181 a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648 take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177 of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302] appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

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Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585 virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435 anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate- 834

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net; [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the
281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approach-
[681] ing puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

302
386 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hıt, M.L.; white color, čau´dəd, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a 304 permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

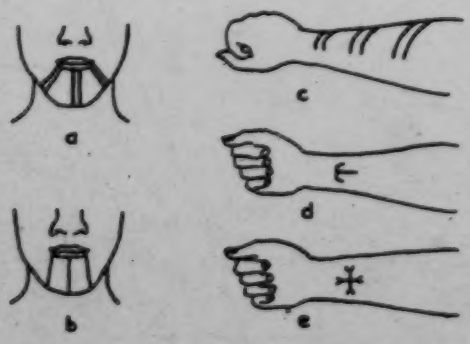

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 [176] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ñhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the [754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn:'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn:nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778 825] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d). [304]

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

756 7. J.B. accused Čokon:k, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokon:k used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ain:č). He was well paid with money and baskets.

8. M.P. lived with her maternal grand-
755 mother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
● [304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

10. The following affairs of Haičača
756 were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

Finally one night Haičača dreamed an
756 enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napas [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokon:k of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 147 a] Choinimni

Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
●304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 218 a] Western Mono NS25

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W
Y
[237
439] Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W
Y
292
237 Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt, which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W
Y
292
462
435 The skirt was made by either men or women, but the headdress was made only by men. An old man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W
Y
301
304 Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

Y
W
304 Tattooing.--There were no special practitioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

W
Y
302
[192] Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka o´čak (red), toiye´'i očak (white), and mutskei´wak očak (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see 291
them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions [184]
were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket [237]
protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to [513]
sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more 302
variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, [765]
for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of [824]
tumu, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments 301 304
of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and 304
more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

304 obsidian. Chukchansi face patterns are shown in Figures 45 *h–l*, 46 *m–o*.

516 Men frequently squatted rather than sat. For longer periods they sat on their heels, with toes turned together and hands on knees. The cross-legged position, the most common of all the world over, was not used, except perhaps on special occasions like gambling. Women stretched one leg out and folded the other back; or, at rest,

[304 531]

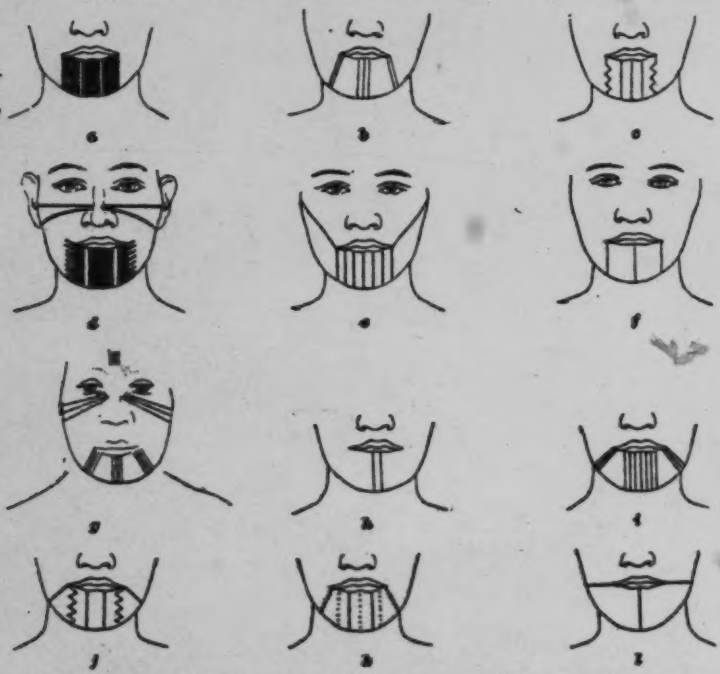

FIG. 45.—Women's tattoo. *a*, Yurok and northwestern tribes; *b*, *c*, San Francisco, probably Costanoan; *d*, Sinkyone; *e*, northwestern valley Maidu; *f*, northeastern and southern Maidu; *g*, Yuki; *h–l*, Chukchansi Yokuts. Compare the Wailaki, Yuki, Hachnom, and northern Pomo tattoos shown in Powers, Tribes of California, pages 116, 130, 140, 142, 144, 158.

drew the knees up and joined the hands in front of them. The Plains Indian woman's attitude, with both legs to one side, was not adopted. The habits of all the California Indians in these interesting matters are little known, but it is clear that custom and not inherited nature is the chief determinant. As at so many other points, nature seems at once to have furnished us a structure that permits a surprising variety of sustained positions, and to have deprived us of instincts favoring one rather than the other; so that culture has a clear opportunity to evolve the most diverse habits.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings. 342

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [362] [592]

[304 531]

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: m–o, Chukchansi Yokuts; p–u, Mohave. Men: v–z, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber. [412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under [237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, [301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and [301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and 302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be 291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design [531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in [137] the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and comfortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of [177] the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p. 78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for
765 Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 769 [775] Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch,* the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 767 769 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Donewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest [152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

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192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mū′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they [304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little [278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

[312 ●311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherias of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[16] 36] [648 181]

[15] Ibid., 257.
[16] Ibid., 258-260.

133 and feed the great tular. To the west of its central waterway was barren ground little used [224 save for rabbit drives by the Tachi; to the east was the fertile land watered by snows of 311] the Sierra Nevada and shaded by the magnificent roblar, the great oak forest. Barren land spots were uninhabited, for as yet the great valley was not overpopulated and seed and game were plentiful. No famine nor wars for food are reported by the natives.

133 It will be seen that the dwellers about the lake and its fringe of swamp or tular had 22 a very different environment from those of the tree filled foothills. Yet nowhere was the food quest a problem. Nothing could be more misleading than labeling the people of the San Joaquin Valley, whether the Yokuts lake tribes, the tribes of the foothills, or the Monachi of the mountains, "seed-gatherers" or "seed-eaters," as though their diet were preponderantly vegetarian.

133 Fish and water fowl abounded in the lake region, supplemented by ground squirrels, 136 rabbits, and antelope from the near-by plains. In the foothills and mountains rabbit, squirrel, quail, pigeon, dove, and deer were the commonest meats. Early travelers, Spanish and American, testify in open amazement to the plentiful supply of game constantly at hand.[22] Acorns [262] and seeds are not to be discounted as less important than meat, but they were not more important in daily diet.

262 The tabu on meat or grease which was enjoined at all times of religious or spiritual stress was not thought of as a personal sacrificial abstention because of the preciousness of meat: rather, meat and grease were substantial nutritious foods, ever at hand, and were to be omitted like the solid seed foods in order to attain that peculiar exalted physical condition brought about by fast or by the mechanical emptying of the stomach with tobacco and lime. Lack of food, whether meat or vegetable, did not constitute one of the hardships of life for the Yokuts and Western Mono.

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[22] Example of abundance: in the vicinity of Tohshl Valley (Yokod-Wukshumni territory) four men shot 300 quail in two days. Visalia Record, vol. 3, Nov. 7, 1861.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tule river.[15]

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[15] Ibid., 257.
[16] Ibid., 258-260.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pino (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tao (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Buisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itmwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´i·n[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

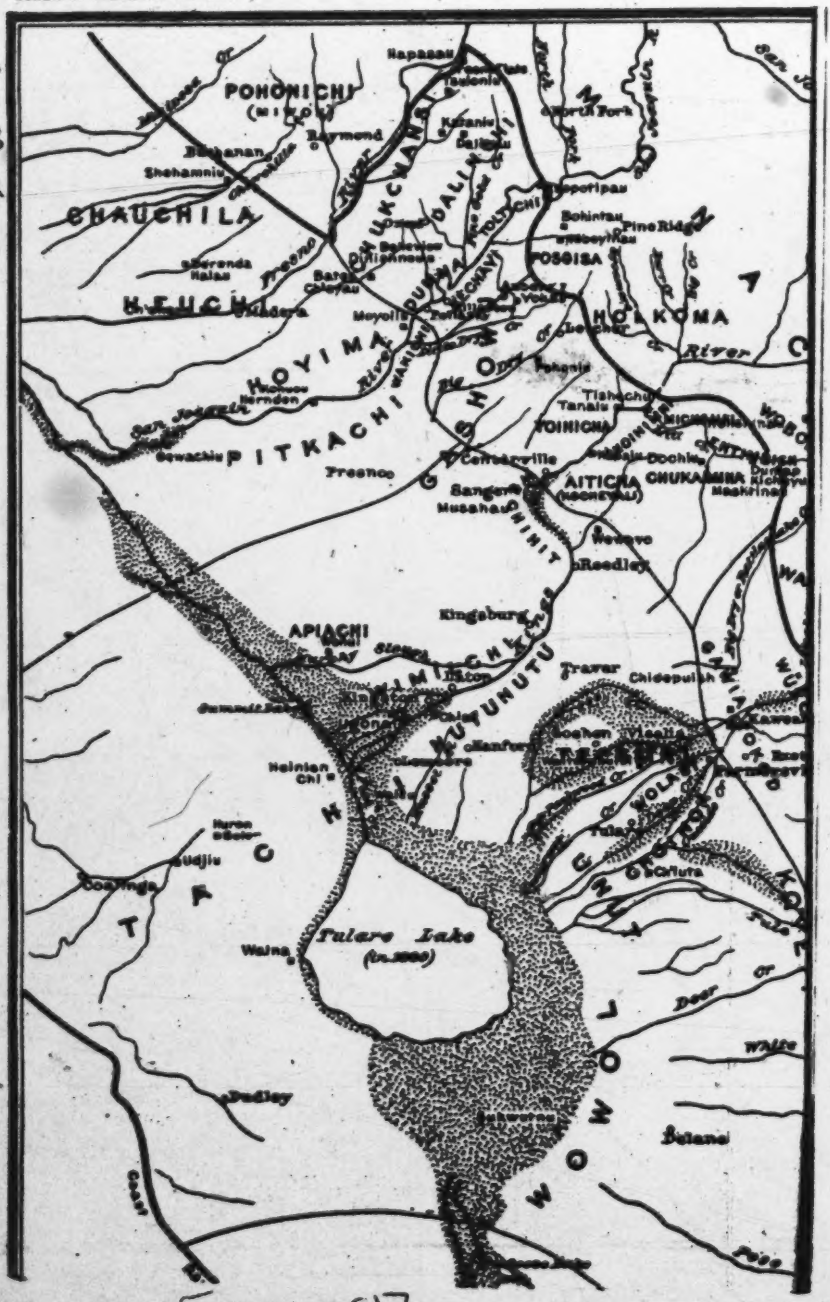
Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133
● 312
361
197



[p. 526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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133
● 312
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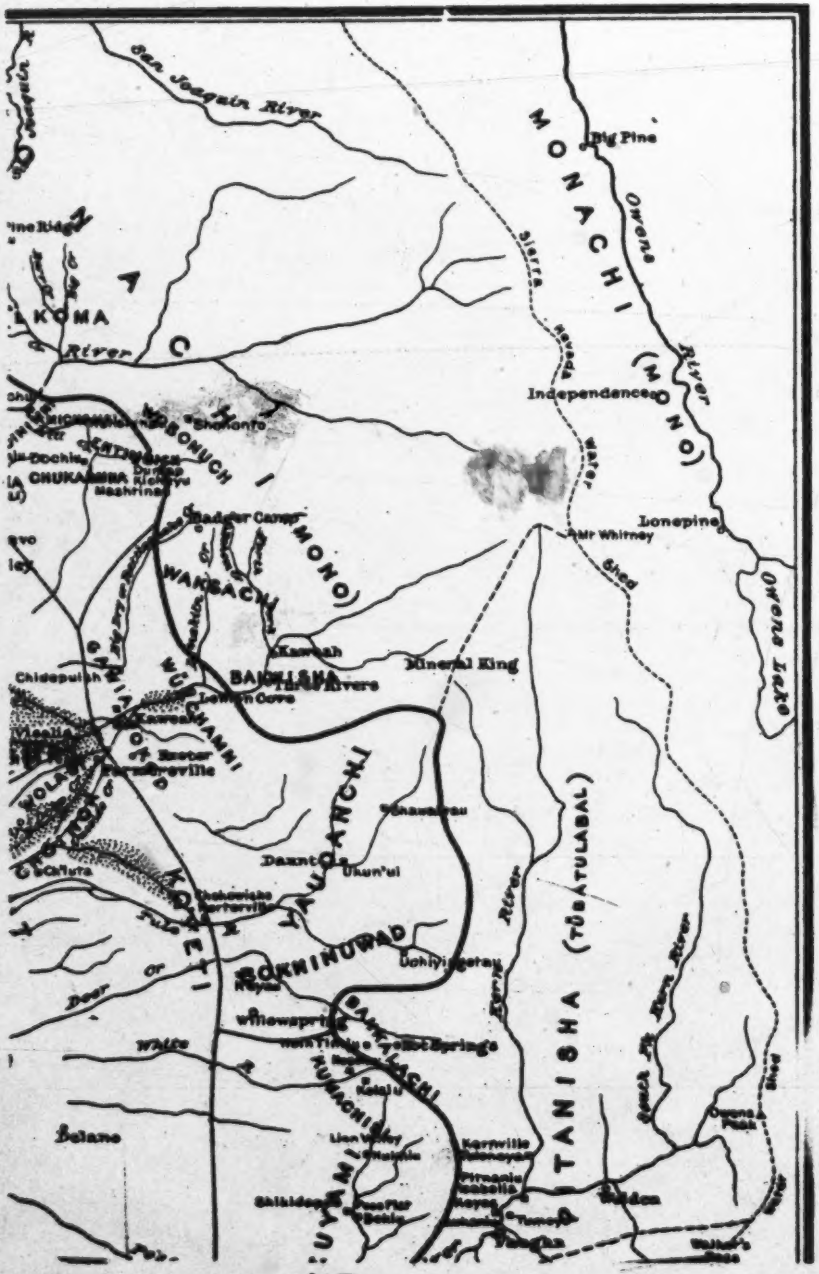
197



[p. 526-I(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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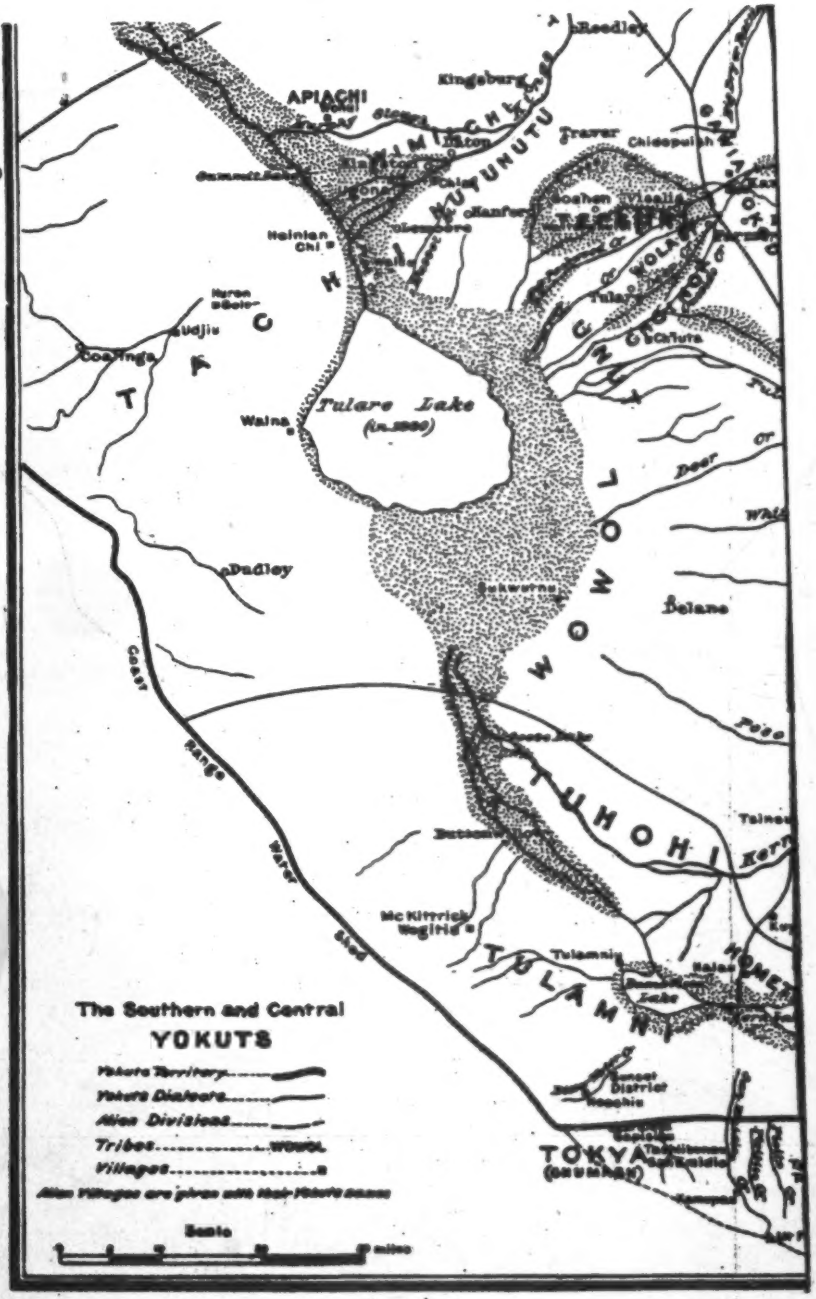

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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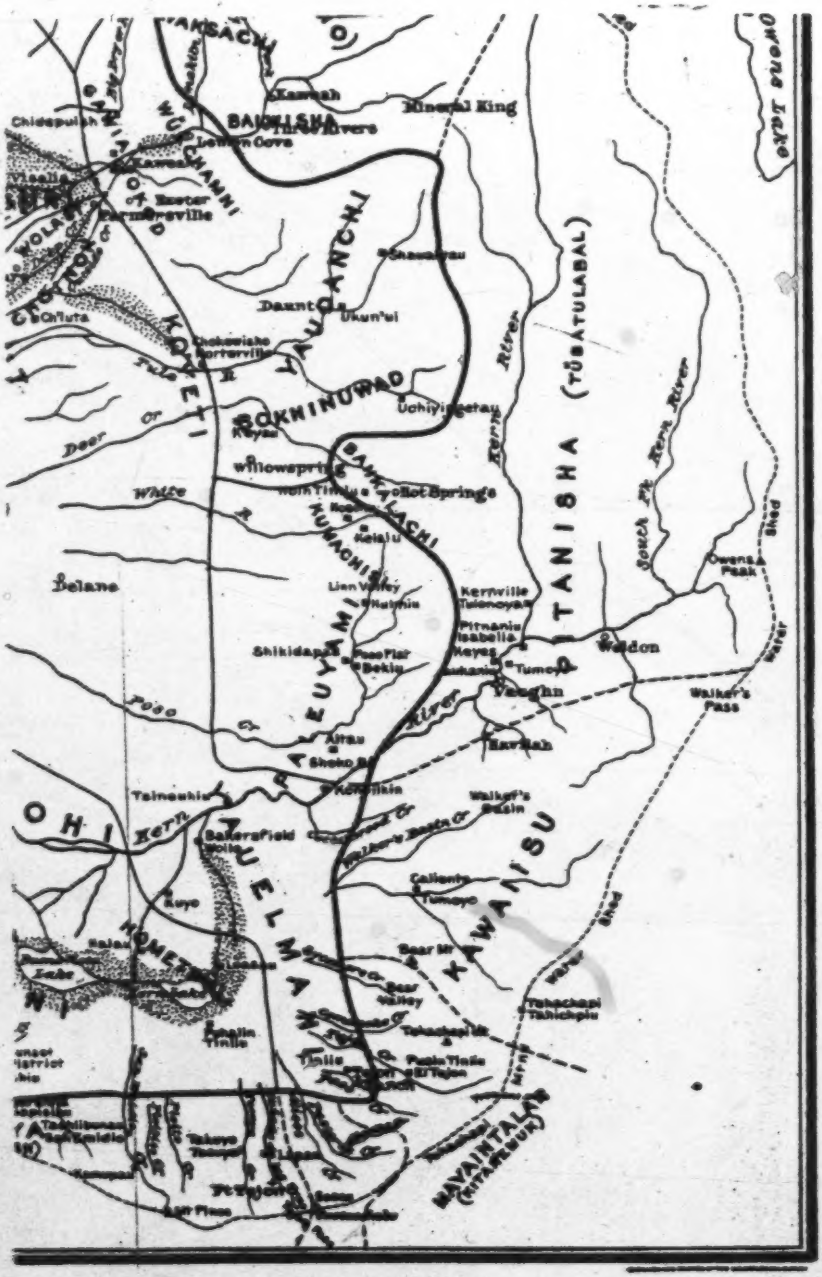
Mineral King
Lemon Cove
Farmersville
Chalula
Porterville
Deer Cr
White R
Delano
Willowspring
Hot Springs
Kern River
Kernville
Weldon
Walker's Pass
Walker's Basin
Caliente
Tehachapi
Tahichapi
Bakersfield
Taft
Maricopa
Ojai
Ventura
Santa Barbara
Santa Ana R
Owens Peak
Owens Lake
Owens River
Shed
Water
Poso Cr
Poso Creek
Kern R
Tule R
Kaweah
Chiaspulah
Lemon Cove
Shakeshaw
Dakntcha
Ukun'ul
Uchiyimpatah
Keyes
Kelalu
Lion Valley
Shikidanna
Pine Flat
Bokio
Alpau
Shoko
Kaweah
Tulnechia
Kuyo
Lebec
Gorman
Tejon
Bear Mt
Bear Valley
Tehachapi
Tahichapi
Tejon
Tejon Pass
Tejon Creek
Tejon Ranch
Tejon Canyon
Tejon Cr

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah [539]
(sung five times) [533]
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yıt tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syın, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hın tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ın tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyın). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

372 usual materials. Dead willow wood provided
313 only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

412 The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

> The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a
[322] narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

> Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43] Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44] Ibid., pl. 66.

[45] P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

272 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket
262 and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[190] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

313 The load of wood was held on the back by means of a tumpline. This passed over the
482 upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[171] [190] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

226 over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[99]

Firewood, Firemaking

313 Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak, "any kind" of wood, was used for making fire, said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand to control and eventually to quench the flames. No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood, which was bundled up with string and then
313 ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was
482 laid on the back and held in place by the load, to protect against bruising. A person could carry about five logs, four feet and eight inches in diameter, or more if the logs were smaller, N.W. thought.

313 Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

372 Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[99] Powers, 376.

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čine ʔel) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types
482 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ñaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat
[553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was
[853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the
[314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro-
[177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

For the collecting and processing of salt grass for its salt content, see Categories 222, and 263.

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MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tinpinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*. 361

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chakki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concern-
ing this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135 I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302] for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[432] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[824] to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

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Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such [261]
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317]
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 517 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

[824 386] The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 317 386 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick. 531 317 386

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted. 531 517

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These Wukchumne Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y
W
317
323
[412]

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

Y
W
[237
482]

The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

323
[412]

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
● 321 coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a
[439] stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill
[237] on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me (Gifford): "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer
[237] tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into these were fitted bone points (pi´čе tu´h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited.

[437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish 227 weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were 321 "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

436 dollar.[115] The informants were uncertain about
the material, merely saying that the beads were
321 made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a
string of these beads, which would encircle the
flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the
flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money
which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. per-
324 foration, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the to-
bacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

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[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the
439 ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.—Analys]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 From the Pismo clam were also produced nicely smoothed
●321 and rounded curved objects with pointed ends. These were drilled from the pointed ends, the opposing holes meeting at the middle. I have never seen one of these objects taken any place in Yokuts territory, except from the mouth cavity of a buried skeleton.

Slender, straight-sided tubes were also made from Pismo clam-shell. They varied from three-eighths of an inch in diameter and three inches long, down to one-fourth of an inch in diameter and less than one inch long. Some were not cylindrical, being larger at the middle than at the ends. The Wukchumne Yokuts called these *Cutscotch* (Coots'-cotch).

The most valued of all clamshell money were long, curved tubes. These varied with the size of the shell, the largest being more than six inches in length. They were slightly wider than they were thick and were perforated lengthwise. This perforation is the most remarkable feature of all Yokuts manufactures.

The shell of the Pismo clam is as hard as the glaze on a piece of china. To drill two opposing holes, each three inches deep, through such material, having them meet in the middle, is a feat worthy of modern tools in the hands of a practiced mechanic. Mayfield, who was a white man raised by the *Choinimni*
[439] Yokuts, stated to me that an old artisan of that tribe obtained in trade slender objects which he (Mayfield) believed were "walrus, or sea lion whiskers." The large ends of these were pounded between two rocks, forming a sort of short-bristled brush. A shallow hole was drilled with a stone-pointed drill as a starter. Fine, sharp sand was placed in this hole. Then the brush-pointed "whisker" was placed on top of the sand and spun between the palms of the hands. Mayfield had not seen the Pismo clam money drilled in this manner, but had seen other hard objects so drilled. From Ichow I learned that an identical process was used by the Wukchumne and Yokodo. The only variance was that no "whisker" of any sort was used. The drill was made from the slender chamise-root splint used in reducing
[412] the square steatite beads to a round form. Said Ichow, "That old fellow take piece of green chamise root and scrape it just about this size [illustrating with a piece of ordinary bailing wire which he picked up beside his chair and which he continued to hold in his hand as he talked]. Then he hold this piece root over fire and scrape and dry him good and straight and hard like

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this wire." A brush was pounded on the end of the chamise-root splint and use made of it exactly as described by Mayfield. 436 321

In my collection of Indian artifacts are a number of these Pismo clam-shell tubes that had been broken before they were placed in the mouths of the dead. In a number of cases it is clearly shown that the two opposing holes did not at first meet at the middle. In the correction of this error was involved the most surprising feat exhibited in all Yokuts manufactures. The drill was diverted so that a branching hole was made and the two holes did meet. This was done so as not to be visible until the tube was broken.

The common Yokuts name for the Pismo clam form of Yokuts money is *Humana* (Hoo-mah'-nah).

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing ad- [439]
ditional skins in trade from the east.

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large 136
archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake 172
to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea [321]
shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done 439
some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from
salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured [436]
in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people 105
who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially
to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a [262]
relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the 105
lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts 184
to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

392 usual materials. Dead willow wood provided
313 only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

412 The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

> The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a
> [322] narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

> Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43] Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44] Ibid., pl. 66.

[45] P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46]
323 Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757] little dishes (ṭipe´kıl ki´wıs). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

No detailed description of basketmaking
285 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and
438 Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of
285 California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

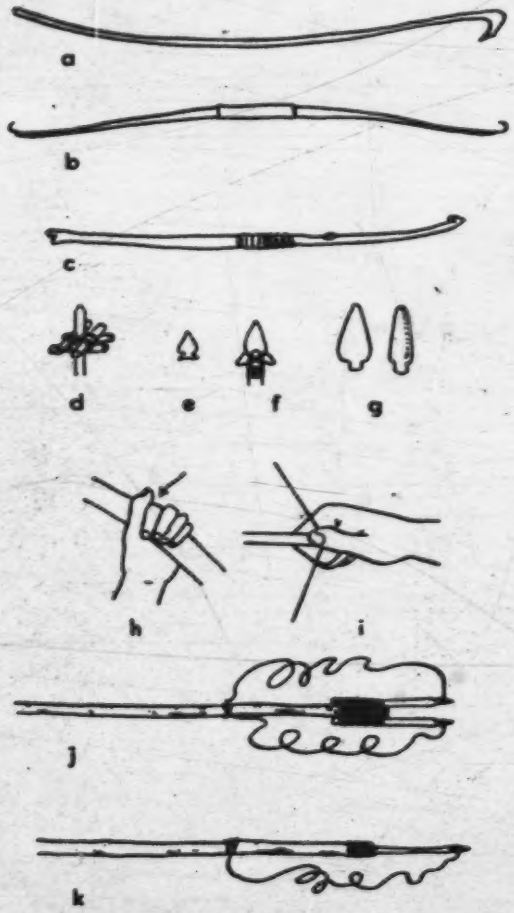
224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.--The plain bow (ta´dup) and sinew-backed bow (tap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse´ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

411 322 Of the ten plain Yokuts bows in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, four still have the bark on the inner side. None shows much recurving, and they are no doubt the basis for Kroeber's comment that Yokuts "common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick...."[172] Plain bows had strings of čidik twine.



[227]

Fig. 10. Hunting and fishing equipment. a, rodent hook. b, sinew-backed bow (about 4 feet). c, self-bow (about 3 feet, unstrung). d, bird-arrow tip. e, obsidian tip of deer arrow. f, same showing fastening. g, flint tip of war arrow. h, bow grasp with arrow rest. i, arrow release. j, k, double and single harpoons.

[172] Handbook, 530.

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322 As the best instrument of this group, No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was
[237] glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as
[439] Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[173] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik·t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[174]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[175]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted.
> [439] Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [sic—no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

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[173] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[174] Handbook, 530.

[175] P. 373.

411 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's
237 sinew, splits it up with flint into small
322 fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were
237 about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´ked) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian
[438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a
237 whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

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[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [324] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of buttonwillow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [324] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have 322 used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] P. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, e.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the
349 pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Out-
[237] side were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo'ˈowin). They had their own booths up
[439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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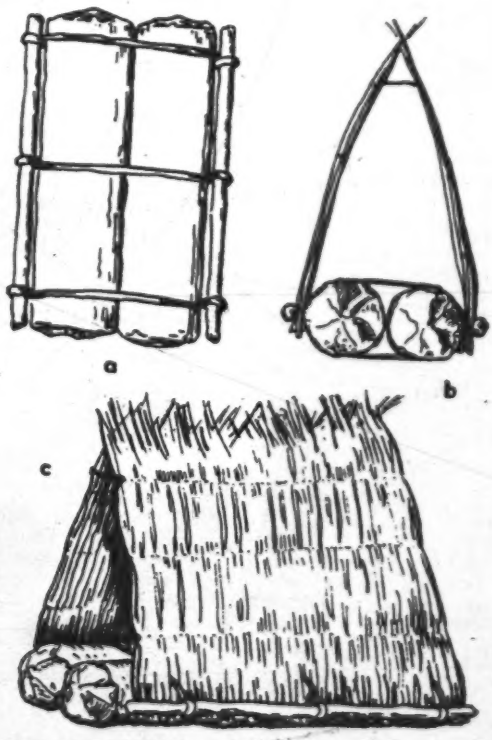

Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

G. [181]Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

Salt

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[439]

Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´d:t) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

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A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ňa´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191] Handbook, 530.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čʿne ẽʿl) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types essential for food-gathering, preparation, and
482 cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ñaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was from a long straight limb of a tree growing [824] more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 Long poles for shaking down acorns were 222] made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

412 Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn ● 322 meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres of uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[362 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252 [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came Y W [574] to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´sip); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their Y use of them.) B.O. here interposed a descrip- [322] tion of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Warfare

W Y 726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

W Y [177] Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then W lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi Y never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a [556] strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 218 b] Western Mono N525

W Y 302 terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

W Y 411 Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·´dᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no´jᵢb¹; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

W Y 411 322 The sinew-backed bow (ta´mued^u) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Wakasachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (ta´mob¹) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

W Y 411 322 237

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

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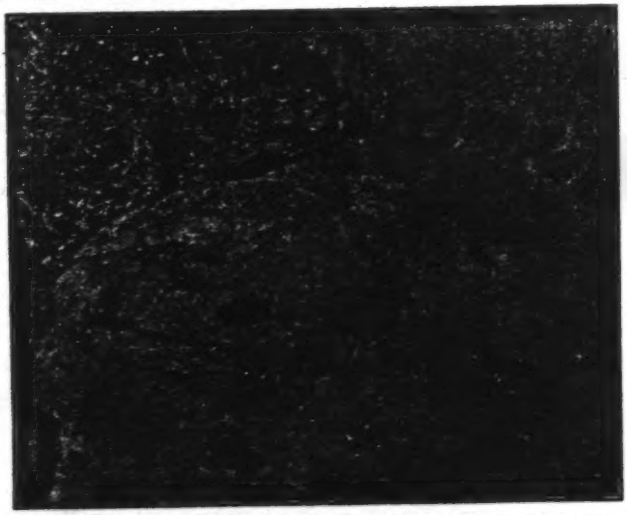

MIWOK MORTAR HOLES IN BEDROCK AND BOWLDER PESTLES

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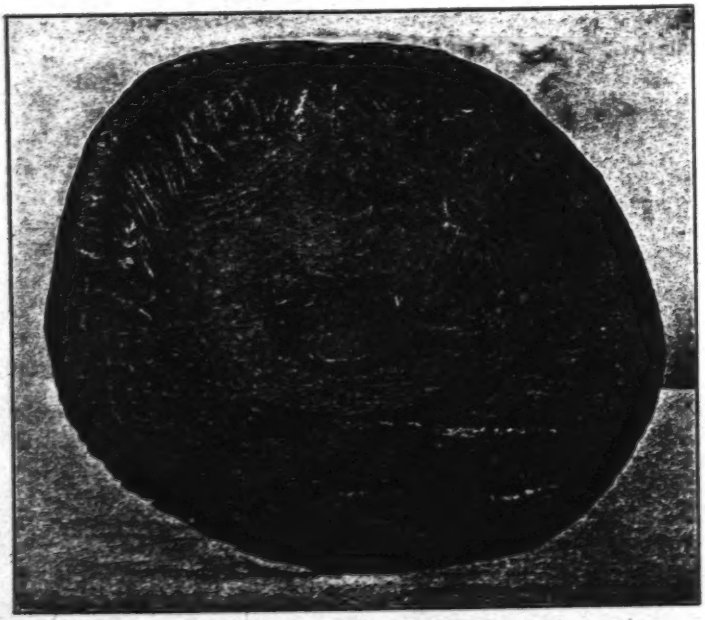

VALLEY YOKUTS MORTAR OF OAK

[Facing p. 524]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They 791
were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would 484
leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents [789]
apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting par- 411
ticulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but [237
by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian 322]
overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints [381]
of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its [283]
diameter.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached.
[438] A slender pestle of stone was used with it. These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

● 323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134] was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757 little dishes (ṭipe´kıl ki´wıs). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 No detailed description of basketmaking
438 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of
285 California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´wekad, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

[77] 657

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

285

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[167] 838 Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

767 764

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y [354] of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524 MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a
[222] beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na)
415 was invariably of twined weave, coarse and close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´nıts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´''iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´wıc) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

757 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by
278 diarrhea.

Ša''apeš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with Ša'apeš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka´ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To´pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka´watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta´mak was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui´sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipıt has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

● 323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[276] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully [788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called Ñuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[325] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but were clumsy affairs.[326] The shape follows the 323 old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

[325] Handbook, 538.

[326] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[864] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[206] The first (bi´´ˌč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (akiˈlˌč)ˌ was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo.
[184] said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[207] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.N. described the women's dice game (huču´ła). The pieces used

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[206] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[207] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´wıš).---Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwıš; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´žın, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.---Striking a fire (šike´tıl) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called šı´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.---The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.---A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [747] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by 184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

[787] The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. [209] E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

● 323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
the material, merely saying that the beads were
321 made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a
string of these beads, which would encircle the
flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the
flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money
which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth
a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. per-
324 foration, were "made in a belt" and traded for
a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the to-
bacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439] statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its ●323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe ŏokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being [834] similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, 171 Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

Pottery

W Y 323 Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wiš (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for W Y 323 415 dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwiš, wi´či kiwiš, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

W Y [462] Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

W Y 323 The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all night. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Z: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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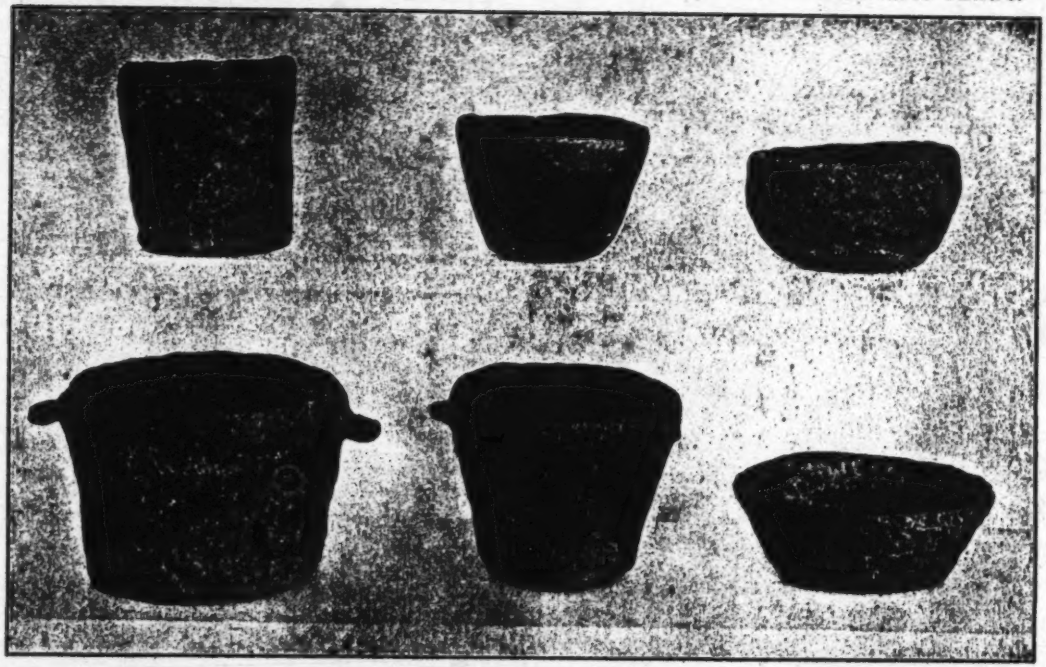

YOKUTS POTTERY

[p. 530(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 171 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such [261]
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of [illegible]

Where the grocery store had once stood at the [illegible] ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our [illegible]ic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Y W 323

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Y W 114 323

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Y W 323 [462] Y W [438] [437]

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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[412]

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

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The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

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[412]

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

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After about five minutes more of pounding its consistency was satisfactory. The remaining quantity of clay was left in the sack, water was poured over it, and it was placed in the shade for use two days later.

Coiling Method

Practically all clay utensils were made by the coiling process. The first step in construction of a pot by this method was shaping the bottom. The potter took a small handful of clay and rolled it about in the palms of her hands until it formed a ball in which the clay was distributed in an even consistency. Then with her right hand she

a *b*

Fig. 1. Base of pots showing method of construction, University of California collection. *a*, 1–10885, first stage, 23 mm. height, 106 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–10884, first coil in place but surface not yet smoothed, 23 mm height, 97 mm. diam. at rim, 74 mm. diam. at base.

flattened out the ball on her left palm, making a disc of the desired diameter. Its edge was turned up to a height of about two centimeters, forming a fence or brace within which the first coil of clay was set (fig. 1). The bottom thus formed was set in the center of a circular winnowing basket, which the potter placed on her lap and on which she worked until the pot was entirely built. Plate 95*b* shows the process at this point.

To form the rolls of clay the potter pinched from the supply of clay the amount she judged necessary for a rope that would just fit the circumference on which she was working. The ends of a coil never overlapped but were broken off and squeezed together. The potter whom I watched seemed remarkably adept at this, seldom making a rope that had to be broken off, and very rarely one that was too short.

In converting the lump of clay into a rope, the hands are held in no other position than the vertically parallel one shown in plate 95*a*, *b*. The palms slide back and forth horizontally with the clay between them. The fingers are not used. The pressure on the clay, and the

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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sensation cues on which judgment of the size and smoothness of the roll is based, seem to come largely from the heavy cushions below the base of the fingers. When the rope of clay emerges and is visible below the hands it is too late to rectify irregularities in its shape.

The first roll of clay was set inside the rim and pinched to it; all subsequent coils rested on the edge of the preceding one. When setting a new coil the potter held one end of the roll in her left hand and pinched it on with that hand while the loose portion rested across her right hand as shown in plate 96*a*. The roll was pinched into a thick, flat-sided ribbon as it was being put in place. While the coil was being added the potter occasionally turned the basket in contraclockwise direction in order to keep the portion of the pot on which she was working in a convenient position before her. When the coil was in place and the ends welded together the potter dipped her fingers in water and pressed and smoothed out the junction between the new coil and the one on which it rested.

After the sides of the pot were built up about two inches the potter stopped to smooth off more completely its inner and outer surfaces (pl. 96*b*). For this she used a small chip of wood picked up from the ground, or sometimes a section of a large acorn husk. By this time the clay in the pot was sufficiently firm to allow it to be picked up and handled. Slight incrustations and bumps were dampened and scraped down with the chip or rubbed with the fingers. Generally, the scraping and smoothing movements were vertical. The surfaces were gone over in this manner after every two or three inches of coil-building until the pot was completely formed.

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When the pot was entirely formed the potter went over the surface with a small polishing stone[8] of steatite (pl. 97*a*). This served two purposes. First, it rubbed out minor irregularities in the surfaces, for though the vessel was firm enough to be handled the clay could be scraped off slightly. But as the pot dried rapidly its surface soon became harder than that of the polishing stone so that the steatite rubbed off in a fine white powder. Secondly, this powder settled into the clay and produced a hard surface which in turn became more effective in rubbing off more dust from the stone. The potter occasionally rubbed the steatite stone on the flat side of a granite pestle and the resulting dust she applied to the pot with her fingers. In this final polishing process the strokes were horizontal or oblique. They

[412]

[8] University of California museum specimen 1-27004. There are two similar stones in the Barrett collection, mus. no. 1-10876, 1-10943.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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are plainly visible on the pots in plates 101*f* and 102, as are also the white streaks of the steatite dust. These streaks withstand firing but ultimately disappear with use. As a final touch the potter marked the inside of the pot with several vertical stripes of steatite scratches. This, it was said, would keep the pot from cracking during firing. The pot was then left to stand in the sun for the rest of the day, while work commenced on another. The pots had to be absolutely dry before firing or they would crack.

At sun-up the following morning a fire was built in a shallow pit about eighteen inches deep and two feet in diameter. The wood was of any convenient variety but was in long poles which might be shoved

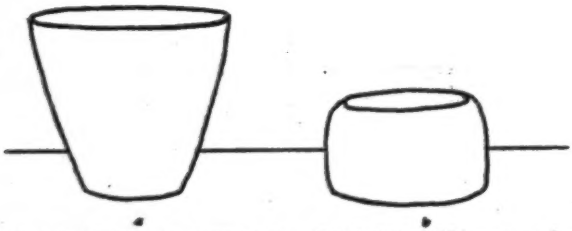

Fig. 2. Western Mono pottery, Sequoia National Park Museum. *a*, found at Camp Patwisha, below Hospital Rock station of Park, 204 mm. height, 230 mm. diam. at rim, 103 diam. at base; *b*, made at Iron Springs, Tulare county, 105 mm. height, 154 mm. diam. inside rim, 178 mm. maximum exterior diam.

into the fire as they burned without greatly changing its temperature. When the fire had burned for about an hour slabs of oak bark were added. In the meantime the pots had been set along the edge of the pit, so that their subjection to heat was gradual (pl. 98*a*). When ready for firing the vessels were moved to the fire with long poles, for they were far too hot to be touched with the hands. They were set in the hot ashes in the center of the pit, and the fire reassembled about them; some coals and ashes were scraped into them from above. A few pieces of oak bark were laid immediately over them (pl. 98*b*).

Vessels for cooking purposes were fired at least twenty-four hours, often up to forty-eight. Pipes, and small bowls which were used as dippers, were fired a shorter time, the former about six hours. Toward the end of the firing the ware was tested by being tapped sharply with a hard stick. This would produce a clear ringing sound if the pottery were sufficiently baked. The vessels made by the Wobonuch woman were fired eight to ten hours, as she knew they were not to be used for

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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[p. 244(D)]

a

b

HEATING AND FIRING POTTERY

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(E)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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a

b

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(F)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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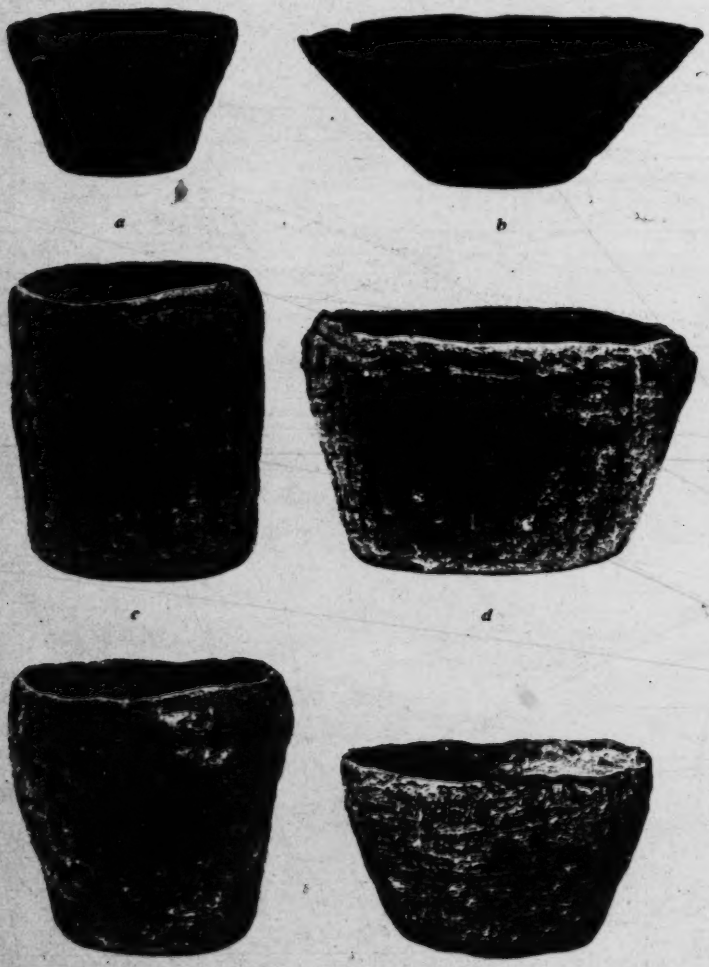

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(G)]

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5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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WESTERN MONÔ POTTERY
(University of California)

[P. 244(H)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

Y W 171 184 323

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Toi'in na ki'wie nim ki'am si'ci, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 58d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 171 184 323

charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

Y W 323

Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

Y W 276 323

To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

Y W 323

Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 323 [531]

decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

Y W 323 415

There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wie (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wie (wina'bi).

[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono US25

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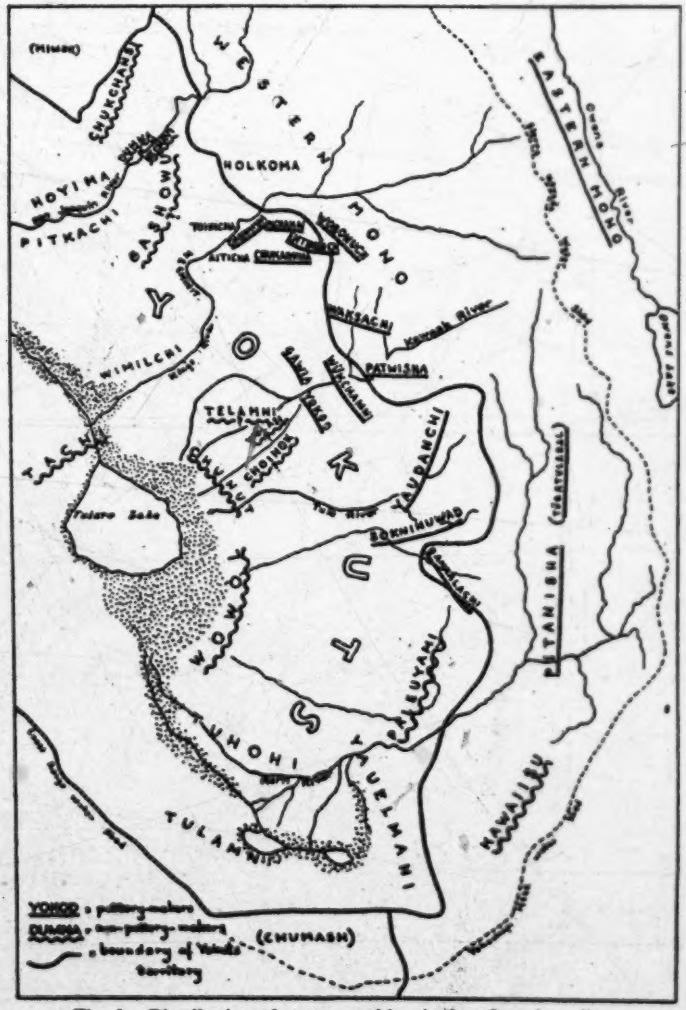

Fig. 3. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Museum numbers, provenience, and dimensions of specimens illustrated.

Y
W
323
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Plate 95.—*a*, Wobonuch potter testing clay after preparatory pounding; *b*, same rolling first rope to set in base of pot.

Plate 96.—*a*, method of building pot from clay rope; *b*, potter smoothing coils with chip of wood.

Plate 97.—*a*, finishing surface with steatite polishing stone; *b*, Wobonuch method of separating fine and coarse particles of pulverized dry clay.

Plate 98.—*a*, dried pots heating before firing; *b*, two pots undergoing firing, two pipes in foreground being heated.

Plate 99.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Small bowls: *a*, 71196, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 114 mm. diam.; *b*, 71197, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 111 mm. diam.; medium-sized receptacles: *c*, 71242, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 152 mm. diam. at opening; *d*, 70319, Mono, José Basin, Fresno county, 96 mm. height, 157 mm. diam. at opening.

Plate 100.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Cook pot: *a*, 70616, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 203 mm. height, 203–213 mm. diam. from ear to ear. Atypically shaped receptacle: *b*, 71195, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 152 mm. height, 162 mm. diam.

Plate 101.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Medium-sized receptacles: *a*, 70843, Yokuts, Dunlap, Fresno county, 82 mm. height, 133–139 mm. diam.; *b*, 70856, Yokuts, Little Sandy, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 236 mm. diam. at opening. Cooking receptacles: *c*, 70619, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 190 mm. height, 139–153 mm. diam.; *d*, 70618, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 156 mm. height, 223 mm. diam.; *e*, 71217, Mono, Cold Springs, Fresno county, 171 mm. height, 152 mm. diam.; *f* (Univ. Calif. collection, Wobonuch Western Mono specimen), 1–27009, 137 mm. height, 230–249 mm. diam. at rim, 146 mm. diam. at base.

Plate 102.—Western Mono pottery, University of California. Medium-sized receptacles, small bowls, and pipes: *a*, 1–27011, 92 mm. height, 181 mm. diam. at rim, 75 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–27010, 95 mm. height, 184 mm. diam. at rim, 78 mm. diam. at base; *c*, 1–27013, 70 mm. height, 151 mm. diam. at rim, 83 mm. diam. at base; *d*, pipe now in Göteborg Museum, Sweden; *e*, 1–27016, 44 mm. height, 86 mm. diam. at rim, 35–39 mm. diam. at base; *f*, 1–27014, 65 mm. height, 139 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *g*, 1–27015, 49 mm. height, 84 mm. diam., 44 mm. diam. at base; *h*, 1–27018, 86 mm. length, 24 mm. diam. at rim of bowl.

[p. 252-255 not processed]

411 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three
237 forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, djibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-
[324] willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter,
[224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts
324 has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of
411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have
322 used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for
[171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] P. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, e.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket. 428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" [764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in- [437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 190 a] Chuckchansi

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
● 324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 190 b] Chuckchansi

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown
321 Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113]From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114]Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 191 a] Chuckchansi

436 dollar.[115] The informants were uncertain about
the material, merely saying that the beads were
321 made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a
string of these beads, which would encircle the
flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the
flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. per-
324 foration, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the to-
bacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

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[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [164] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. 323 Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe Yokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being [834] similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, 171 Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

Y W 381 411

Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

Y W 411

For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´ap[a]) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

W Y [324] 413

The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dkid, Michahai; ha´ob[1], Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I).

W Y [439]

The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with
262 a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket,
[251 pounded into flour, and cooked.
343]

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de-
[415 scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregu-
324] larly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple-
[415 ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among
177] whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor. 436

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley. [454]

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money. [301]

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well 436 324 [438]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 as more thousands in all stages of completion. A study of these
324 proved that the steatite was first split into thin slabs, gouged, scraped, and sanded smooth, then cut into strips by means of a chipped stone saw. I found two of these saws, their chipped
[412] edges still coated with steatite. The strips were next cut into squares. Cuts were made from opposite sides until the strip was severed. Then holes were drilled in the square blanks.

Ichow, last chief of the Wukchumne, explained to me the whole process of making steatite beads, not knowing at the time that I had already found proof of almost every statement he was making. Said Ichow, "When I was a boy I saw an old Wukchumne man make lots beads. He drive stake in ground. He sit on ground straddle that stake. He cut little square hole in top that stake. He put square bead in that hole. Then he take little stick with *kots* (obsidian) drill point on end. He spin that drill between his hands and make holes in them square beads."

Ichow went on to explain that the square beads were strung on a small, hardened rod of chamise wood and rolled between the hand and a gritty, flat piece of sandstone. This ground the corners from the square beads and left them of uniform size. This steatite bead was the most common form of Wukchumne money. Said Ichow, "Most our money was them soapstone beads. Them *Telumne, Kaweah, Koyeti,* and *Choinok* used the same beads almost all time. Them *Chunut, Tachi,* and *Wowol* people used more shell money, but they used some our soapstone money, too."

The most interesting feature of this steatite Yokuts money is that the edges of it were milled, almost exactly as are the edges of our silver dollar. The principal difference in the milling was that the Yokuts bead-money was milled at an angle with the flat sides. This milling is surprisingly uniform and will be found on this form of Yokuts money at old village sites from Paleta and Tejon Canyon on the south, to Coalinga and Friant on the north.

436 Spangles and ornaments of various forms and sizes were
301 made from abalone shell. I have several statements establishing the fact that they passed from person to person as money; but because of their supernatural power, they were valued so highly that such use was greatly restricted. They were known as *Tahp* and were used on *Tripne* (supernatural) ceremonial costumes. They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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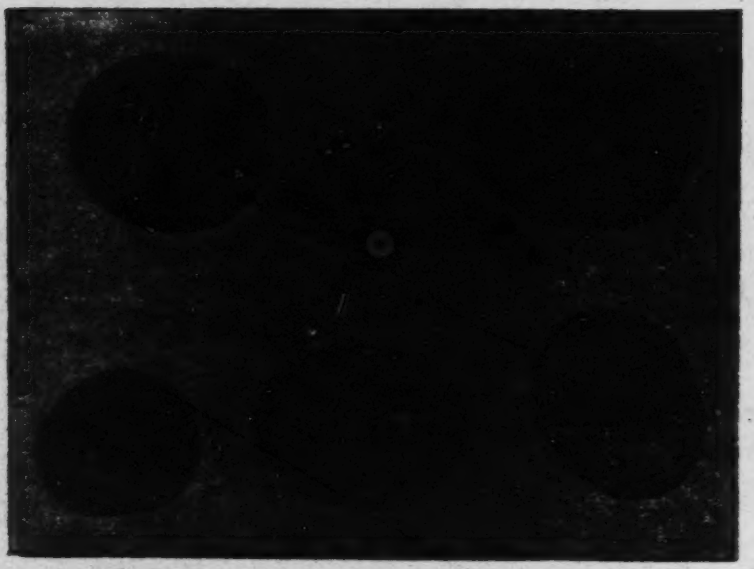

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It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the perma-
342 nent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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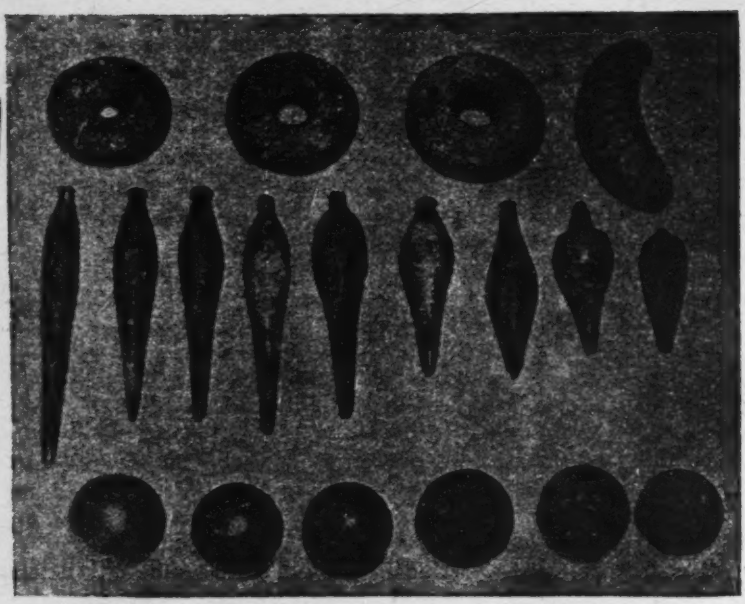

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concern-
526 ing the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER VIII

HUNTING AND FISHING

THE MANUFACTURE OF CHIPPED POINTS

There are many traditions about the North American Indians which persist with surprising uniformity and which are also quite characteristic of that noble race. There are on the other hand certain traditions which are even more persistent and which are certainly not generally true, and some possibly with no foundation in fact. Probably the most dogged of these last traditions concerns the manufacture of arrow and other chipped points. The most common tradition concerning this type of work holds that the chip was removed by heating the stone and then applying water, or some other cooling agent. 324

Some stories state that the stone was heated in the coals, and the water applied with a small wooden stick, or brush. Other accounts state that the moisture was applied from the mouth by means of a milkweed string which was allowed to come in contact with the heated stone. Other variations of this account are too numerous to mention, but they all depend upon the supposed reaction of heating and sudden cooling. It is probable that such a chipped point has never been manufactured since the beginning of time, but no amount of reasoning or scientific research or definite statements by Indians seems to be sufficient to put an end to such stories.

The most common method of chipped point manufacture depended upon the breaking from a large piece of stone of a suitable flake. This flake was thrown off from the stone by means of a heavy blow. The hammer generally used was a heavy piece of bone, often the shin bone of a deer or elk, the blow being struck with the end of the bone. [412]

By some manufacturers the large fragment of stone was held against a lump of stiff clay and the flake thrown off between the clay and the stone. It is explained that this kept the blow from fracturing the flake itself. If the flake was quite large and a large spear point or knife was to be made from it, it was placed against the same lump of clay and further reduced by blows. These chips were removed with the bone hammer in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 the same way that the first flake was obtained. In this manner the flake was roughly reduced to shape.

The remainder of the chipping was done by pressure and not by blows. The method by which this was done probably varied, but the principle was always the same. It is stated by one authority that the Indian squatted with his knees on either side of an up-right stake which had been driven securely into the ground. The work was rested on the top of this stake. The [412] implement used in pressing off the small flake was generally the tip of a buck horn.

The selection of materials like bone and horn for the work of chipping brittle stones, or obsidian, which is really a volcanic glass, shows thorough understanding of the nature of the material. The horn or bone is hard enough not to be broken in removing the chips, but at the same time is yielding enough that the edges of the chips cut into it and are not shattered, as would be the case with a steel or stone implement.

The flake which was being reduced by shaping was held in the left hand between the tips of the fingers and the base of the thumb with the edge toward the worker, the hand being protected by a piece of buckskin. The buck horn was held in the right hand. It was sometimes lashed to a stick, which extended up as far as the elbow and was held between the upper and lower arms, with the elbow bent almost double.

The side of the flake was placed upon the edge of the top of the stake, which extended several inches above the knees of the worker. The buck horn was placed across the opposite edge of the stake with the tip resting upon the edge of the flake where the chip was to be removed. The point where these two met was elevated approximately one half inch above the top of the stake.

By bearing down strongly on both buck horn and flake so that they could not slip on the stake and then raising their outer ends gradually, the worker could secure tremendous leverage, and bring great pressure to bear upon the edge of the flake. As the flake cut into the buck horn, and as both were lowered toward the top of the stake, the pressure became so great that a chip was thrown off the flake. By varying the direction of the pressure exerted against the flake, the direction of the fracture could be controlled. The fracture was almost directly in the line of pressure.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The writer has seen arrow and spear points made in this manner. In less than four minutes of measured time a flake was removed from a large piece of obsidian and reduced to a finely worked point. During this time complete explanation was made of the entire process. 324

I know that this method will be questioned by many laymen, but not by persons who have investigated these methods of manufacture. A popular bit of misinformation will always survive. I have a very distinct recollection of searching through a vineyard for arrow points and Indians beads and of collecting a mixed handful of them only to be told by one of the natives (white) that they were not beads or arrow points, but were pumped from the irrigation well and that they could be found in all parts of the field.

THE ANTELOPE SURROUND

One of the most interesting methods of taking game, common to the Yokuts Indians, is that of the "surround" or "drive". In some cases, as in taking jack rabbits, a net and Indian fence were used. 224

Probably the largest game taken by driving was antelope. Before the coming of the Americans the San Joaquin Valley was covered with vast herds of these animals. If the descriptions of early travelers and settlers are to be credited, there were probably hundreds of thousands of these animals within a distance of twenty or thirty miles. They ran in herds and covered the surrounding country like a moving tan blanket. 136 224

The pronghorned antelope of the San Joaquin Valley is undoubtedly extinct. In the northern portion of California there is a wild game preserve upon which have been placed what are said to be some Great Plains antelope. They are also said to be the same as were those of the San Joaquin Valley.

The horns of the antelope were not shed like the antlers of the deer. Both male and female carried horns. These horns were about ten to twelve inches in height and stood almost erect. The tops curved sharply together in the shape of large question marks. Near the base of each horn was a small webbed point, or eye guard. The base of the horn was rough, but the tip was smooth, like the horn of a cow.

Antelope were probably possessed of more curiosity than any animal with which we are familiar, unless it is the more or less domesticated mule. It was this curiosity which made the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped on to it.

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves out of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint-heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the [224] probable length of the shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should pronounce the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak! An old hunter says he has seen an Indian stand a hundred paces distant from a hare, slowly raise his long, polished bow, shoot a quick glance along the arrow, then send it whizzing through both his enormous ears, pinning him fast to a tree behind him.

324 411 Some mention was made in Chapter XI of the manner in which flint arrow-heads are made. Mr. E. G. Waite, in a communication to the *Overland Monthly*, gives the following description of the method employed both in Central California and among the Klamaths, as he witnessed it in an early day:

"The rock of flint or obsidian, esteemed by the natives for arrow-pointing, is broken into flat pieces, after the manner usually described. When the pieces have reached a proper size for arrow-heads the mode of finishing it is in this wise: The palm of the left hand is covered with buckskin held in its place by the thumb being thrust through a hole in it. The

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237 therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into
[237] these were fitted bone points (pi´čе tu´h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

[321] A separate harpoon point in the University of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954) is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3
[325] inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añpu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nep), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hıč). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, [237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to 285 which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress; was used ex- 335 clusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated [184] cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by
335 means of one set of cords. The cradle frame (with its permanent mat) was called a'hı´lıč; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭıñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands
[439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home´tın (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoıč, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo´ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi´yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi´diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Vizalia-Lemon Cove district.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the
Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque
hooded twined cradle which are now made by
Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved,
I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts
foothills is a craft derived from the Western
Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses
and have made one innovation, at least, in
● [342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval
frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River
Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches
of white landowners along the foothills. Some
Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of
their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers
or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life
shows in this existence, save for the continued
use of acorn foods and the few implements
needed for their preparation, and basketmaking,
an art which flourishes because of tourist
trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language
and kinship terms are in use; family totems are
retained, and official functions are aberrantly
performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the
life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers
and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and
Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which
follows, the reader should be familiarized with
the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley
in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the
environment of the upper and lower foothills
has changed but little, whereas the great
valley floor was unbelievably different in the
past from the completely dry, hard plain it is
today. There is no better way to present the
picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses
to speak for themselves. There were many
travelers in the area who left records of their
experiences with the troublesome mire of the
tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration
for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no
account so well fits our purpose as that of
Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850,
made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4]Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nɛl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went
[591] with their mother to do the gathering. This, of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal
[224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

● 342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

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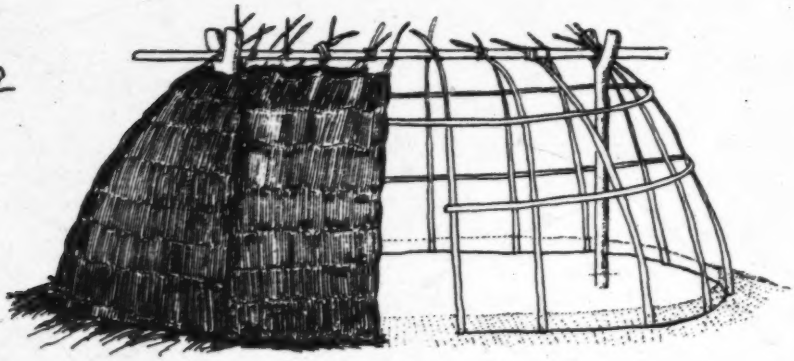
[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

Y
342



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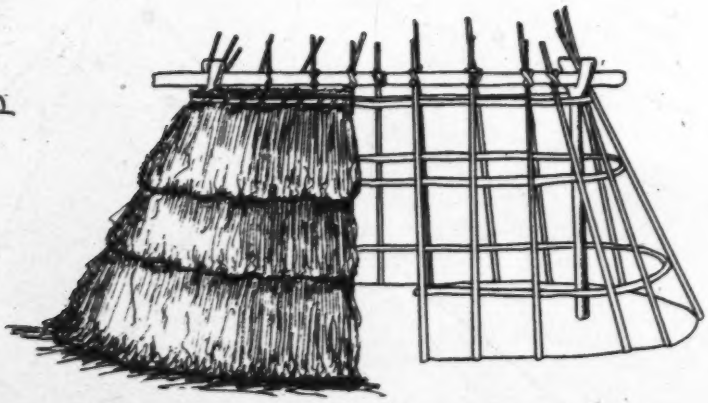
342



b

Fig. 1. Yokuts and Western Mono oval houses. a, Valley and Central Foothill type, 2-post, mat-covered. b, Waksachi, 2-post, thatch-covered.

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of
342 the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The individual stalks were held together by rows of
[284] single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a hand-span (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu´´us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal
[592] house was partitioned by means of mats. Sections of the house were apportioned to sons'
[354] families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi´yohono; tule-covered house; woi´yohon ṭi).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

342 The frame was called tumlu''us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana´s:ts).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had [352] these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.

The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."[32]

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Telweyt both long and oval houses were constructed. At Pisras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

[32] Handbook, 521-522.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 The subsistence of the tular region was
262 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (ðe´mŏem) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 373; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 73-74.

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´w:tsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´y:t, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [77] reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, 657 strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-
323 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One
285 woman, named Insi´'in (Jennie), a Wakastaina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the
838] latter transvestites, tono´č:m) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial,
767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, re-
764 move the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was W:li´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 48c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (hɛtwai´´iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117]Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 49 c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

1. Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 49d] Tulamni

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.--Pages speaks at length of the
262 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
137 tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns, which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 5/9] Tubatulabal N529

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi´''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´ʷʷ in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ⁴´nʷwao, was east of Čenaʷʷ. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s⁴ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´w⁴l ti´''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´''i.[128]

T Y [354] T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pıno (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´alečе (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itımwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´ıın[242] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[242] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

103 24. patwi´ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns [343]
25. bai´o´ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama´o: a sharp peak
27. usta´nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta´o
29. ho´ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi´yo
31. šaiwːta´o
32. dai´a´pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai´apnu´ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada´o
35. pupuna´o
36. kučːnpida´o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanhːnta´o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. muču´npida´o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye´du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču´mnyu
41. yoko´l: Yokod village
42. čaha´šana´o
43. čunːta´o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna´pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača´mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa´una´o: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nawi´šːnyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačikːna´o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. čoho´mina´o: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čašːšа (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris (Morse?) Ranch; duda´dyu, Arthur Ragle's (?) place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi´li, Stokes Flat (?); dono´šwiyu; čai´´oč; pupu´na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onomatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

342 The Central Foothill culture included
343 structures of both mountain and valley types. The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

[343] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 73-79.

343 one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood
about one inch thick was preferred, as its
[824] smoke was believed to be less irritating to the
eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the
edges of the room lay such tule mats as various
individuals brought in for their own comfort.
A flute-player might habitually thrust his
flute up into some little cranny at the roof's
edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

The sweat house, mosh or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342 Dwellings.--The construction of a house
was a family affair; friends helped each other
only when assistance was a physical necessity
to the builder. Some men might build a little
house for an old woman who had no relatives,
but more often such a person would take up
residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided.
The man of the family obtained the poles and
heavy withes for the framework, dug out the
floor space, and set up the framework. In the

[149] The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150] Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 62] Western Mono NS25
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w
342

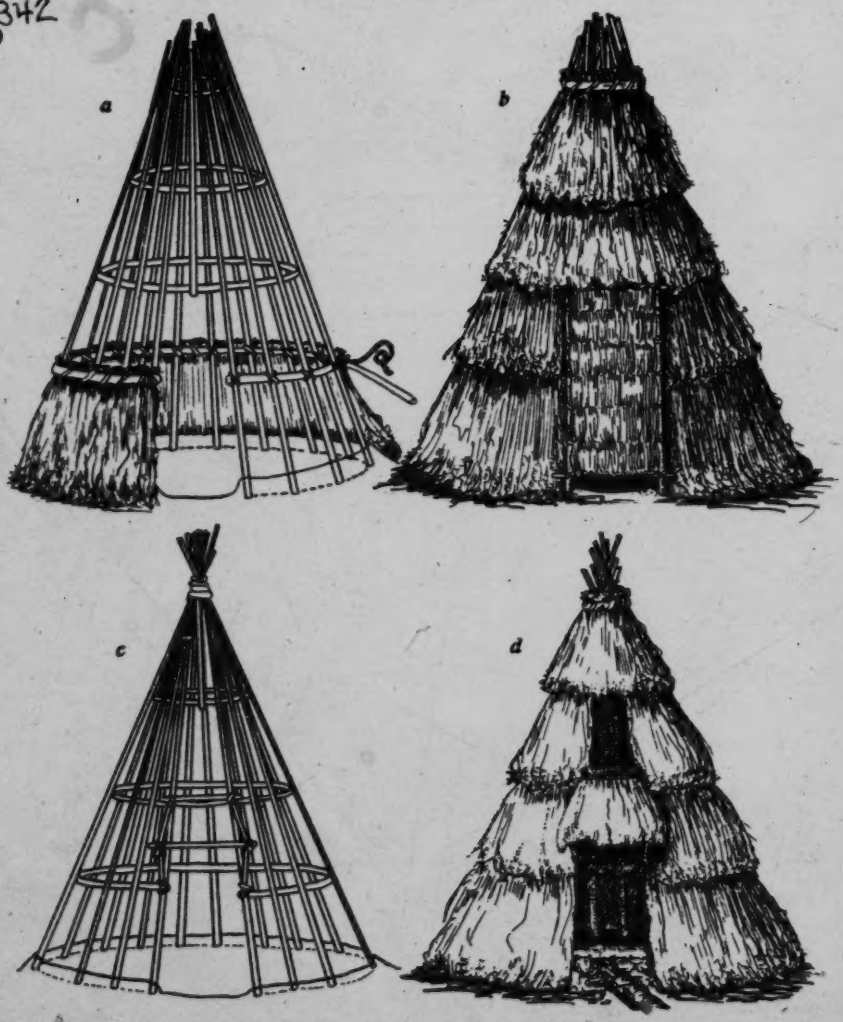

Fig. 5. Yokuts and Western Mono conical houses. a, b, Central Foothill type with inner ring at smoke vent and mat door. c, d, Chukchansi type with smoke vent and rain shed over door (after Rogers).

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

The size of the house depended upon the 342 needs of the family, that is, the number of 592 persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ṭi', those covered with brush, ṭi´yao´w:l (yao´w:l, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu´muk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo´ growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of [283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

[151] Ibid., 522.

[152] Ibid.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[353]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[353] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

342 which Kroeber mentions for Yaudanchi and the lake peoples.[154]

285 The oval house was also frequently built in the lower foothills. Most of the houses at the Wukchumni village of Gutsnumi were of this 342 form, as were those of the Gawia and Yokod though they did not reach the extreme dimensions of the lake region long houses.

To start construction two forked posts were erected and a ridgepole laid between them. Side and end poles with pliable tips were braced in the ground at the periphery of the floor area and bent toward the ridgepole to which their tips were lashed with ho'. As with the conical house, horizontal side braces were lashed on. The oblong house was never thatched but was covered with twined or sewed tule mats.

These were tied to the framework and, in expectation of stormy weather, were bound down by a lashed on, outside withe. No smoke hole was left, the smoke merely escaping through the rough slotlike aperture along the ridgepole. [184] The oval house of the Central Foothills was not usually divided into compartments as it was in the lake region.

The bark house was of necessity smaller in size than the thatched or mat-covered type. Kroeber's unlocalized description of the bark house may serve here, as this structure was not well known to Wukchumni informants.[155]

A bark house of similar type [conical] is called samish. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering,

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[154] Handbook, 521, 522.

[155] Ibid., 522.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

342 then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

343 The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by them at summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).[256] (M.L., M.P.)

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[256] The type of shelter depicted by Gifford (Northfork Mono, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

175 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
769 walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the rancheria I
counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
[361] makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more He discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday)guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɪn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Fiat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
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Dwellings.--A house was called tomo´'hɪš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wɪts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šɪč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[352 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

[252]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ɪša) was played there.

[533 524]

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Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chowchillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn),
175 and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mas), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (ši´tal) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nat was pounded up and added sometimes [čanat not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wesča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pač (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gas), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šil:´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´h:n), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´m:č "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai':č: got liquor

koko´h:p: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

● 342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" (sicl (ko´'osn:l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men [562] tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

386 Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house,
[533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

354 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sit-
[513] ting places. People sat on the logs, their feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[100]

343 <u>Storehouses and granaries</u>.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, 251 was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with 251 many children would be tided over lean periods 222 by their neighbors, should their food become 224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[100] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 215 b] Western Mono NS25

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

W Y 342

Houses.--The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (čeʼːˊnaho yaˊowːl, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hiˊˑč (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wiˊčːt sotoˊli, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

W Y [462]

Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with hoʼo (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaowːl) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

The doorway (tiše ˊhi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe; the first band ended each side of the doorway The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called ča ˊkilːš ača ˊli (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

W Y [354]

A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (uˊstun hoʼo ˊhi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsa ˊkan tana ˊhi, smoke goes).

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

W Y ●342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to W Y [574] sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked W Y [361] just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling; nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W Y at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [352] Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [522] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head 513] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

W
Y
342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W
Y
343 Shades (ci´nu'ɩ̆) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain, They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W
Y
[574]

Storehouses.---The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

W
Y
343

Storage bins.---Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ɩts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

251

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

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The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings.

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [362] [592]

[304 531]

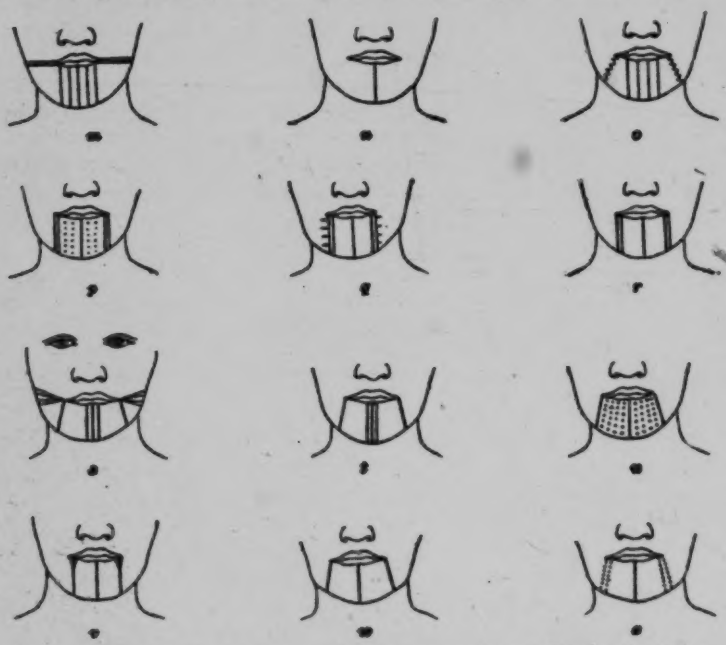

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: w–o, Chukchansi Yokuts; p–s, Mohave. Men: v–z, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber. [412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *somish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

[609] The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

[609] "Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

10 184 The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the lake houses. 285

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright. 342

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time. 501 [354]

To understand the reason for this difference between the method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved. 133

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days [132]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. [281] They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were 361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a [342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves 291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER V

HOUSES AND HOUSEKEEPING

YOKUTS PERMANENT HOUSES

It has been said that to know a man's house is to know him. While that statement is probably rather broad if applied to the Yokuts Indians, it is certain that to know the construction and arrangement of a Yokuts house and the village in which it was situated would afford at least a superficial knowledge of many phases of their life. 342

Early travelers through the San Joaquin Valley are quoted as saying that when they approached an Indian village the inhabitants came running like rabbits from burrows in the ground. Had we no other description of their houses and life than this we would fall far short of judging accurately the manner in which the Yokuts lived. However, it is true that some of the houses were partly underground and that these were covered with an earth, or sod roof. Over this roof grew wild grasses, covering the houses to such an extent that the inhabitants probably appeared to be coming from burrows.

From information furnished by aged Indians and white men who were familiar with the construction of permanent houses built by the Yokuts Indians, we are able to furnish a description of how they were built and used. A roughly circular hole or pit was excavated, the earth being loosened by means of pointed sticks. The earth was then placed in baskets and thrown on the ground around the hole. This formed quite a high levee, or bank, which rose probably six or seven feet above the bottom of the excavation. The holes varied in size from ten or twelve feet in diameter to a much larger diameter, and in depth to about two feet.

Around the inside of the excavation, against its walls, were placed willow or other green poles, with the smaller ends upward. They were embedded in the floor of the pit to a depth of a foot or more. These poles varied in size from less than an inch in diameter to as much as three inches, and in length from ten to probably as much as thirty feet.

At the south side of the enclosure an opening was left between the poles. At this point in the construction, a row of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 slender branches, fourteen to sixteen inches apart, extended from eighteen to twenty feet above the level of the surrounding ground. Next a green oak pole or shoot was bent upon itself and lashed together, forming a hoop probably thirty inches in diameter. The tips of the standing poles were pulled together at the top and lashed to this hoop.

Then other poles were bent around this frame-work parallel with the ground and lashed to the upright poles by means of bark or milk weed fiber cord. These horizontal pieces were spaced from twelve to eighteen inches apart. By this time the house resembled very much a rustic or wicker-work affair, roughly semi-spherical in shape. It had a circular opening at the top and a rectangular door, facing the south and probably two feet wide by five feet high.

[361] As these houses were almost invariably built along the shores of streams or lakes, an abundance of tule was available, and a tule thatch was laid on top of this frame work. The larger ends of the tules were placed against the ground on the outside of the frame work and lay with their tips extending into the opening at the top. When first applied, the thatch was probably from six to twelve inches in thickness.

Then the loose soil, which had been removed from the excavation, was thrown on top of the tule thatch. It formed a sod covering, varying in thickness from three or four inches at the circular opening at the top to probably several feet at the level with the surrounding ground. We are informed that in some instances the tules were first covered with a layer of mud approximately three or four inches in thickness. The writer is inclined to believe that this was the practice at many places. The evidence indicating such practice exists in old house pits in the form of fired clay which shows upon one side very plainly the marks of the tules and small branches.

The heavy earth covering compacted the tules until they were probably about an inch in thickness and by these tules was kept from falling through into the house below.

As most of the houses were destroyed by fire, the mud covering hardened and fell into the pit below. The floors of several old house remains have been found to be covered with such debris.

At the doorway, an inclined floor led from the level of the floor of the house to the level of the surrounding ground, the house being entered much as one would enter a shallow cellar

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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A permanent, earth-covered Yokuts house under construction. It was built in 1929 on the Kaweah River by Wukchumne Indians. The willow poles were later bent together at the tops and lashed to the oak ring which lies on the floor. Then the framework was covered with a layer of tules and last with a layer of mud and dirt.

or dugout. The door being considerably lower than the head of the average man, it was probably necessary to bend quite low in entering it. During bad weather this opening was closed by the skin of some animal, or by a tule mat.

Until about 1935 there were numerous remains of these houses existing in western Tulare county. South of Waukena they still exist on ranch property owned by Adolph Sweet, and south of Paige they were on the W. H. Wilbur ranch, but have been destroyed by farming. Several of these were excavated by the writer. The findings verified the statements made by aged Indian and white pioneers.

YOKUTS TEMPORARY HOMES

In considering the various types of houses used throughout the breadth and length of the San Joaquin Valley, we find that the Yokuts built at least five different types of dwellings. The most pretentious of all these houses is the permanent house, which has already been described and which was often used

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol*, *Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni*, *Tuhohi*, and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told 342 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied 592 one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. [352] These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire-place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This 342 shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi*, *Nutumutu*, *Wowol*, and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with [362] the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

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for anyone in the tribe. This type of structure brings home to one more forcibly than any phase of their culture the fact that the primitive Yokuts were all city dwellers. Country yokels were probably unknown among them. 342

The *Yowlumne* of lower Kern River, as well as the other tribes to the east of the tule lakes, built structures somewhat like that described above, but much shorter, and kept each family separated by partitions. [184]

One of the most interesting descriptions I have ever received of this Yowlumne house was given in 1943 by the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of the City of Bakersfield. Here it is:

"When we first came here [Bakersfield in 1863] the Indians were living mostly in brush shelters, four posts with poles across them and brush piled on top. There were one or two tule houses. They were not round and not square, but were sort of oval shaped; about ten feet wide and fifteen feet long with a small door in the middle of one side. They had round ends. They had two posts inside, and a short ridge-pole. I never paid much attention to them, but I believe they had poles leaned against this ridge pole. The tules were stood on end around this pole framework. I don't think the tules were made into mats. I think they were stood around the framework loose. Maybe they were tied down to the pole framework.

"The ridge of the house was not closed tight. There was an opening in the ridge in the form of a slot about eight inches wide and about six feet long.

"I was in these tule houses a number of times, but I remember very little about them. I do remember that there were strings of acorns and dried fish hanging from the pole framework. There were also baskets and bags of all kinds of Indian things on the ground inside. Everything was so smoked up inside that you couldn't tell what most of it was."

The *Yowlumne* of Kern River, the *Wechikit* of Kings River and probably the *Apaichi* north of Kings River built a small tule house of an oblong shape. The ends were rounded, but almost vertical. A short ridge pole was erected on two upright crotched poles. Poles were leaned against this ridge. This left not the wedge-shaped house, but a rounded affair, probably much like the one described above by Thomas A. Baker.

There was only one door. In some instances there was no ridge pole. The poles were then bent all the way over and

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A typical Yokuts camp. In the foreground is the firepit and the woodpile for outside cooking. In front of the house is the universal tule-mat shade. The oblong tule covered house has a slot shaped smoke hole directly over the door. Beneath the smoke hole is the firepit for indoor cooking and heating. The ends of the house are round. Wahumcheh, eighty-five years of age and last surviving full-blood man from the Yowlumne tribe, appears at the left. He lived in such a house until he was sixteen years of age. He supervised the construction of this camp.

lashed together. These houses were probably not larger than ten by eighteen feet. As in the case of the other temporary houses this house was also covered with tules and was called *Che*.

On Tule River the *Yaudanchi* built their winter house of tules in a cone shape. The house had a hoop at the top to which the poles of the leaning framework were attached and which left an opening for the smoke arising from the fire pit directly below.

[285] The framework was covered by sewn tule mats. The houses were placed in rows with brush covered shades in front. These Yaudanchi houses more nearly approached the tepee of the plains Indians than any other Yokuts houses. The Yaudanchi also built a larger house, which had a ridge, two fire places, and a door at each end; but we have no details of the construction.

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Yowlumne

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Wahumelesh, aged 85 and last surviving man from the Yowlumne Yokuts who once lived about present Bakersfield, showing the use of the tule-mat door in a tule-thatched house.

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Yowlumne

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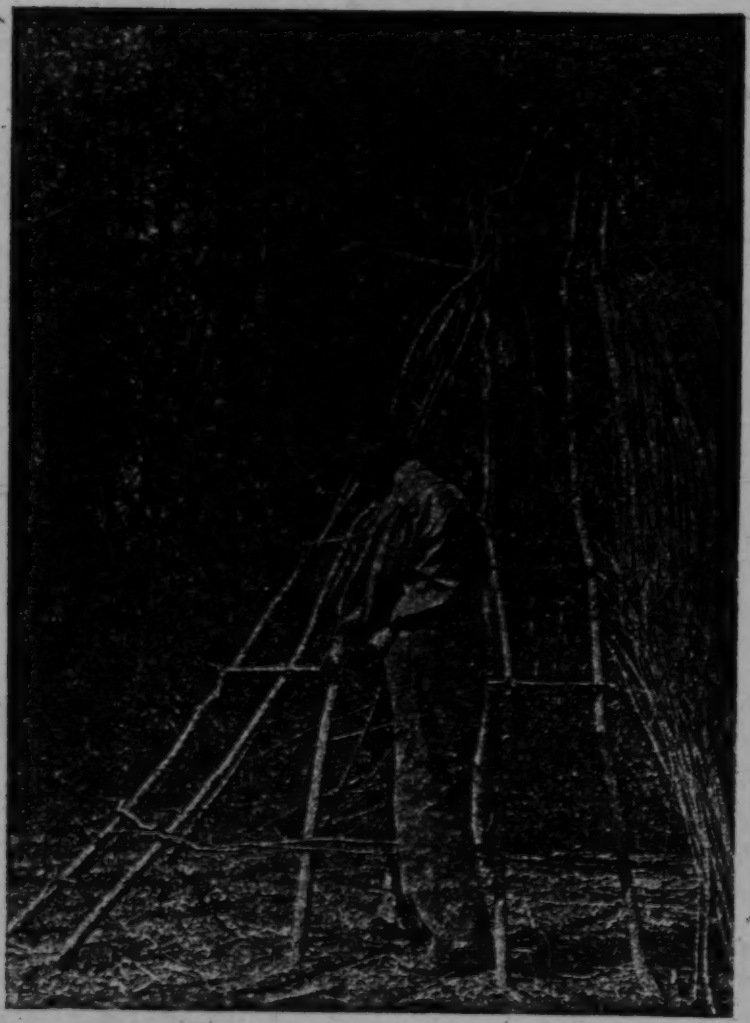

View of a Yowlumne Yokuts house under construction, showing Wahumchah tying the horizontal poles in place with willow bark. The ends of this house are round; the sides straight. There are two posts with one ridge pole. It is thatched with loose tules, tied in place with milkweed fiber string. A portion of the tule mat cover shows in the upper right corner.

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A Chukaimina house which stood in Squaw Valley, Fresno County, about 1900. Except for the boards and metal stove pipe, it is like those built by that tribe before the white people came to Squaw Valley.—Photo by courtesy of Mr. A. D. Overholtzer, Squaw Valley Corners.

The *Chuk'-chansi* and *Gashowu* on Fresno and San Joaquin Rivers built a cone house similar to that of the Yaudanchi, but covered it with thatch. The floor of this house was generally lowered about a foot with a digging stick. The door faced the south. The house was about twelve or fifteen feet in diameter. It was called *Ho*, meaning to live, or sit. They also built a house covered with bark and brush thatch, which they called *Siamsh*.

When camping or traveling, the Yokuts built smaller and less permanent structures. These were formed by leaning poles together and covering them with bark or brush. They were the temporary shelters so often described by early settlers in the San Joaquin and were practically the only houses built after the Indians had been dispossessed of their permanent village sites.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

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The sweat house was oblong and generally excavated to a depth of two or more feet. It had a heavy ridge which rested on poles at the ends. Over this ridge were laid poles which were

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Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-ua showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 768

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

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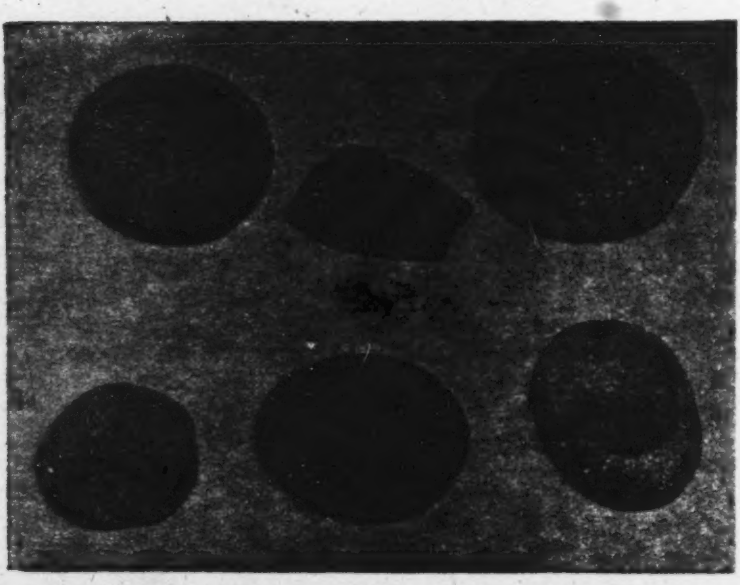

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 342 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

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abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

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159 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we
769 had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

159 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake,
342 my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

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I think most of the houses had been burned, because I remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house. 159 342

It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came. [354]

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Maws*. 159 343

The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.) 159 342

Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to

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159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.

342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake. [361] They always were close to the water and the ground was wet. When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win*, on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was [361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few [361] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol) had was called *Che*. It was a long tule house. It was made so 342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule 592 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

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the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

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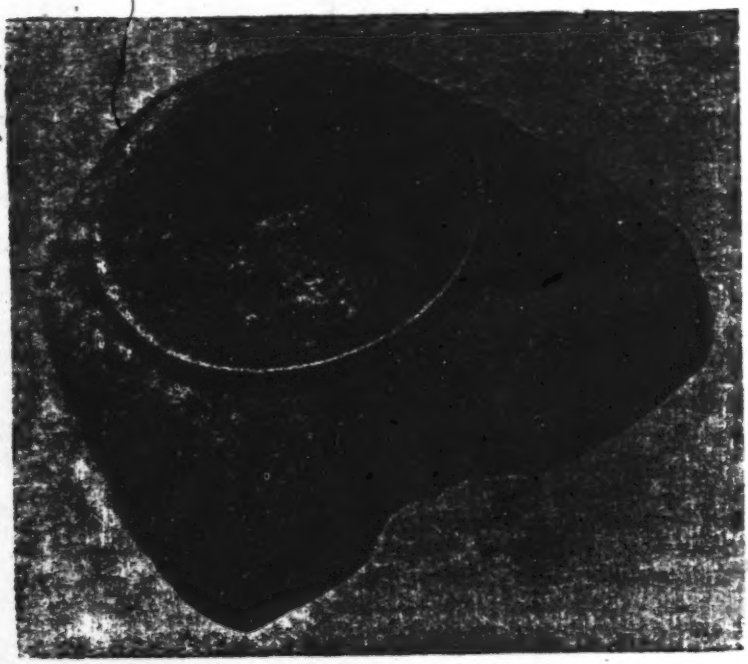

A Wakchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
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right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top. 159 342 542

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we called *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress. 159 513

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins. [237] 159 513 281

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove. 159 513 237 [438]

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout called *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deerskin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout. 159 231 [531]

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the cape in place. [237]

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159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we
dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could
live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were
no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

We were at the camp about three months, until summer
159 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the 648 mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and 159 tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There 159 were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] 411 arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from 101 Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those 592 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

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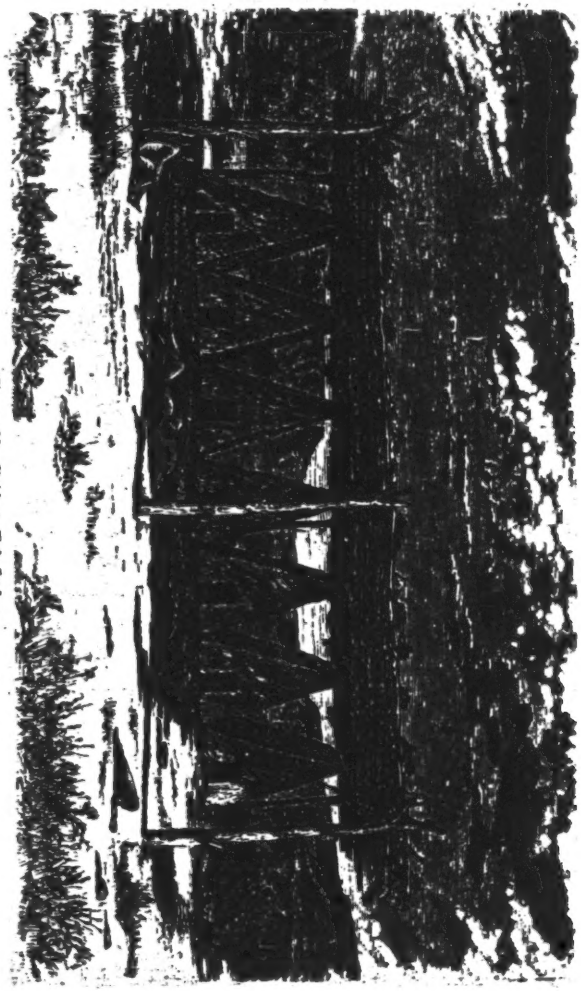

Figure 88.—Yo-kuts Tule Lodge.

[facing p. 370]

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342] cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592] mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records [161] the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114] lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342] they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11.

648 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to
[162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this
[361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and
[342] willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented
[162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon
[252] the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known
162 until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the
797 objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jossps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jossps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

*161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming in by that year. Hence there is a chance of overlap. This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

*161 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abellà in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

[34D]

*161 Luis Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition under the command of one Soto, whose party was attacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was *erected on crotched poles set in the ground and* the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
541] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (čɛ´mčɔm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wa in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ´´n"wao, was east of Čena"a. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s·ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´w·l ti´´i; that covered with tule, pumuk ti´´i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yaudanai.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a door-
T Y [354] way frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely
T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´''i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 56).

103 24. patwi´ša: westernmost Patwisha village; there was a painted rock there from which women copied basket patterns [143]
25. bai´o´ma: Mineral King peak in the high Sierra Nevada
26. šadama´o: a sharp peak
27. usta´nyu: hill east of Lemon Cove
28. guta´o
29. ho´ganu: Wukchumni village; location called "Iron Bridge" (across river) in English
30. čoi´yo
31. šaiw:ta´o
32. dai´a´pnus: hill west of Lemon Cove
33. dai´apnu´ša: Wukchumni village; present site of Lemon Cove
34. pada´o
35. pupuna´o
36. kuč:npida´o: called "dog road," reason for name not known; a Wukchumni seed-gathering site
37. sañanh:nta´o: meaning "someone killed," the hill above Goodale ranch
38. mučuˈnpida´o: trail between the hills west of Lemon Cove
39. šiye´du: summer seed-gathering camp of people from no. 33; present site of Moffett
40. šaikču´mnyu
41. yoko´l: Yokod village
42. čaha´šanaˈo
43. čun:ta´o: recent Chunut rancheria, about 1890-1910; not definitely located
44. yuna´pyu: Drum Valley
45. wača´mao: Bowman Ranch
46. wa´unaˈo: Button Willow Peak (2269 ft.), above Drum Valley schoolhouse
47. nauwi´š:nyu: Corn Jack Peak (2000 ft.), hill south of Drum Valley schoolhouse
48. pačik:na´o: rock with pictographs on Cutler Ranch; a shaman's cache
49. čoho´minaˈo: Bear Mountain east of Aukland

Locations indefinite: čaš:´ša (no. 8), not positive; gutao (no. 35), Ed Morris [Morse?] Ranch; duda´dyu, Arthur Ragle's [?] place, an old Wukchumni campsite; čihoi´li, Stokes Flat [?]; dono´ñwiyu; čai´´oč; pupu´na (a quarry on Lime Kiln Creek called "shoot rocks"; an onomatopoetic name?)

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

342 The Central Foothill culture included
343 structures of both mountain and valley types. The sweat house was practically without variation, but dwellings were of bark-slab type, brush or grass thatch, or covered with tule mats, according to the availability of these materials. The type of storehouse built was governed by the same consideration. The ramada was much used even in the mountains. Lean-to's were built only at campsites, where even permanent house frames were often established.

[143] Perhaps one of the localities referred to in Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

513 states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were 562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was 515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

● 343 A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be 515 built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; [622] then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

343 old baskets with the hands. The baskets were carried or dragged out by helping men and boys. Women sometimes helped at this, but the service was regarded as somewhat of a joke by all concerned. The excavated earth was heaped in one place for later use in covering the structure. The interior diameter of an average sweat house was about 15 to 20 feet. The shape was somewhat elliptical if it were a large house with two center posts, circular if smaller and with but a single center post. Not more than two center posts were ever used in this region; vertical side walls were not known.[148] The center posts, placed 6 to 8 feet apart and extending above ground some 4 or 5 feet, were forked and supported a center beam. These posts were usually of oak. The roofing poles, preferably of alder, were some 4 to 6 inches in diameter and of a length sufficient to project 6 inches beyond the center beam and 1 foot beyond the excavated side wall. The bark was not removed. The poles were laid as close together as possible, alternate poles from opposing sides projecting on the center beam. Toward each end of the beam the grounded ends of the poles were spread out slightly. The ends of the house were covered by poles laid into the fork, other poles were laid over these and the grounded ends fanned out to form rounded ends (basically the same structure as the two-post oval dwelling). The bunched upper ends were tied with coarse rope (ho'o). Over this foundation roof was laid a similar but more haphazard arrangement of slender alder or willow poles which filled in the interstices.

A doorway was left by spreading the poles at one end. (Informants disagreed on the position of the door of the two-post house, whether on the side or end.) Three parallel posts were set upright, inside at the bottom, but projecting outside, on either side of the opening left between the roof poles. Upon these uprights were set two crosspieces: one lay flat, the other outward one rested above it. Together they formed an angled brace against which the butts of short roof poles rested. There was no closure for the doorway.

The roof was now ready to be covered with a layer of brush and long grass upon which the excavated earth was spread.

The doorway was about 3 feet high, the interior of the house slightly less than a man's height. In a two-post house 20 feet in diameter, sixteen men could sit comfortably. The fire was always directly opposite and just within the doorway: heat within forced the smoke to push through the low door while the fire itself prevented too great a draft from entering. The firewood was placed in two piles,

[171]

[148] Ibid., 596, pl. 60, shows a southern Californian sweat house identical with the Yokuts type of side construction. The exterior of the small Yokuts sweat house probably resembled that of the Koso (cf. ibid., 590, pl.56).

343 one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood
[824] about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

The sweat house, mosh or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342 Dwellings.--The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

[149]The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150]Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

343 The bark lean-to, with which Wukchumni and Patwisha were familiar, was used by ~~them at~~ summer camps in the higher hills where cedar and pine bark were obtainable. The structure was started by setting in the ground a forked post 4 or 5 feet high. Into its crotch were laid poles which radiated in a half-circle. Spaces were filled in with more slender poles, and against the whole were leaned overlapping slabs of bark stripped from fallen or decaying trees. Earth was piled against the base both outside and inside to keep the pole and slab butts in place. (M.L., J.P.)

The brush lean-to, particularly used by women at seed-gathering camps, was semi-dome-shaped in form. The earth was dug away slightly from a half-circle. Two pliable poles were set down in holes at the points of the half-circle. Their tips were drawn together, overlapped, and bound in place. Two or three other poles were set up along the curve, bent forward, and tied to the arc. Loose scraggy brush was piled up against this crude frame, and, if a tule mat had been brought along, it would be tied over the top. Such a lean-to served not as a shelter, but as a shade. Women had such shades, often completely hemispherical, built over their bedrock mortars (fig. 6).[156] (M.L., M.P.)

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[156] The type of shelter depicted by Gifford (Northfork Mono, pl. 3, b) may or may not be of similar construction, but the finished effect is like that described by my informants.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64c] Wukchumni

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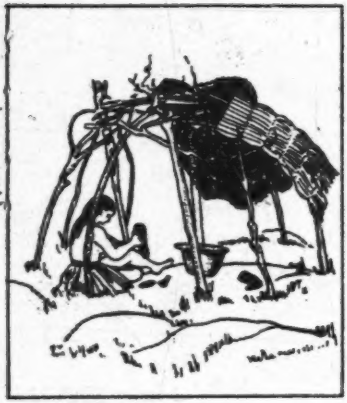

a

b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ́niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from [621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157]An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, e).

[158]The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the [343] separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či´'up, či´'up, či´'up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed [787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɪn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

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Dwellings.---A house was called tomo´'hɪš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wɪts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šɪč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

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A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

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[252]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ɪša) was played there.

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Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to
262 separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

● 343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[514] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɛn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɛn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841] There was no separate hut for birth or
[343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[232] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´'ɛč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɛ´lɛč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the
[856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65]The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66]A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-
[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´'in
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho'in t:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

STRUCTURES

● 343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand
[534] game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house,
[533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

● 343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 251 Storehouses and granaries.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with 251 many children would be tided over lean periods 222 by their neighbors, should their food become 224 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

343 251 J.R. described a granary covered with pine needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack [171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa'ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o'yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna-- mentation (toward upper right, second from top); [272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand- 358 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938). 854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered [524 with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) 284] binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

W Y 342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W Y 343 Shades (ci´nu'ǐš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. W Y All cooking, eating, and lounging were done [594] there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain, They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W Y 343 Storehouses.--The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

251 Storage bins.--Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ʌts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 217 9] Western Mono NS25

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Y high was set up, and in a squared position
343 about it were erected four shorter forked posts.
Four tie beams connected the corners, and
251 across these was laid a flooring of small logs.
Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

W
Y Sweat house.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be
343 made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an averaged-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

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Y Two "brush" fires were built, one on each
343 side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires'
515 heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of ex-

W Y clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the 343 515 late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man in- [513] variably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tuňao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer 515 (ile´k.č) would lead in singing songs used out- 533 doors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y <u>Footgear</u>.--Normally people went barefoot. 291 Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not re- [439] called) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

W Y 224 372 [237] The fire fan (ile´t:l, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343 Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´p:n ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´n:s a´tm:n šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231 The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for W Y 223 snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´nam:n' for short, just like slang."

W Y 423 825 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in W the same manner as that on the ground. It was Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches 223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main con- 343 sideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as Y well as for decoys. In either case they were 231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai 825 pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always Y tame" (B.O.).

223 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber 343 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[162]

[162] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

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take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take it at the same time as the plain people. There were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa ´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

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[190]Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used [28] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

361 "The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a 342 sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

291 "In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. [415 324] They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulorun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is [415 177] reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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A Chukaimina house which stood in Squaw Valley, Fresno County, about 1900. Except for the boards and metal stove pipe, it is like those built by that tribe before the white people came to Squaw Valley.—Photo by courtesy of Mr. A. D. Overholtzer, Squaw Valley Corners.

The *Chuk'-chansi* and *Gashowu* on Fresno and San Joaquin Rivers built a cone house similar to that of the Yaudanchi, but covered it with thatch. The floor of this house was generally lowered about a foot with a digging stick. The door faced the south. The house was about twelve or fifteen feet in diameter. It was called *Ho*, meaning to live, or sit. They also built a house covered with bark and brush thatch, which they called *Siamsh*.

When camping or traveling, the Yokuts built smaller and less permanent structures. These were formed by leaning poles together and covering them with bark or brush. They were the temporary shelters so often described by early settlers in the San Joaquin and were practically the only houses built after the Indians had been dispossessed of their permanent village sites.

THE SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house was oblong and generally excavated to a depth of two or more feet. It had a heavy ridge which rested on poles at the ends. Over this ridge were laid poles which were 343

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and 515 stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was 237] used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343 515
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and [578] vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Acorn granaries and a Chukcimne Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus*, poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis*, or *wik'-sid*, by the In-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

223 [343]

Pidgeon blind built by **Chumsuh**, a **Koyeti**, on Tule River about 1920. The hunter lay under the brush blind and peeked out through the grass curtain. The pidgeon snare was rested across the stick in front of the curtain. Bait was placed on the level platform in the foreground.

The snare was quickly replaced and the decoy maneuvered above it.. The wild birds would almost imediately return. Then the process was repeated. We are told by old Indians that in this way several dozen pigeons were often taken in less than an hour.

Stalking of most game was comparatively simple. It consisted of working from the leeward, using the various cover which presented itself, and approaching within shooting range of the game. Some game was not easy to take in this way. Elk are said to have been quite wary and it was necessary to keep them from water for sometime before it was possible to approach very close to them. It was not necessary to stalk antelope, as they were more easily taken by the surround described previously. 224

The most interesting system of stalking was that used in taking deer, the most wary of all such wild game. The most de-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

I think most of the houses had been burned, because I remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house. 159 342

It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came. [354]

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Maws*. 159 343

The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.) 159 342

Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with con-
342 struction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging
[462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

● 344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.--A special
343 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such store-
251 house might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to
251 pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
122 by their neighbors, should their food become exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt
224 every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102]Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might have specks of white paint on their faces, or [302 439] sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'iniu* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in 344
no sense a dance house or assembly chamber. Women never entered it. It was the regular sleeping place of the older men during the winter when they were at the home village. The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel windbreaks. Often on retiring, the inmates sang and sweated, perhaps in competition along the two sides, the fire being added to to make the opposite row cry out first that they had enough. Then came a plunge into the stream, and a return to dry and sleep. In the morning they ran shouting to the water again.

There is no house for dances and rituals. The rattlesnake "stepping," the mourning ceremony, and perhaps other rites were held in large roofless inclosures of brush, a sort of fence. This is the southern California form of ceremonial structure. North of the Yokuts it reaches to the Maidu as an adjunct of the mourning ceremony.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN CALIFORNIA.

The California Indians are perhaps the most omnivorous group of 262
tribes on the continent. The corn, salmon, buffalo, reindeer, or seal which formed the predominant staple in other regions, did indeed have a parallel in the acorn of California; but the parallel is striking rather than intrinsic.

To begin with, the oak is absent from many tracts. It does not 137
grow in the higher mountains, in the desert, on most of the immediate 222
coast; and it is at best rare in districts like the baked plains in- 262
habited by the southern Yokuts valley tribes, a fact that may help to explain the permanent association and commingling of the majority of these tribes with their foothill neighbors. It is true that at worst it is rarely a far journey to an abundant growth of bearing acorns anywhere in California; but the availability of such supplies was greatly diminished by the habits of intense adherence to their limited soil followed by the great majority of divisions.

Then, where the acorn abounded, the practices both of collecting 222
and of treating it led directly to the utilization also of other sources 262
of nourishment. The farmer may and does hunt, or fish, or gather wild growths; but these activities, being of a different order, are a distraction from his regular pursuits, and an adjustment is necessary. Either the pursuit of wild foods becomes a subsidiary activity, indulged in intermittently as leisure affords, and from the motive of variety rather than need, or a sexual or seasonal division becomes established, which makes the same people in part, or for part of the
year, farmers and in part hunters. An inclination of this sort is 132
not wanting in many districts of California. The dry and hot sum- 222
mer makes an outdoor life in the hills, near the heads of the vanish- 262

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony [755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did [782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[24] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [623]

[24] See anecdote, p. 394. [25] Informant George Dick.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the
223 pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a
349 similar method by which they captured eagles.[xlii]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Out-
[237] side were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo´´ow:n). They had their own booths up
[439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

[xlii] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po'hot), tree squirrels (sa'ñsañwide''·t), gophers (hu'ñhed) and chipmunk (aho''ōt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 176 a] Chuckchansi

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to
222 Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

342 The frame was called tumlu''us. The oval house was covered with mats of tule or, where available somewhat away from the lake, a grasslike shrub (kana´s:ts).

The floor of dwellings was not excavated in the lake area since moisture and flood water would seep or run in. Contrarily, if a house site on a rise of ground could not be obtained, the floor was artificially built up by bringing in baskets of earth. For the same reason sleeping places were raised up on a low framework of wood (willow). The Wowol particularly had [352] these, and the Chunut and Tachi who bordered close on the lake. The usual tule mat flooring and bed padding were used.

Kroeber's statement on the long house is somewhat contradictory. It may be partly based on Powers' illustration.

> ... the mat-covered, gabled, communal kawi of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber.
>
> The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or dumlus, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

Kroeber goes on to describe the oval house, attributing it to the Wechihit and Tachi of modern times and stating that it may be made with or without a center ridgepole. The house mats were made by wrapping each stalk to the next with "a hitch in a single strand of string," whereas floor and bed mats were sewn. The Wechihit "use a covering of tall mohya stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called te or chi."[32]

A Wechihit informant (J.At.) said houses in her village near Sanger were all mat covered and were placed in any order along the riverbank.

At Telweyt both long and oval houses were constructed. At Piaras, the village in Wolosi territory, the oval house covered with grass mats predominated. On the north shore of Tulare Lake Jeff Mayfield saw long houses of the Tachi.

The houses at the lake were the thing I noticed most. I do not remember having seen a

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[32] Handbook, 521-522.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

M
103 Wobonuch sites:
131 14. sui ´nawe
15. suina ´weta mapa ´dowɪn: suinawe junction or fork
361 16. paha ´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini ´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi ´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi ´we by D.S.
19. wiya ´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
342 Dwellings.--A house was called tomo ´hɪš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu ´wɪts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai ´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual [352 hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The 513] doorway of the house was called ti ´šɪč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an [352 underground house or cellar." The floor was 513] covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. [252 Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in [533 it, though a man might dance or a flutist play 524] if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao ´ɪža) was played there.

343 Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses (wiči ´ti: literally, little house) were built 251 close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women
512 did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
● 352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-
cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

354 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 9] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine needles which shed water; the top was covered.
251 The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape, carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
mentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

358 Cradles.---In N.W.'s house there is a grandson, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[183] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[324] with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
284] was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[184]

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[183] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[184] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
831 the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight; for an older one carried upright, the lashing [237] prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought chil[illegible] remain babyish if kept in the cradle too lo[illegible]

As the baby gre[illegible] transferred to second and third cra[illegible] the last being some thirty-five inches lo[illegible] All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge of the frame with milkweed string. Large [482] cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

[P. 216 9] ~~Western Mono~~ NS 25

W Y 342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to W Y [574] sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked W Y just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined [361] location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W at the ridgepole between the last rows of Y● thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. ●[352 Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [522] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head 513] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it, The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 852 854 The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her

W Y [841] fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual («pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is 352 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is car- 285 ried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [171] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in [172] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found. 854 352 285 [171]

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

[171]

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is [171]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f* is found without a hood as well as with it.

352 Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the
285 same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
352 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
285 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*).
531 Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol, Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni, Tuhohi,* and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told 342 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied 592 one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. [352] These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This 342 shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wowol,* and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with [362] the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley
353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

354 "In the center of the single room, directly under the small circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

352 "The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

●352 "In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules,
513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

251 "With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored
353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wah-guk'-in and Ba'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 168

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS BABY CRADLES

One of the most interesting phases of Yokuts culture is 854
their method of handling and carrying their children. Many 285
of the things to be discussed here vary slightly among the 352
Yokuts tribes, but the general scheme was once much the same from the Cosumne River and Martinez on the North to Tehachapi and Paleta on the south. By far the most effective Yokuts artifacts, at least as regards the rearing of children, are these baby cradles, or baskets. The most detailed account concerning this interesting piece of equipment was that furnished by a prominent family of the *Wukchumne* tribe.

Among the Wukchumne it was customary to hold a cere- 851
mony, or meeting, practically identical with the modern baby 854
shower. Even though many of the primitive customs have held 352
over into civilized life, and persons who have studied primitive 285
life are more or less accustomed to such parallels, it comes as a surprise to everyone to find that such an interesting custom was so well established among the primitive inhabitants of the San Joaquin Valley.

The materials used in the construction of the baby cradle 854
varied slightly among the numerous tribes. The Tachi, who 352
occupied the north shore of Tulare Lake, wove a very inter- 285
esting cradle of tule. It was soft and pliable and formed a good mattress for the child. The *Choinok* and *Wolasi* attached a tule pad to the bed of a wicker cradle.

The plains and foothill tribes made a very light and strong cradle. Some tribes used slender willow wythes. In the construction of their cradles the Wukchumne used cottonwood twigs.

Among the Wukchumne two separate cradles were used for each child. The first cradle was sometimes made by the mother, although a grandmother, or some other old lady of the tribe, often made it and sold or presented it to the mother. This cradle was about thirty inches in length and so woven of cottonwood twigs that it could be rolled up like a piece of matting, the cross stitching being made of pliable cladium roots. This was a temporary cradle and the baby was kept upon it for a matter of three or four weeks.

As soon as the child was born, materials were assembled and construction started on a large, permanent cradle. This was not possible before, because the design used in weaving the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Left: A **Wukchumne** infant cradle, used until the larger cradle was completed, and then tied high in an oak tree until the child learned to walk. Right: A **Yeudanchi** infant cradle with hoop to support the covering over the face of the baby.

cradle for a boy differed from that used in weaving a girl's cradle.

At the time when construction of the large cradle was started, all the grandmothers and older women of the immediate family group held a meeting. They called upon the mother and her child and brought with them all sorts of materials, including toys and play-things for the baby.

The mother never constructed the larger, permanent cradle. No reason is given for this, except that the mother had many other duties in caring for the child. It is said that the maternal grandmother took a considerable pride in preparing this permanent cradle and I have observed this always to be the case among the Wukchumne.

When the temporary cradle was discarded it was rolled tightly and tied securely, high in an oak tree. It is explained

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections. 352 285

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.

352 285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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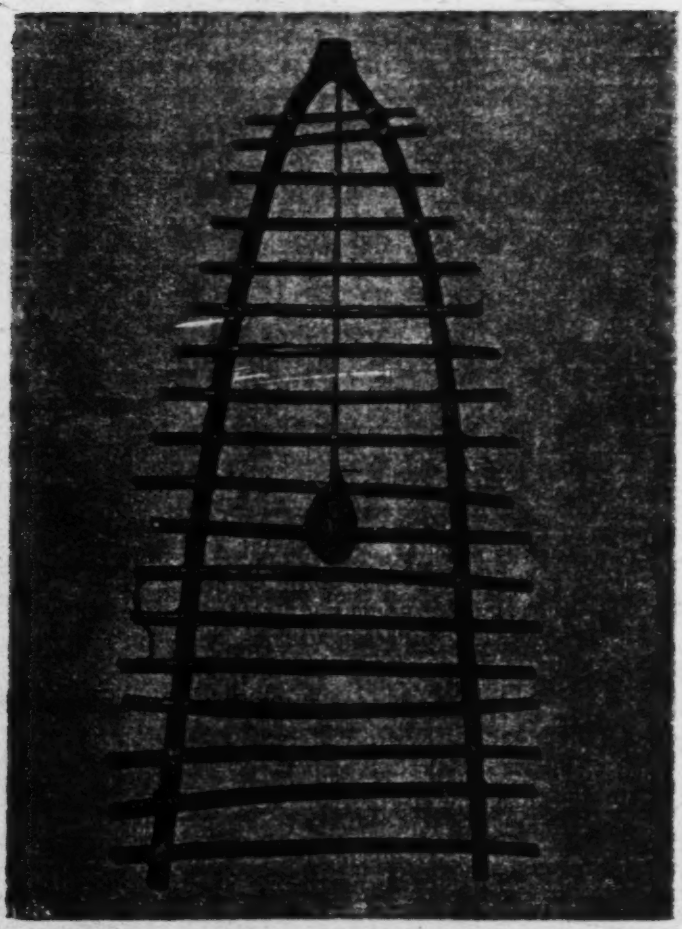

Type of baby cradle used by the Keyeti Yokuts on Tule River. Suspended by the string is a piece of soapstone from which was scraped talcum powder to put on the baby when the grass or moss diaper was changed. This cradle, together with the soapstone, was collected in 1868.

Verily, there is nothing new under the sun.

The *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, could leave her baby cradle leaning against a bank, a rock, or a tree, and be gone for hours with the certainty of coming back and finding the child

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Left: A Wukchumne Yokuts baby cradle with milkweed fiber tie-strap and hemp fiber carrying-strap. Suspended at the right of the sunshade is a steatite reel-shaped stone from which talcum powder was scraped for use when changing the baby. Right: A Nutunutu Yokuts baby cradle padded with tules.

exactly where she left it. It is said by persons who have been close observers that it was often customary to keep the children on these cradles long after they were able to walk. Why the white persons who first settled this country failed to appreciate and appropriate this effective article of primitive culture is beyond understanding.

Probably more interest is shown by whites concerning the Indian name for baby cradle than concerning any other thing relating to Indians. Among the Wukchumne and other Kaweah River Yokuts tribes, the name was *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se). Almost every other tribe of Indians in the western hemisphere had a different name for this article. So did they have different names for *moccasin, squaw, tepe,* and every other primitive article.

The word squaw, was adopted from the Narragansett Indian dialect. *Papoose, chuck* (meaning food), *moccasin* and *tomahawk* were taken from an *Algonquin* dialect. Tepe was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

301 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it
[171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plenciful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
[262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

[353] [52]J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53]Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

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Wah-puk'-in and Ho'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
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They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find
[353] much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[222] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of
342 the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The individual stalks were held together by rows of
[284] single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a handspan (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats.
[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons' families, each family having its own fireplace,
[354] and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi´yohono; tule-covered house; woi´yohon ṭi).

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[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

[P. 5/a] Tubatulabal NS29

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi´'in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ‘´nuwao, was east of Čenawu. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s‘ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´w‘l ti´'i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´'i.[128]

T ● [354] T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [364] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tam (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

T Y 524 Games.--Women played huču´was, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´men) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´"i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeb specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was covered with tule mats, several of which were 352 piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. They were twined of fine willow or tule, 285 varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi:). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osn:l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men 562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

386 Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

●354 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 215 b] Western Mono NS25

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

W Y 342 **Houses**.--The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (če'ɛ́naho ya´ow:l, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hi·č (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wi´čɛt soto´li, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with ho'o (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaow:l) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

W Y [462]

The doorway (tiše´hi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe: the first band ended each side of the doorway The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called ča´kil:š ača´li (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (u´stun ho'o´hi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsa´kan tana´hi, smoke goes).

W Y [354]

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the 285
lake houses.

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of 342
the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright.

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles 501
of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward [354]
end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time.

To understand the reason for this difference between the 133
method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved.

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent [132]
winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley
353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

"In the center of the single room, directly under the small
354 circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

"The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes
352 covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

"In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into
352 the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules,
513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

"With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside
251 granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored
353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

I think most of the houses had been burned, because I remember the ends of a few of the poles had been burned. Two of the houses were still standing. Two were still good houses. We put our things in them and camped outside. I remember all about this kind of house. 159 342

It was not a big house, like white people make. It was just one round room. It had a small door and a smoke-hole at the top. The door was at the south side. The house was not dug in the ground very deep. I think they must have carried the dirt to cover it from some other place. When we went into the house we did not go down, like into a cellar. The floor was just about level with the ground outside.

The house was made of poles set in the ground like posts. They were about as big around as my arm at the bottom. They were not so big at the top. The poles were bent together at the top. They had poles around them and brush and tules over them.

The outside was covered with dirt and mud. At the bottom the dirt was thick, but at the top by the smoke hole it was just plastered thin with mud. You could see the tules and brush around the smoke hole.

The dirt houses had fire places in the middle. They were about as big as a wash tub. They had rocks and ashes in them when we went there. Someone had been cooking in them before we came. [354]

The sweat house was still at this place when we went there. It was down in the creek by the water. It was like the other houses, but it did not have a smoke hole at the top. It was deeper, too. We called it *Maws*. 159 343

The *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) made a kind of shade to use in summer. It was like four posts set in the ground with poles across the top. It was covered with tule mats. When we moved we took the mats and the poles with us and left the posts for when we came back.

Both my mother's people and my father's people made a house of green tules. It was a small round house. They made these houses in the tules near the water when they would only stay a little while. They called this kind of house *tumlus* (toom'-loos.) 159 342

Tumlus was a good dry house from the rain, but it was bad from the bottom. They just cut some tules away inside, and pulled the other tules together at the top. They tied the tops to

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

[312 311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[161 36] [648 181]

[15] Ibid., 257.

[16] Ibid., 258-260.

133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.

We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the
[16] débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en
361] route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

[20] Ibid., 261.
[21] Ibid., 262.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded
436 these to their inland neighbors. Usually the
buyer made them up into money: this was what
the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi
villages to trade with the Wowol, but no
farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern
Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut
traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi
mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia
did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt
was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief
there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born
there; after her marriage she moved "a little
east up the river [Kings?] to a village called
Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake
which extended as far as the Coast Range and
was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i.
(Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.)
There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less
361 intimate view of the situation makes it seem
unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol,
and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi
and Nutunutu as allies against the combined
Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village,
was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of
camps among which the Tachi moved, especially
when one camp had been visited by death. J.A.
named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi
(bones) as two important Nutunutu villages,
both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly
Kroeber's Chisu. A chief there was Oli´kɛs,
nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because
he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very
large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present
site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the
Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A.
pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe
is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near
Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut
territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
131 frequently walked over to the ocean across the
mountains to the west, provided relations were

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

[484] Y [361] Y [164] Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɑn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɑl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y [439] The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɑt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T [441] The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T 101 131 The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɑn, where there was a deep little river."

Y 103 131

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sạhau: a Wechihit village
2. wewạ´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.--Fages speaks at length of the
136 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen [231] spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
166 held. The chief decided when to move; he would call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
call only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
512 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

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[P. 58] Wukchumni

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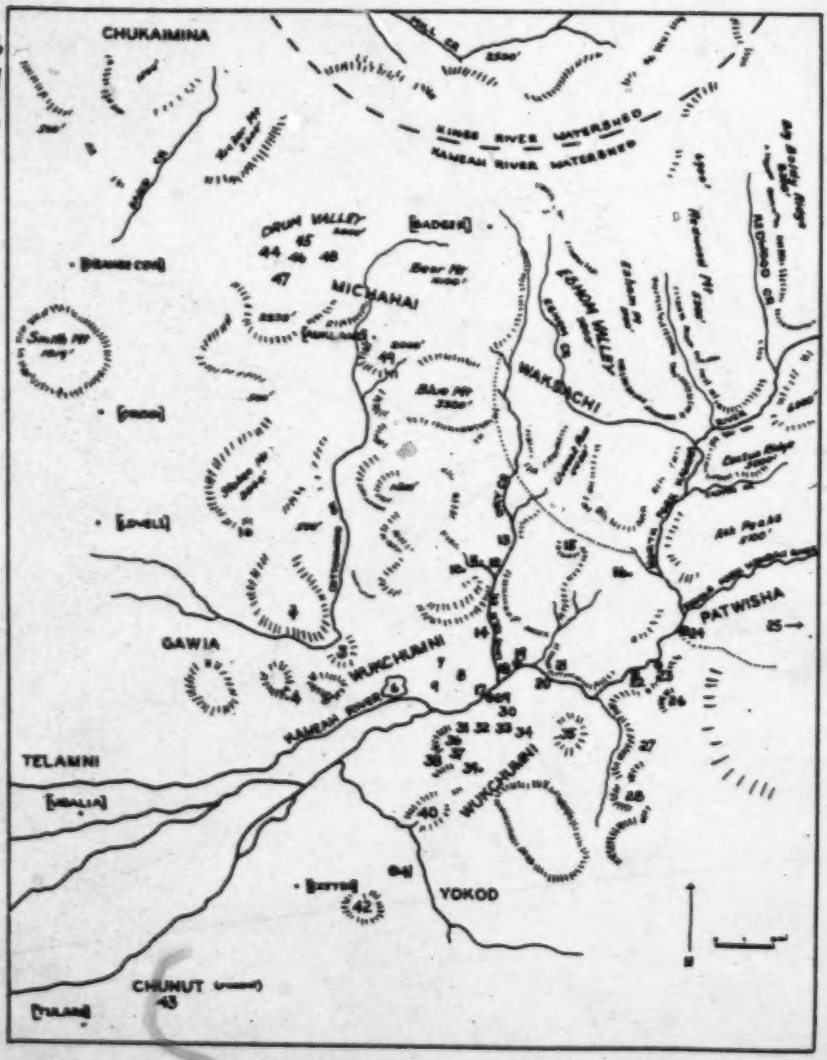

Map 3. (Lost) Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the ranchería I
counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
[361] makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
525 upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

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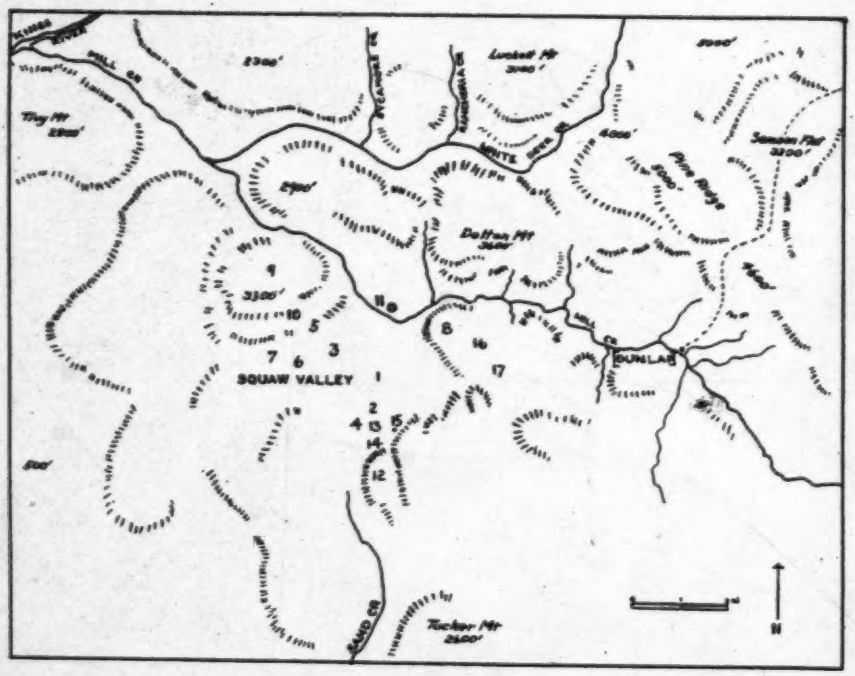

Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Nichahai sites

668 The dance was called soto·´towid kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a— Auntyst]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

● 361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
103 9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did: ´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn: ´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt: ´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second [789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 144] Western Mono N525

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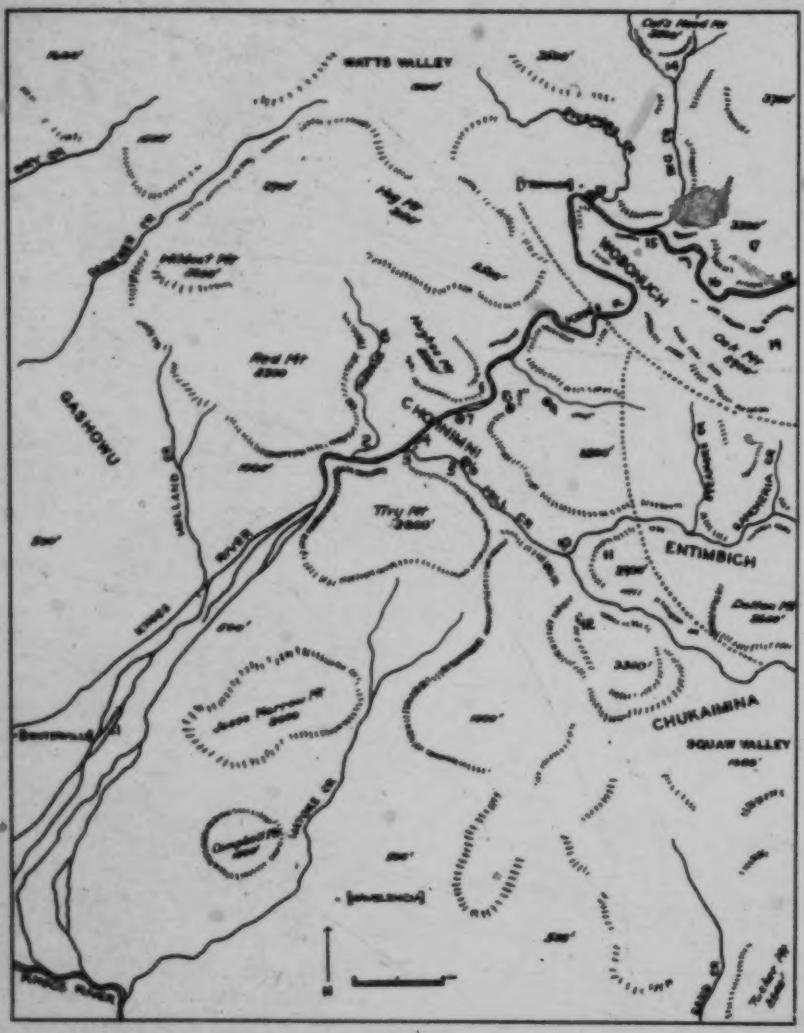

Map 8. Local Map D: Chowchilla and Neighboring Territory

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hoše´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɜn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɜn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); nɜt (east, mountainwards); ti´pɜn (up); atɜ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.
103

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɜ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɜč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 153 a] DUMNA

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal
131 locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´čbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The
[622] chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkıt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokı´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmın and Salo´kınč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 A long list of place names was given but
●361 only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

103 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
● 361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´´omt:lao; 11, ya´p:k'nao; 12, y:mšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, t:ne´lao; 16, kočo´yu; 17, ti´če´niu; 18, hogo´n:lao; 19, hutu´n:lao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamx:´nšiu; 24, pax:´kčiu; 25, šo´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´t:lao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nep:nwa´šu; 33, šiš:´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the
101 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
114 their name at that time was used to cover
648 native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomk:t, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomk:t and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɛs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɛ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɛn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 ●361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu´i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´´an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɛč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɛč: got liquor

koko´hɛp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´´ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) fuhctioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest
556 man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[36] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[36]The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about [484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and [438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[124] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

354 The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

342 The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging [462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

343 251 Storehouses and granaries.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with 251 many children would be tided over lean periods by their neighbors, should their food become 222 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt 224 every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

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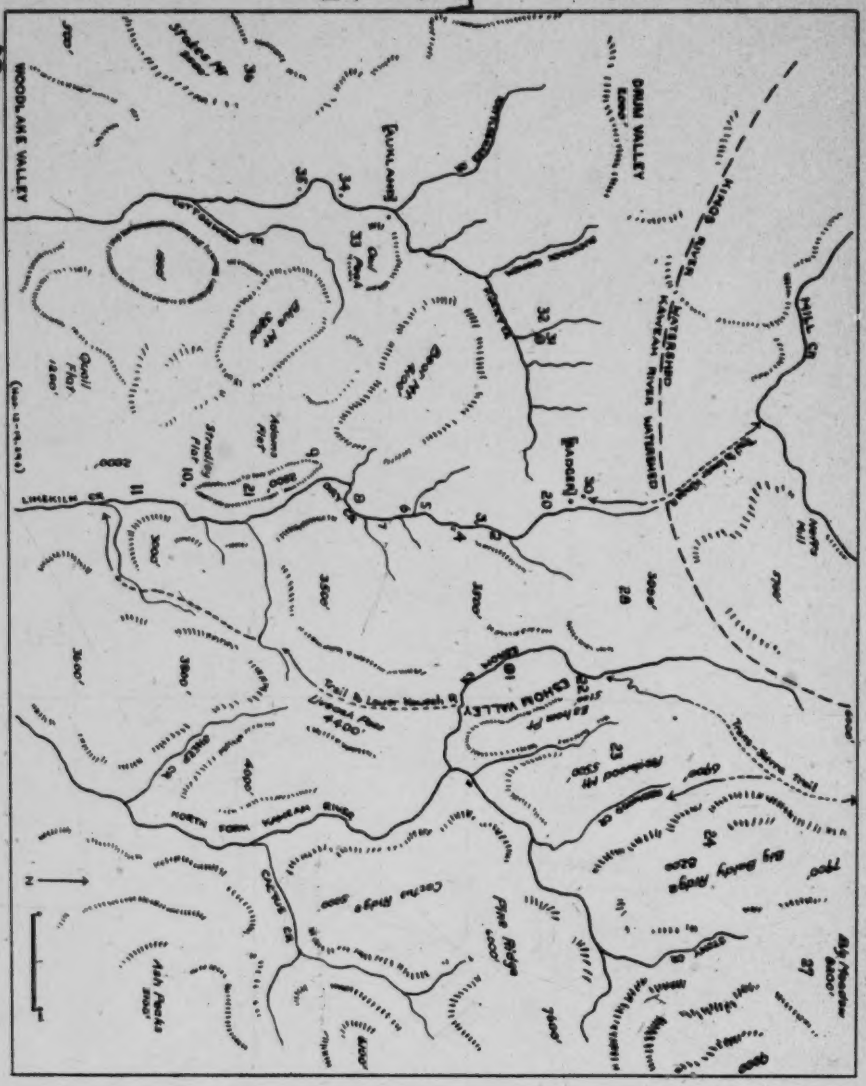
1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 Western Mono NS25

[P. 212]


WOODLAKE VALLEY
DRUM VALLEY
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
HILL CR
LINEKILN CR
CHOW VALLEY
NORTH FORK KAWEAH RIVER
CACTUS CR
Ash Peaks
Pine Ridge
Big Meadow
Big Spring Ridge
Trail to Lower Kaweah
Trail to Stone Trail
Quail Flat
Strodley Flat
Hammond Flat
Chow Flat
Chow Mt
Indian Mt
Cactus Ridge
Hill Top
Hoffs Hill
Badger
Bulldog
Big Oak Flat
Stockton Mt
Stockton Ridge
Stockton Flat
Stockton Mt
Stockton Ridge
Stockton Flat
Stockton Mt
Stockton Ridge
Stockton

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 213 c] Western Mono NS25

Y M 101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

Y M 192 The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Pätwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

361 231 M Y [487]

M Y [887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati'' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

M Y [484]

[155] Ibid., 588.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 214 a] Western Mono NS25

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets, Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W [854]

S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

Y W 423

The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

W Y 103 131 361

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Rancheria Flat"
9. koiwe´niu: hill by Adams Flat (possibly Sugarloaf)
9a. tawete´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiña´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

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22. na''an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata·wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger
31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa"wijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Pa"wijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

Y
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439

Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo''owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

W Y 342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was W Y [574] thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y There was no village plan, or defined [361] location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Wakasachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W Y at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [352] Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [522] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] [513] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the 616
head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity 622
of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, 624
the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. [361]
When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would [651]
gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. 624
One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, 522
Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The 838
tongochim or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they pos- 767
sessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled 624
corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally 648
to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, 727
this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after [773]
a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the [361] lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows.

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but [132] the Pomo employed tule thatch.

[343] The *ch'inin* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

2:Kroeber

101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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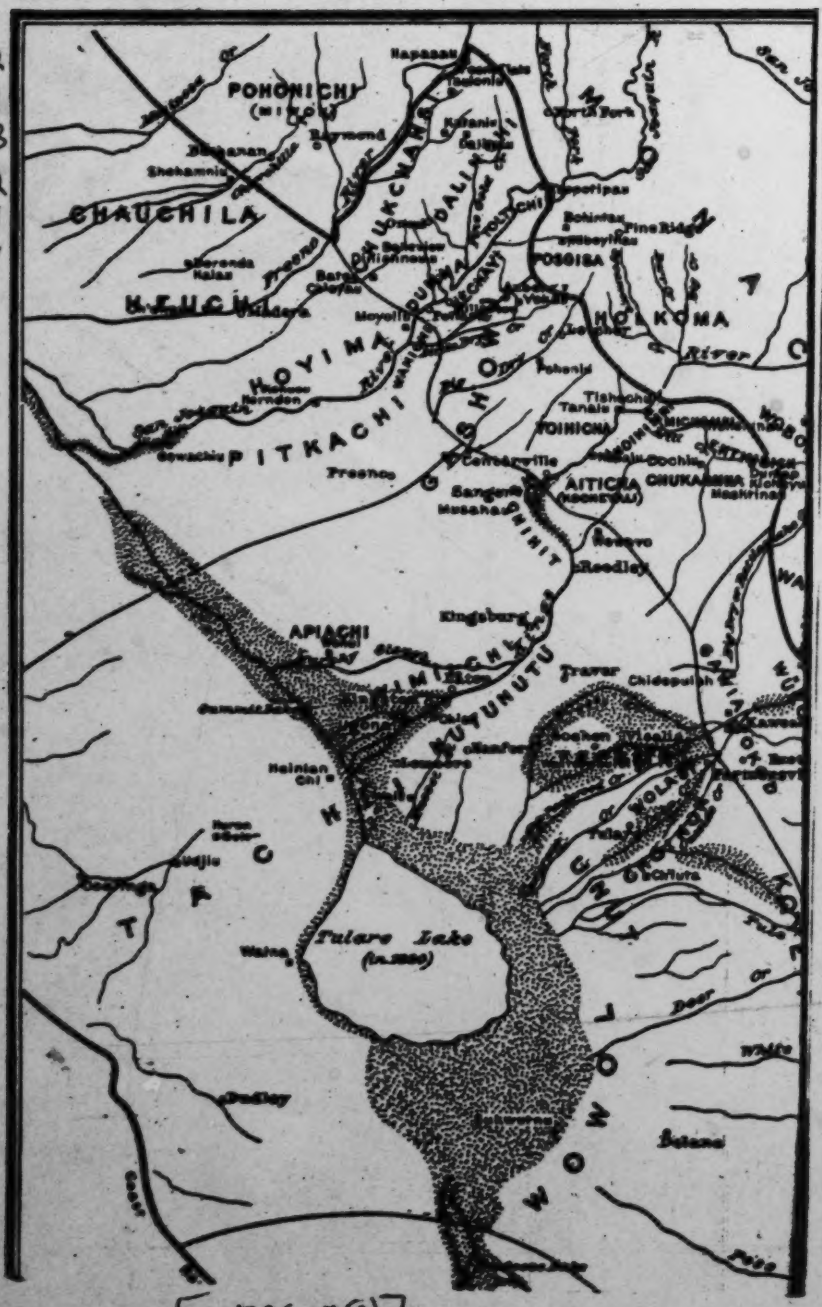
POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
CHAUCHILA
HOYIMA
PITKACHI
POSOISA
HOICKOMA
TOIHICHA
AITICHA
(ACONCHAU)
CHUKAMNA
APIACHI
WUYUNUTU
Tulare Lake
Fresno
Reedley
Kingsburg
Traver
Chicago Park
Raymond
Bishop
Shekamnio
Sierranda
Kalas
Bakersfield
Coalinga
Coalinga
Sewachie
Tishechapa
Tanaia
Cochina
Meshrina
Sanger
Musehau
Reserve
Hainton
Chi
Tulare
Waiha
Dudley
Dinuba
Exeter
Lindsay
Porterville
Visalia
Goshen
Hanford
Lemoore
Corcoran
Delano
Kern
Poso
Creek
River
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2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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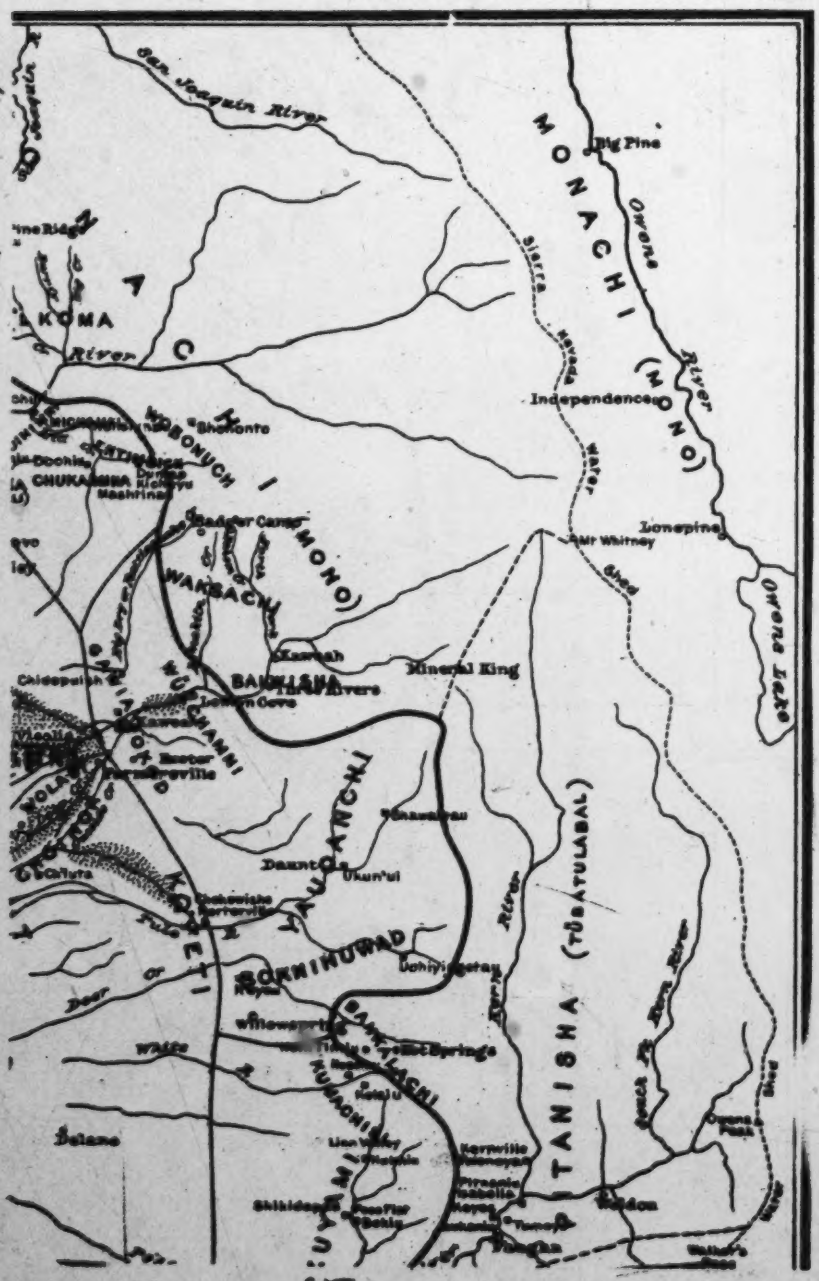

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

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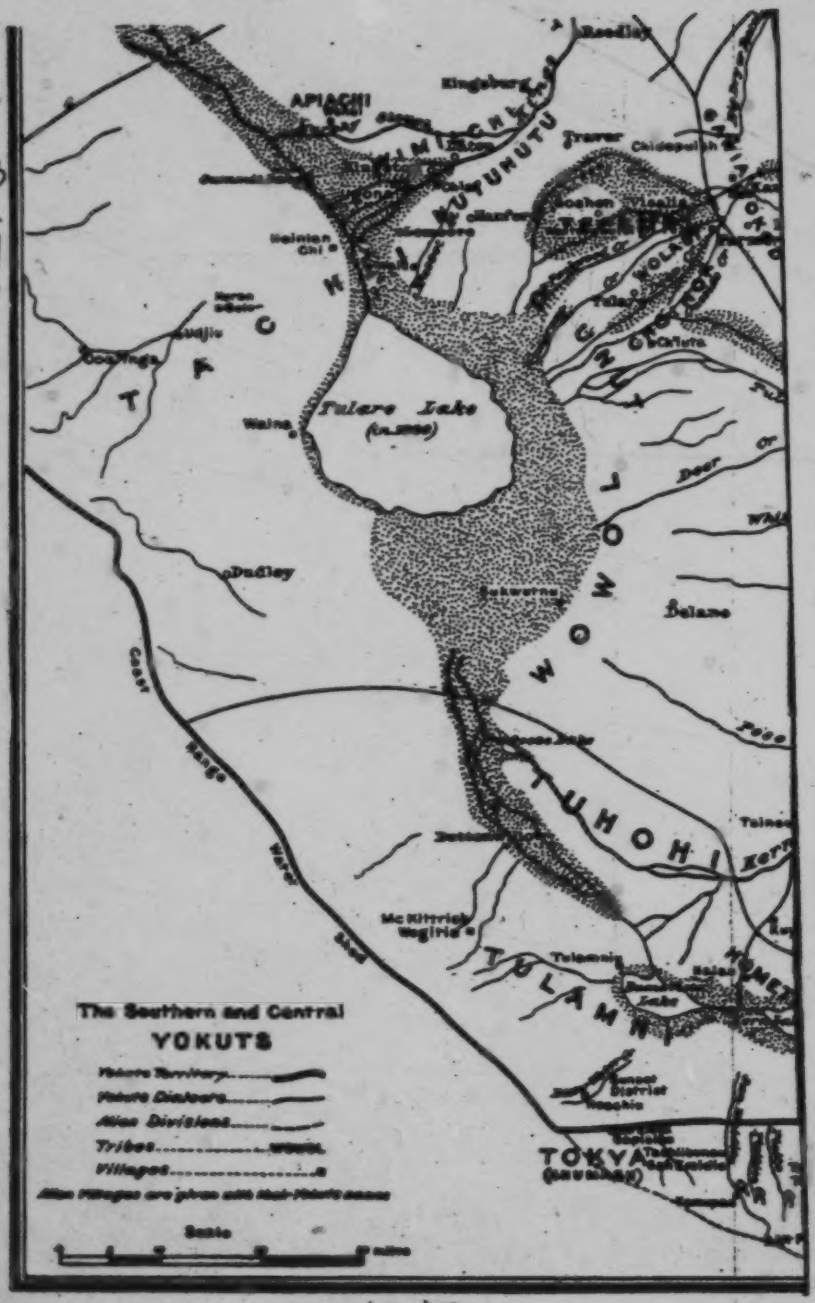

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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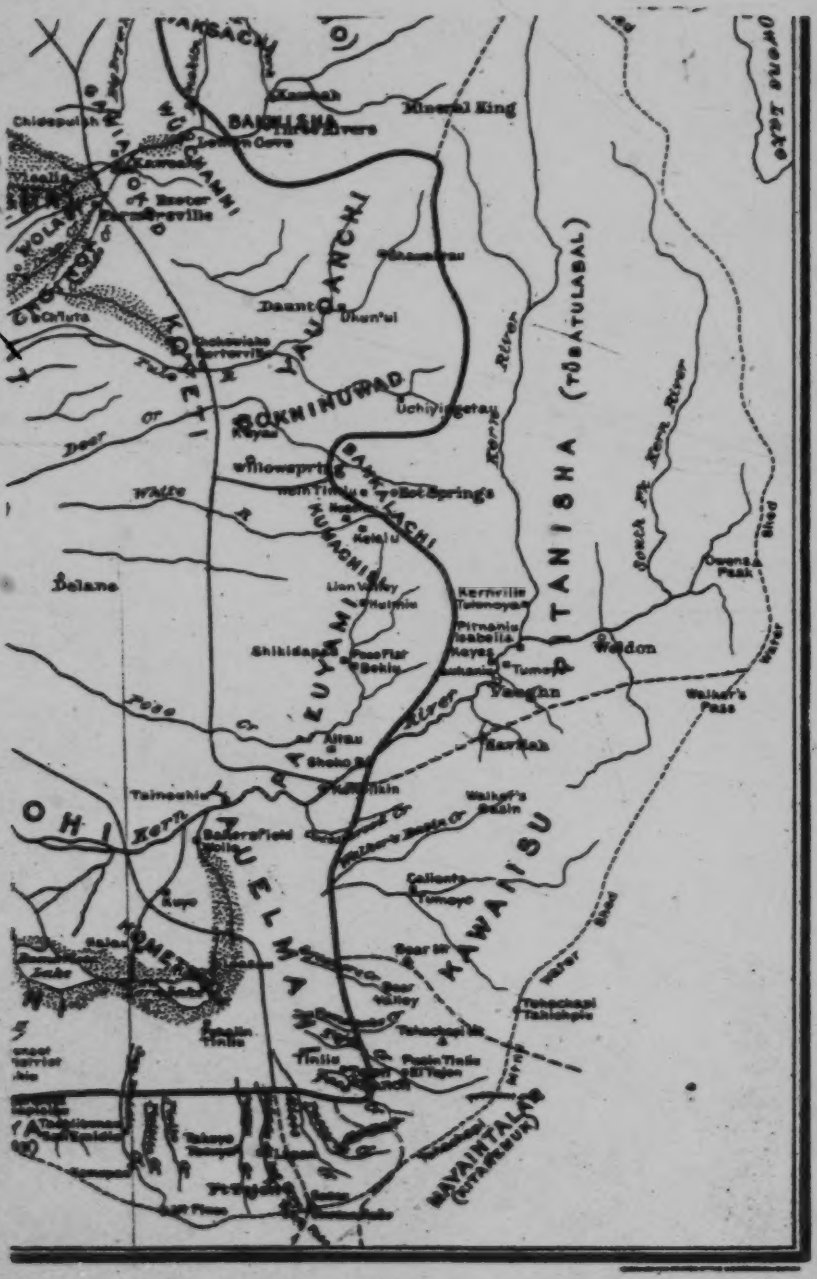


[p. 526-I(D)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all 103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 177 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

172 The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are 361 quite common throughout the entire west side area. These remains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*. Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the village of *Dinishneu*.

The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[45] 101 103 131 619 361

Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*.
103 Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land,
131 was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings
619 on the north slope were known by the same name and were thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

361 North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

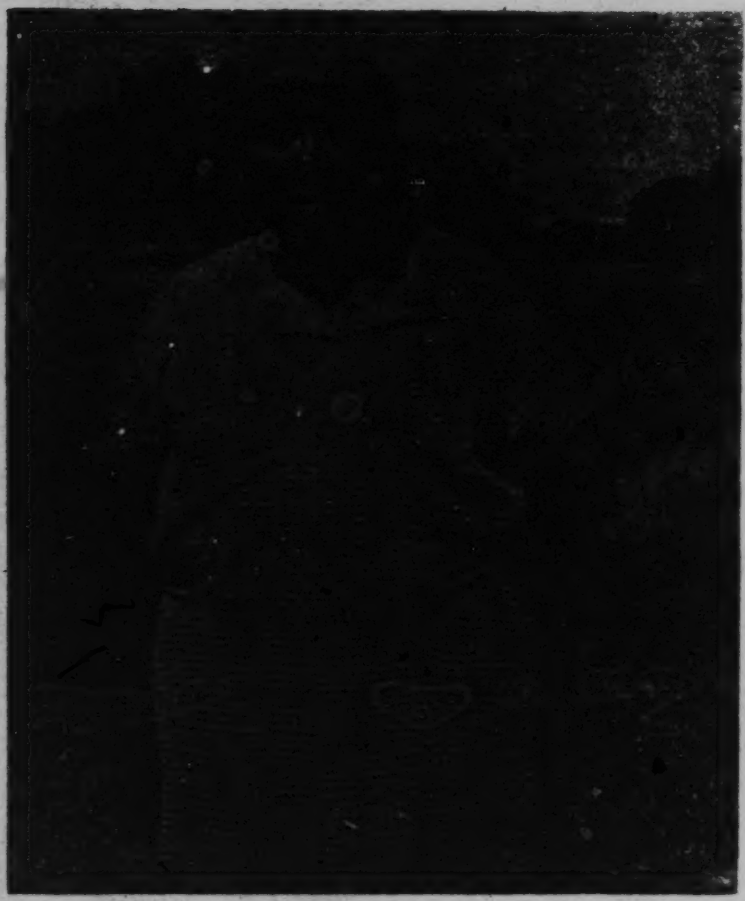
Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Futunufu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, one north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu* (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-nh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Sorings (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

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101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
619 *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
361 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823] MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Tedumtow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*. 361

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

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101 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [36]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in 131
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 361
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 159
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 648
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian
to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south
103 to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

[648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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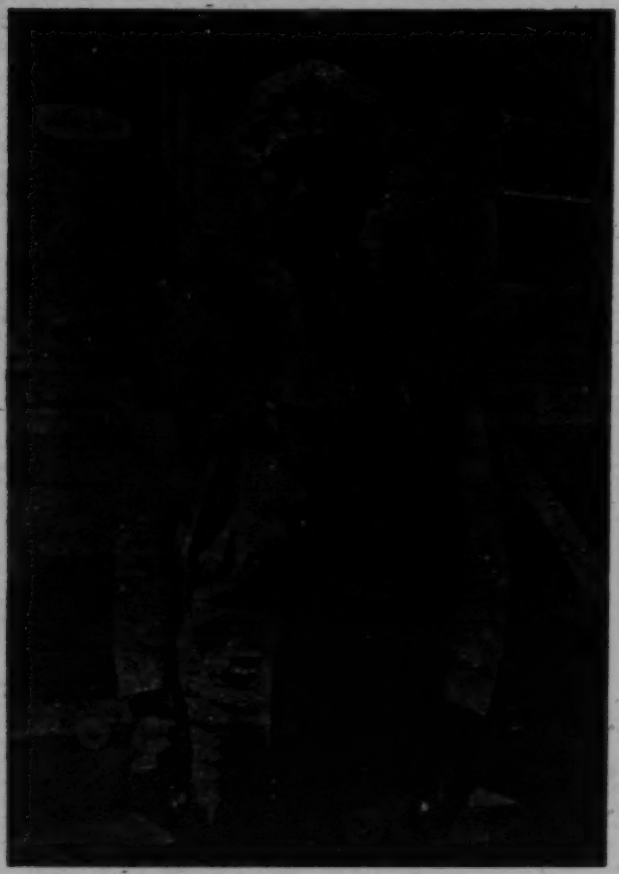

This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] when he was small boy. He call that village *Hah-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahno's old-time stories were just like ours—how Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and

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101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of Tipton.

101 From there to the present town of Porterville the channel of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village 103 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on 131 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the 361 present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

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were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named *Ahsaw*. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

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101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There
103 was once a village there having the same name. Between the
131 forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which
361 was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

[776 *Soksouh* (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural
532] spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyis Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of Kawipewpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

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101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sik-etepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

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Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe. 101 103 131 361

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California*, by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu. [114]

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the 184

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133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water [262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, includ- [285] ing baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes. [281] They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

"Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about 136 the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the 137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were 361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules [343] on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a [342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves 291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall 281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

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101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon
[361] the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a
133 distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the ~~season in~~ which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[64
101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

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Yowlumne

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CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians
131 was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their
[224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight
[103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e),
103 on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by
[415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

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Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the 103 Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinchiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F 172 streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

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Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

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Yowlumne

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.
131

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.
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Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.
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This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away
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487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right [361] where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals
[481] on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

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342 slender branches, fourteen to sixteen inches apart, extended from eighteen to twenty feet above the level of the surrounding ground. Next a green oak pole or shoot was bent upon itself and lashed together, forming a hoop probably thirty inches in diameter. The tips of the standing poles were pulled together at the top and lashed to this hoop.

Then other poles were bent around this frame-work parallel with the ground and lashed to the upright poles by means of bark or milk weed fiber cord. These horizontal pieces were spaced from twelve to eighteen inches apart. By this time the house resembled very much a rustic or wicker-work affair, roughly semi-spherical in shape. It had a circular opening at the top and a rectangular door, facing the south and probably two feet wide by five feet high.

[361] As these houses were almost invariably built along the shores of streams or lakes, an abundance of tule was available, and a tule thatch was laid on top of this frame work. The larger ends of the tules were placed against the ground on the outside of the frame work and lay with their tips extending into the opening at the top. When first applied, the thatch was probably from six to twelve inches in thickness.

Then the loose soil, which had been removed from the excavation, was thrown on top of the tule thatch. It formed a sod covering, varying in thickness from three or four inches at the circular opening at the top to probably several feet at the level with the surrounding ground. We are informed that in some instances the tules were first covered with a layer of mud approximately three or four inches in thickness. The writer is inclined to believe that this was the practice at many places. The evidence indicating such practice exists in old house pits in the form of fired clay which shows upon one side very plainly the marks of the tules and small branches.

The heavy earth covering compacted the tules until they were probably about an inch in thickness and by these tules was kept from falling through into the house below.

As most of the houses were destroyed by fire, the mud covering hardened and fell into the pit below. The floors of several old house remains have been found to be covered with such debris.

At the doorway, an inclined floor led from the level of the floor of the house to the level of the surrounding ground, the house being entered much as one would enter a shallow cellar

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Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule cherwaish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kota, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

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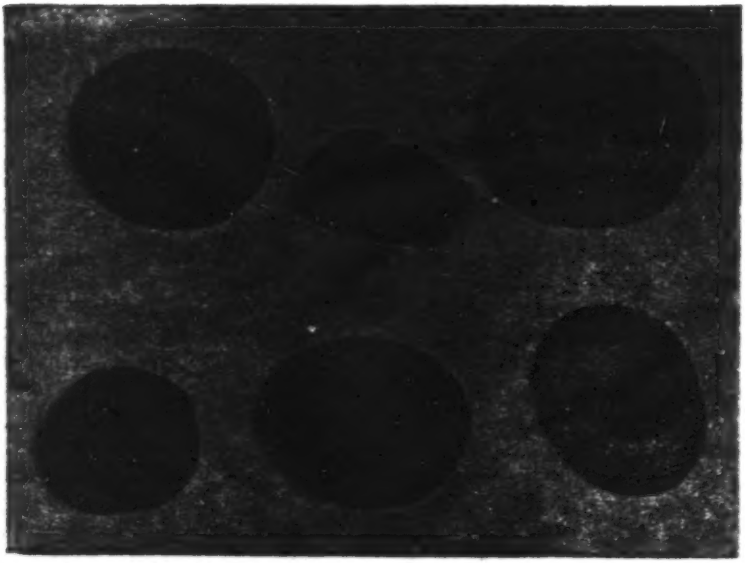

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was
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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

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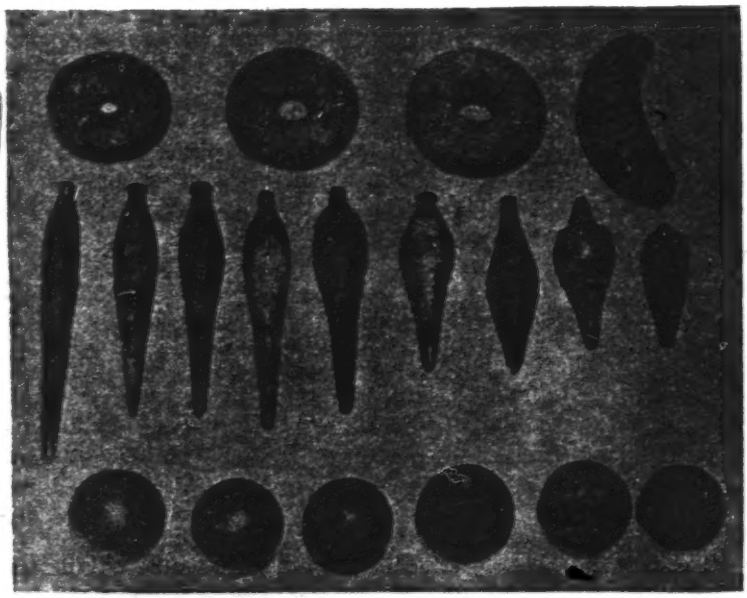

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 526 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

a gaming court was maintained at each village site. As has already been described, this court generally consisted of a smooth, level place, free from rocks and generally covered with a thin layer of fine sand. From numerous remains over the valley it is known that the court was longer than it was wide. Remains of such courts have been found which were fifteen to thirty feet in width and from twenty to sixty yards in length. 526 361

Upon these courts a number of games were played. Some of the games were participated in by old and young. Some were played by men only, and some played by children only. The writer has heard of no Yokuts athletic type game played exclusively by women. 526

Pioneers in the vicinity of Hanford and Lemoore have said that the Indians played a game upon these courts which resembled very much the white man's game of pitch-penny. Circular thin rocks were pitched at a line. The writer has been able to find no data concerning this game and is of the opinion that it was an imitation of the practice of soldiers and whites of pitching money at a line.

Another game consisted of rolling round rocks at a hole in the ground and resembled the "purgatory" game played with marbles by white boys.

A typical children's game was called *Mohoo* (Mo-ho'-o), meaning Bear game. The game began with one child, who was called Mohoo or bear, pursuing the rest of the players.

As soon as Mohoo was able to catch or touch one of the other players, that person also became a bear and helped to catch the rest. This was carried on until the last person was caught. This person became bear for the next game. It was considered an honor to be caught last and also to be the bear for the succeeding game. In playing this game the children ran about the rancheria, climbed upon houses, into trees, and even plunged across the river.

Another similar game was played entirely in the water, and called *Huwidwush* (Hoo-wid'-wush). It was really the bear game, engaged in while the youngsters were swimming, and was a game of water tag. Swimming races took place between the bear and his opponents. Diving, remaining under water, and other methods were used to elude the pursuing bear. [481]

It is unfortunate that a great deal of information concerning the Yokuts games will probably never be forth-coming, for the reason that those Indians were thoroughly disturbed by the

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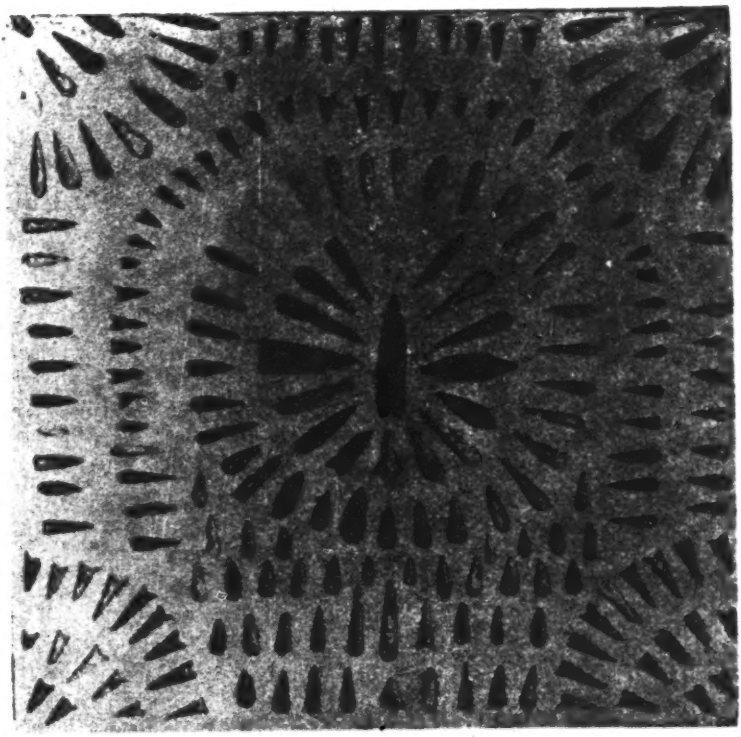

Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tuhohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

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I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

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sugar factory about a mile south-east of Visalia. This was the real old Telumne head village. When I was a little girl there I knew the last chief of that tribe. His name was *Nahalets* (Nah-ha'-leets). White people called him Joaquin. His wife was *Hawtulu* (Haw-too'-loo, meaning Hoot-owl). They were the head people there when I was born. 159 [361]

My father's name was *Po'-kah-sah'*. He was born at the old Chunut village called *Mih-ka'-et* just south of the mouth of Tule River. I believe the white people call that place Turnbull. It was about a mile above the old Turnbull house. At Mihkaet my people used to surround antelope and kill them. We call them *suey'-yohl*. My father died when I was about six years old, but my mother showed me the place two or three times. [361]

My mother was *Te-ta-we'-cot*. She was born at the old Wowol village of *Chawlawin* on Atwell Island where Alpaugh is now. *Wocoiyu* (Wo-coi'-you), my mother's father, was chief of the *Wowol* tribe. When he died his oldest brother was chief. This brother's name was *Teh-nih'-pahs*. After I was grown he died at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lah'-ne), the "Fish" Rice Rancheria, four miles south of Farmersville. I learned much about my old-time people from him. He was my good uncle. [361]

When I was a little girl at Watot Shulul there was a big log fence around the old house at the Blankenship ranch just southeast of us. They were afraid of the Indians. We used to laugh at this, for we used to work for the Blankenships and we knew our people would never hurt them.

There was a young Indian girl working for Mrs. Blankenship. Once they could not find her. They looked for a long time. They found her dead and covered up with dirt and leaves. Some of our people saw a white man take her from where she was washing. We were afraid to say anything about it. He was bad man. He killed lots of Indians and he would have killed us if we had told Mr. Blankenship. We have always been sure that the white man killed her.

I have heard my mother and lots of other Indians tell about the log fence in Visalia, too, but I never saw it. The white people built it because they were afraid of the Indians. It was torn down before I was old enough to remember.

When I was about seven years old the Indians all got sick at Watot Shulul. Lots of them died. They had measles. The Telumne tribe was all broken up. The chief, Nahalets, died 159 164

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159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu,* and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake.* I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

Just a few months before I was born my father and mother
[103 361] lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Wankena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

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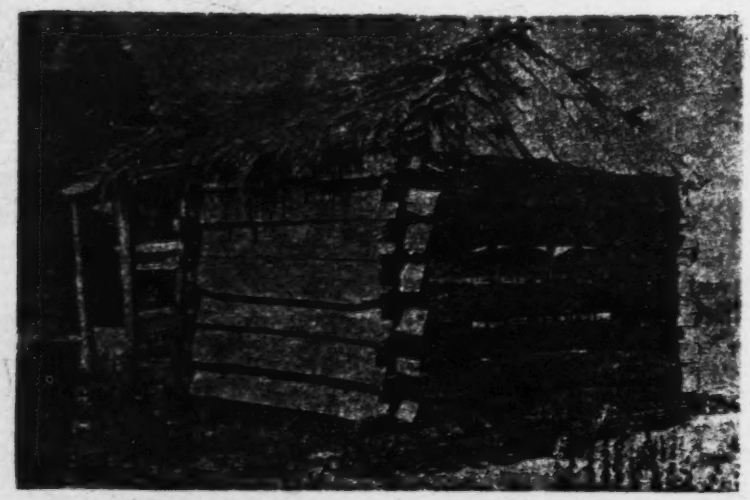

Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the [361] old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the [164] big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

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159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.

342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake. They always were close to the water and the ground was wet. [361] When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win,* on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was [361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few [361] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol) had was called *Che.* It was a long tule house. It was made so 342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule 592 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

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None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we
dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could
live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were
no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

We were at the camp about three months, until summer
159 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

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have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-out*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

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159 166 484 361 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them across the lake on our boat.

159 166 484 If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they [223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

159 166 484 501 The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

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136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about 361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-166 wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first 159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to 648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six 166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none [197] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

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An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went 361
back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

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166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the *Tahduwusk* (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

159 One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
224 *Wahcoy* (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
165 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back. Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it*. I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
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gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

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[End Map (A)]

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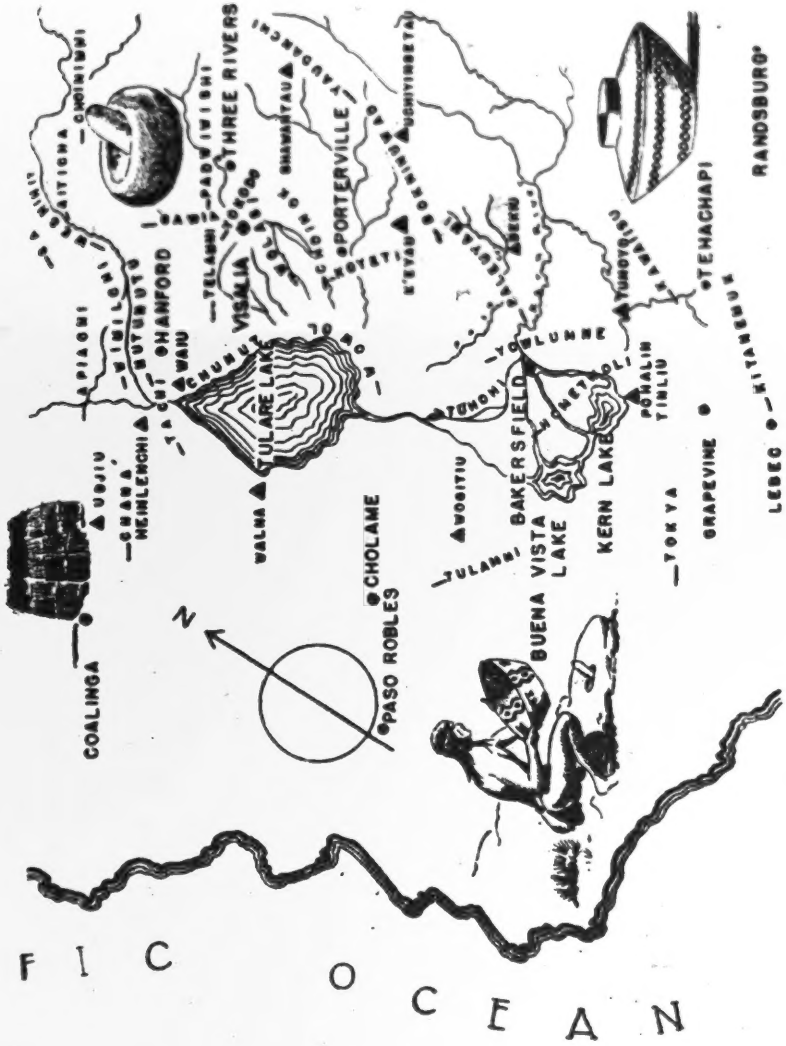

[End Map (B)]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
● 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into
221
484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Pervioteo, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luní´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nõhõ´'o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

361 184 In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at [574] ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[24] 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. [623] An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627

[24] See anecdote, p. 394. [25] Informant George Dick.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 542 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single 361 row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

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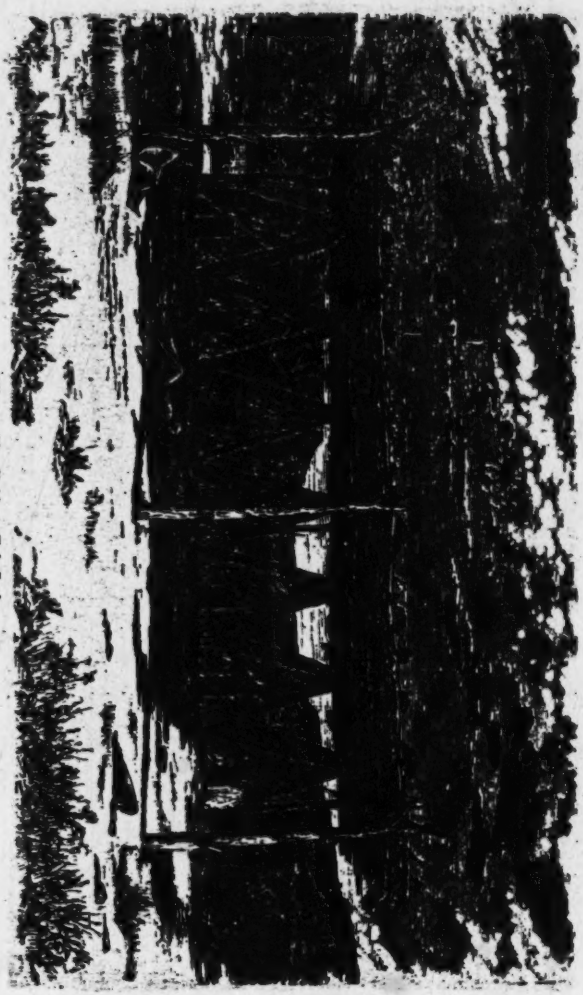

Plate 88—Yokuts Tule Lodge.

[facing p. 370]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 592 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechizero*). In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

621 622 But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested. Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In 621 624 this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the 621 622 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

622 Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni, who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

624 The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded 622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroe- [161]
ber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
[501] lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
825 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [154] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [621] at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162] it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was 797 named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this [162 ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, 621] Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij- [36 nocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small 162]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

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[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

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The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

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Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

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The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

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Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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648 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to
[162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this
[361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756
[342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented
[162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-
[252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them
797 no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jonsps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jonsps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave
648 some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
361 the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[437] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
648 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt 648 [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there [501] was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road [361 three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de* 262] *pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: [622] Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

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000 river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Ranchería of Chaneches, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tulares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recrossed?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Ranchería Caneche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various [361] sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

136 In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?, *mojarras*], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [*abujeros*] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

000 I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the [487] Chineches and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Cheneches [copy of Nov. 19: Chaneches] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherías to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said ranchería, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

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the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancheria. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche rancheria] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the rancheria, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *doblados sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancheria of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

W 161 127 for the North Fork Mono, the inhabitants must have numbered 280. One of the rancherias seen by Derby was Cho-e-mime which had 70 "warriors." Reckoning the "warriors" as half the males the population would have been 280. Derby says the village of Notonto (of the tribe Nutunutu on the south bank of the lower Kings) had 300 inhabitants. These places were of course relatively large and important and do not represent the general average. However, the village of Notonto must have reached fully 150 persons.

Y *[161] [36] Apart from the Mono, the tribes located on the Kings River were all Yokuts, as follows: Aiticha, Apiachi, Wimilchi, Nutunutu, Wechihit, Toihichi, Chukomina, and Choinimni. For these the modern ethnographers Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart have been able to locate and identify 25 villages inhabited during the youth of informants. Since this covers a somewhat larger territory than was seen by Derby, the correspondence in number of rancherias is reasonably close. At 150 persons per village the population would be 3,750. If we add 1,700 for the Kings River Mono, the total is 5,450. However, there may have been some overlap, so this figure may be reduced to 5,000. It should be noted that the area embraced within this estimate includes the Kings River basin as a whole, together with that of all its affluents.

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The Kaweah River from Lemon Cove to the town of Tulare diverges to form a delta, which originally contained a very large native population. At the time of the American occupation there had occurred a material reduction, which was accelerated by the fact that the region provided excellent farming land for the entering Americans. Hence the value for the population in 1850-1853 must be relatively low in comparison with preceding decades. In May, 1851, according to G. W. Barbour (1853, pp. 253-255) there were 7 tribes on the Kaweah, and 1,200 people came to treat with the commissioners. These tribes included the following: Chunut, Choinok, Wolasi, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. Of these, the first, the Chunut, inhabited the shore of Lake Tulare and should not be included as a Kaweah River tribe. The estimated population of the remainder would, therefore, be approximately 1,000, if the figure of the commissioners is to be taken without qualification.

With respect to the individual tribes there are a few scattered bits of information. Derby (1852) mentions three rancherias or bands in the area: Cowees (Gawia) with 200 people, Thulime (Telamni) with 65 men, or roughly 200 people, and Heame-a-tahs (Telamni) with 200 people. Merriam in his "Yokuts List" cites an informant who said that the Wukchumne "used to number" 5,000 and occupied the valley now called Lemon Cove and up and down the Kaweah River. Clearly this is an extreme overestimate, unless the informant was referring to the period prior to 1800. Finally Merriam cites a letter by Lt. N. H. McLean, which states that the "Four Creeks Country" included the "Cahwiahs, Okuls, Choimx, Wicktrumnees, Talumnies" and in 1853 had not over 1,200 souls.[4]

It thus appears quite evident that the six Yokuts tribes, except perhaps the Wukchumni, had no more than 200 persons apiece during the era under consideration. From modern informants Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta have obtained for the Choinok, Gawia, Telamni, Yokod, and Wolasi collectively the names of only 8 villages. Assuming the Kings River value of 150 persons per village,

[4] Merriam's manuscript entitled "Yokuts List" mentions a report from Lt. N. H. McLean, dated July 12, 1853, to H. J. Wessels, on file in "Old Files Division," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, no. W388. As far as I am aware, this letter has never been quoted elsewhere.

*161 A further problem of importance illustrated by our data for Bubal is the extent to which population estimates for villages were affected by local fugitivism or temporary scattering of the natives at the advent of the Spaniards. Very frequently the explorers left notations that the inhabitants of a certain rancheria had fled, or that many were absent. It seems clear that even by the year 1800 the natives were all too well aware of the purpose of the missionaries and soldiers and took measures to defeat that purpose. For this reason, remarkable as it may appear, the largest estimates are likely to have been the most accurate.

Returning now to the population of Bubal we find Martin counting "no less" than 200 children in 1804, indicating a total number somewhere in the vicinity of 1,300; although most of the adults apparently had absconded. In 1806 the same situation arose and Moraga found only 400 left in the village. In 1814 Cabot estimated that the village contained 700 people, despite the fact that some may have been missing. The apparent increase in 1814 can be very simply explained by the assumption that fewer natives had fled the village than had done so when Moraga arrived. Cabot's figure may be quite near the truth for the year 1814 since we must concede a drastic overall reduction of population in the area between 1804 and 1814. Certainly the population can never have been less than 700. The weight of the evidence at hand thus indicates that the estimate based upon Martin's account, i.e., 1,300 persons, is essentially sound.

*161 ●361 648 Further evidence of collateral importance is derived from consideration of the location of the village of Bubal. Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 27) place Bubal on Atwell's Island, near Alpaugh, in T23S, R23E, that is, on the east side of Lake Tulare. Neither Martin (in 1804) nor Moraga (Muñoz diary of 1806) locates the rancheria with any precision but Cabot (1815) left San Miguel on October 2, 1814, and on October 3 traveled over an immense plain, arriving late in the day at Bubal, on the shore of a big lake. This can have been only Lake Tulare and the west shore thereof. The next year Ortega (1815), approaching from the north or northwest, passed through Sumtache (i.e., Chunut) and went on to Bubal, where he arrived late at night, not having been able to find the village ". . . por haverse mudado de su sitio propio. . ." Estudillo was the next visitor who has left us a detailed account of this area. On October 22, 1819, he went from near Cholam to a place called Los Alisos near the edge of the foothills of the coast range. On October 23 he went across the plain and on October 24 arrived at Bubal, obviously from the west, and found it deserted, adding the comment that the village ". . . manifesto aver ya dias q. se fueron a otra parte." The following day he pushed five leagues south through tule swamp and found the settlement on the bank of the lake although his soldiers had to wade waist deep for two leagues farther in order to catch most of the inhabitants. Apropos of this incident he says regarding Bubal: "Esta es la rancheria de gentiles mas immediata a las misiones, y la q. con mayor frecuencia se hacen cristianos en la de San Miguel."

From these accounts it is very clear that the original site of Bubal was on the west, not the east, shore of the lake and that because of the depredations of the Spaniards the inhabitants fled into the lake itself, where they made at least temporary settlements. That these became their permanent home is attested by the fact that no later than 1826 Pico stated that Bubal was situated on an island in the lake. Subsequently contemporary writers as well as the modern ethnographers agree that the principal village

*161 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

From the demographic point of view the chief justi-
●36 fication for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first
648 two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter wherever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martin in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martin in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone' . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta
[648] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in bad straits, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting
[622] comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

*161 from measles, dysentery, and other contagious maladies introduced by the whites. The whole picture is
16A one of ruinous devastation in the Kaweah delta just
T31 prior to 1816, with accompanying disorganization of the local economy and reduction of population.

The effect of war, disease, and starvation cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor can mention be made of them too often. On account of their debilitating influence the populations seen in the Kaweah delta and reported in the documents cannot possibly be overestimates of the aboriginal number. On the contrary, they undoubtedly represent too low, rather than too high, a figure.

Reverting now to the villages reported, Moraga
*161 mentions eight places, four of them by name or other
● 36 specific reference. Martinez mentions four, all by name. Cabot refers to Telame as the largest village in the Tulares. Elsewhere (MS, 1818) he states that before reaching Telame there are five rancherias, including Quiuamine and Yulumne. Quiuamine is no doubt the Quihuama of Martinez.

Telame was one village, according to all observers except Moraga (actually Muñoz, who wrote the diary). Moraga ascribes 600 people to the first Telame and 200 to the second. The first estimate, be it noted, was "segun corto computo," or according to a short count. The estimate must therefore on Moraga's own admission be increased, certainly to 1,000 and perhaps more. In view of the size of the well known rancheria Bubal, fully 1,300, Telame must have contained 1,200 persons.

In addition to the two Telames Moraga mentions a "big rancheria" one league to the east. Hence there were three villages which comprised what may be termed the Telame complex. No figures were given by Moraga for the unnamed rancheria, since it was entirely deserted. However, since it was regarded as "big," there must have been several hundred inhabitants, say 500. The total for the triad then would have reached nearly 2,000.

The Martinez description is apparently somewhat at variance with that of his predecessor. Martinez saw, cites distances for, and mentions by name three rancherias: Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto. They were located within a radius of one league of each other and must correspond to the three seen by Moraga. Gelecto was in ruins, with only the cemetery still in evidence. Hence Gelecto may very well have been the big, deserted rancheria of Moraga. Martinez gives no population data for Telame but says there were 300 heads of families in Lihuauhilame, which was, therefore, without much doubt the largest of the three. According to Moraga's figures, Telame I was the largest. Hence the concordance seems to be that Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto of Martinez correspond respectively to Telame II, Telame I and the "big" rancheria of Moraga. As pointed out previously, the total inhabitants to be deduced from 300 heads of families, under the conditions existing in 1816 was 1,200. This is twice the estimate of Moraga.

*161 An important point arises here with respect to Moraga's estimates. At Bubal, it will be remembered, Martin found evidence of 1,300 people in 1804 whereas Moraga reported only 400 in 1806. At Lihuauhilame Martinez found according to the statement of the village chief 1,200, although Moraga had reported ten years previously only 600. Furthermore Cabot, at Bubal eight years after Moraga, found 700 persons. For these two important villages therefore Moraga differs flatly with three other competent authorities by a factor of two or three. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in

*161 between the years 1806 and 1816. We may then apply the correction factor of 2 and get 600 as the most probable number in 1806. Such a value is also consistent with the status of the Choinok as an independent tribal entity of the Kaweah basin, although it does not take into account any reduction in population prior to the expedition of Moraga. There was doubtless such a reduction, but since we have no direct evidence bearing upon the matter it will be better to let the figure 600 stand.

The total for the Kaweah delta group (Telamni, Wolasi, Choinok) is 3,800. This is indeed surprising but the figure perhaps is corroborated by the statement of the Franciscan President for the California missions, Father Payeras—made in support of the establishment of new missions in the valley—that the Telame district alone contained 4,000 unconverted heathen.

[101] The middle Kaweah above Visalia was inhabited by the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. The Gawia are represented in Moraga's account by Eagues (300 inhabitants) and the Yokod by Cohochs (100 inhabitants). The Wukchamni were by far the most numerous and for an excellent account of them we are indebted to Estudillo. This officer, in addition to being a competent field commander, appears to have been a scholar and a gentleman. His report on the Wukchamni village of Chischa is unquestionably the most complete and accurate left us by any of the Spanish explorers and as such is worth discussing in detail.

Estudillo was the first white man to see Chischa. On this point he is very explicit:

> . . . su capitan joaspe, ni su gente jamas havian visto tropa, siendo esta la primera vez q. havilan llegado alli, pues hace mucho tiempo paso por abajo (este fue D. Gabriel Moraga en el reconocimiento q. hizo en 1806) y solo noticia tubo por sus amigos de Telame . . .

Consequently, allowing for possible communicable disease, Chischa was in its aboriginal state when Estudillo saw it.

Chischa was 5 leagues east of Telame and 3 leagues
*161 from Choinocko. This places the village, according to
361 the maps of Kroeber and of Gayton, at or just above
Lemon Cove in the territory ascribed by these ethnographers to the Wukchamni. Estudillo measured off the dimensions of the village by pacing. The shape was semilunar, crescentic or approximately that of the sector of a circle. The short side ("por su frente") was 624 varas long and the long side ("por la espalda") was 756 varas. A figure plotted on coördinate paper to scale shows that the area was 80,000 square varas. On the assumption that the Spanish vara equaled a yard, and that an average city block measures 300 feet on a side, the village of Chischa would have covered eight city blocks.

*161 Estudillo caused the Indians living in the village to form a line before the town, with the men in a single file and the women and children massed in front of them. He counted the men and found that there were exactly 457 warriors ("jovenes de arma") and "como 600 mugeres y ninos." According to the translation made for Merriam (MS in his collection):

> Then I went opposite where the invited guests were lodged, and as they all, men and women and boys and girls were presented to me in a confused

[P. 49B]

THE KINGS RIVER

*161 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be
101 divided into three sectors. The first comprises the
131 delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

*161 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of
[62] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six
● [36] villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at
[36] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

*161 Derby, only by the rancheria of Notonto which then had 300 inhabitants. The population had thus fallen to 17.6 per cent of its former value. A footnote to the decline of the native inhabitants in this region is the fact that within a year or two after Derby's visit the village of [648] Notonto was attacked by American cattlemen and farmers. The rancheria was devastated and 200 of the 300 people present were massacred in cold blood.

For the second sector of the Kings River we are dependent primarily upon the record of the Moraga expedition. Moraga and Muñoz evidently covered the river from the vicinity of Reedley to, or nearly to, the junction of the main stream and Mill Creek. The villages mentioned by them belonged principally to the Aiticha and the Choinimni. The Wechihit and the Toihicha may have been included but the Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich seem to have been overlooked. Hence the figures given by Moraga are undoubtedly incomplete.

On October 16, 1806, having arrived from the San Joaquin River two days previously, Moraga sent out two scouting parties. One went upstream and found a rancheria of "como de 60 almas," called Ayquiche (or [361] Aycayche). They were no doubt among the Aiticha, above Sanger. Here they heard about, but did not see, six other rancherias "sitas a la orillas del rio por la parte de la sierra." The other party went downstream and found three villages close together on a spacious plain along the banks of the river. They had a total of 400 inhabitants, but most of the people had fled. The "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" gives the names of these villages: Aycayche, which "according to the Indians" had 200 people, Ecsaa with 100, Chiaja with 100, and Xayuase with 100. In addition there was Capitau, which was very small and a "sugeto" of Xayuase. It had about 10 people. Apparently in October Muñoz and Moraga found only 60 Indians left in Aycayche, whereas in April they learned that it really contained 200. The difference must be ascribed to fugitivism.

The three downstream villages are credited by the "List" with 100 inhabitants apiece, but the diary states that there was a total of 400. The latter figure is more likely to be correct. Thus, with Aycayche, Moraga saw in this sector four villages and 600 persons. The other group of villages, six in number, was farther toward the mountains and no particular information concerning them is given in the diary. The "List," however, is more explicit. Under Aycayche it is stated:

> Aqui hay otras 6 rancherias que no se pudieron reconocer y son todos, segun la noticia de los indios de esta rancheria como del porte de almas de Pizcache.

Pizcache is said to contain 200 souls. An aggregate of 1,200 persons is therefore indicated or, for the entire region seen by Moraga, 1,800.

The middle course of the Kings River has been discussed in the preceding section and it has been pointed out that in the middle of the nineteenth century this region was relatively heavily populated. The accounts of several contemporary observers indicate that in 1850 or thereabouts somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000 natives were still to be found between the remnants of the Nutunutu on the west and the foothills Mono on the east. The ethnographic data supplied by Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart show approximately 25 villages remembered by informants. If we use the fairly conservative average of 150 persons per village, the total

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
*16 the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
260 order to catch the horses for food other horses were essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to 107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness), which were presumably about to be killed and eaten, together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The total thus reached approximately 200. The question now is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200 horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about 25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and preserved, according to general practice, it was suffi-
[25] cient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece, it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares, and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the population was at least 1,000.

*161 The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
[10] listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
[13] River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River. The ethnographic data include no more than one or two villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche" was completely deserted. However, since it was the principal tribal village, it must have contained at least 200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodriguez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142 people and "killed many." If we concede that as many escaped as were captured or killed, there must have been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
*161 important position in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some detail the information about them contained in the Spanish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
●[36] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S, R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

*161 Tulares at "Arroyo nombrado San Jose," which was close to the rancheria of the Cheneches. At dawn of the 8th he attacked the village and captured 66 persons, but ". . . la mayor parte de esta gente se fue pr estar dha rancheria en mal parage." The gentiles said that 4 leagues up the San Joaquin River was Nupchenche, thus placing Cheneches on the river in the southern part of T8 S, R11E. This location checks well with the statement made elsewhere in the diary by Pico that [361] Cheneches was near the junction of the San Joaquin and "Las Mariposas," or Mariposa Creek. If Pico captured 66 persons but "the majority" escaped, the total number must have reached from 200 to 400, if not more.

*161 Pico then scouted Nupchenche and learned that all the inhabitants had fled. He therefore by-passed the 361 village and went 8 leagues southeast up the San Joaquin to the rancheria Copicha. This rancheria, which by the way must not be confused with the Cutucho of Moraga, was thus located on the river several miles north of Firebaugh, probably near or in T11S, R13E. As a check on this location is Pico's further statement that Copicha was in the valley of the San Joaquin "junto del Tecolote," or the Chowchilla. On November 10 he moved 8 leagues southeast from Copicha and saw haorses from the rancheria Tape, which, from the distances, was near Mendota. This view is supported by Estudillo, who saw the region in 1819 and says that the spot ". . . donde Tape tenia su rancheria" was 24 leagues south of Cheneches and 25 leagues north of Notonto. Actually, Mendota appears to be approximately halfway between these two points.

Pico mentions one other village, Malim, which he places near Cheneches. Confirmation is found in a letter of Fr. Marcelino Marquinez (MS) on May 25, 1816, stating that the Cheneches recently have killed two Christians from Malim. The latter rancheria thereupon allied itself with Notoalh and Luchamme. No other trace of the two last-named villages is found.

Other writers who mention the Nupchenches group include Fr. Antonio Jaime, who mentions Cutuchu (MS, 1816) as a rancheria from which Soto brought back gentiles, and Ortega, who, in his 1815 diary, mentions Cupicha as having been attacked by Pico. Finally Inocente Garcia in his manuscript of 1878 records an expedition against the Nupuchineches under Ignacio Vallejo. The rancheria, even in the 1830's was "muy Populosa." The expedition captured 100 warriors and 300 of all ages and sexes, arguing a population of over the 300 claimed as captives.

From these accounts emerge six rancherias, each of which is mentioned independently by at least two writers. From north to south they were: Cheneches and Malim, Nupchenches and Cutucho, Copicha, Tape. Moraga says Nupchenches had 250 people and Cutucho had 400. From Pico's statement concerning captives we may ascribe a minimum of 300 to Cheneches, and Copicha, Malim, and Tape can scarcely have been much smaller. Hence the entire group can have numbered no less than 1,800 in 1816.

*161 At Tape on November 23 Pico found 16 live horses and mules recently killed together with "mucha carne entercieda." If we neglect the meat, 254 whole animals, dead or alive, were actually counted. From November 25 to 28 the party traveled steadily from Tape to Cheneches. From Tape to Cheneches inclusive they saw 500 dead horses. It is not clear whether the 238 animals seen at Tape were included in this figure. If, however, assuming that they were, we use the same ratio of dead horses to inhabitants as was discussed

*161 with respect to the Hoyima, these villages should have contained 2,500 persons. This figure is quite reasonable if we grant that the horses were to be consumed by the entire group of villages, rather than only one or two of them, and may be provisionally accepted.

On the basis of the records presented, a probable population value for the valley floor between the Merced and the Kings rivers in the decade 1810-1820 was 5,100. But this may well be an underestimate and be representative of the aboriginal population. Evidence pointing in this direction is the almost complete obliteration of these tribes before 1850. That very serious attrition was going on among these exposed people is evident from the records of all the explorers. The massacre and kidnaping described by Pico is itself significant. In addition, we have the discussion by Estudillo in 1819, who found almost the entire surviving population of Tape sick and dying. He also points out that at the moment there were no less than four expeditions, including his own, ranging up and down the open valley, bent upon destruction. To explore the problem further indirect methods must be employed. We may therefore turn to estimates based upon stream distances.

If minor local variation is disregarded, the habitat provided by the Merced and the Kings rivers from the lower foothills out to the center of the valley is in no essential respect different from that characterizing the Mariposa, the Chowchilla, the Fresno, and the San Joaquin throughout its length below the foothills. The native villages were spaced more or less uniformly
●[36] along the larger rivers. Hence an approximate proportionality should have existed between riverbank distance and the number of inhabitants. No high degree of precision can be expected from calculations based upon these premises but the method yielded rational results for the period centering around 1850 and from it the correct order of magnitude should be obtainable.

Airline distances are used for the rivers. The general course of all the streams is substantially straight and the
[33] numerous small meanders are uniform in size and occurrence throughout the area. Three river sectors are used as a basis: the lower Merced River, the middle Kings River from and including Mill Creek to Kingsburg plus the principal tributaries, and the lower Kings from Kingsburg to Lemoore. The data are compiled briefly as follows in tabular form.

River Sector	Miles in Length	Population	Persons per River Mile
Lower Merced...	32	1,750	55
Middle Kings....	75	5,000	67
Lower Kings	20	1,500	75

Despite the uneven nature of the basic information these figures show considerable internal consistency. The mileage of the San Joaquin, Fresno, Chowchilla, and Mariposa amounts collectively to approximately 190 miles (the four streams west of Kroeber's line of the valley Yokuts and down the San Joaquin as far as the mouth of Bear Creek). At 65 persons per mile (the approximate mean of the three values cited above) the population would be 12,350, or, let us say an even 12,000. This is more than double the number indicated directly by the Spanish accounts. It has been pointed out, however, that these accounts are incomplete with respect to the villages seen and recorded. Furthermore the records demonstrate a condition of severe disorganization on the part of the native society. Hence the indirectly

*161 hills, and reaching ultimately the middle altitudes of the Sierra Nevada. Four cross sections are thus obtained, differing in width but fairly uniformly including the habitats represented. It should be noted that the water surface of Lake Tulare as it existed in 1860 has been deducted from the area of the Kaweah-Tulare region; also that the two northern regions include a relatively greater expanse of uninhabitable mountain territory than do the two southern regions. The western boundary has been drawn along a line approximately five miles west of the San Joaquin River and the prolongation of its axis toward the lake. The westward extension of the Tachi toward Coalinga had to be neglected since there are no clear tribal boundaries in this area. The number of square miles was computed by township lines and the error of estimate must be considered at least plus or minus 20 per cent. The results follow:

Region	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Population density per sq. mi.
Kaweah-Tulare	1,880	14,100	7.12
Kings	1,530	9,100	5.85
Merced	1,400	3,500	2.50
Mariposa-San Joaquin	3,760	19,000	5.05

The density of the Mariposa-San Joaquin area is quite close to that of the Kings River Basin. The Kaweah-Tulare territory has a somewhat higher density, but this finding is compatible with the known enormous concentration of population around Tulare Lake and in the Kaweah delta. The value for the Merced strip is unduly low. The discrepancy can be accounted for on two grounds. The first, already mentioned, is that this river, throughout its length, passes through a greater area of uninhabitable mountains than do many of the other streams. The second is that our estimates for the lower Merced are insufficient. They rest in essence on the single report by Moraga, who, as has been shown, tended to underestimate and who did not see, or at least did not report upon, the entire course of the lower river. Moreover there is no report at all from Spanish sources with respect to the San Joaquin between the mouth of the Chowchilla (Nupchenche group) and the mouth of the Tuolumne. That villages did exist throughout this region is attested by the illuminating account of J. J. Warner, who was a member of Ewing Young's expedition to the great valley in 1832 and 1833. (I use the text as quoted in Warner, 1890.) He says (p.28):

●361 *161 In the fall of 1832 there were a number of Indian villages on King's River, between its mouth and the mountains: also on the San Joaquin River from the base of the mountains down to and some distance below the great slough. On the Merced River from the mountains to its junction with the San Joaquin there were no Indian villages; but from about this point on the San Joaquin, as well as on all of its principal tributaries, the Indian villages were numerous; and many of these villages contained from fifty to 100 dwellings.

*161 It is noteworthy that Warner saw no villages on the lower Merced, precisely at the spot where Moraga in 1806 had recorded no less than seven. All of these must have been obliterated during the intervening twenty-six years, striking testimony to the devastation being wrought among the open valley peoples. But from the junction of the Merced and the San Joaquin rivers, along the main

*161 contact period. The Yaudanchi on the upper Tule River also, according to Kroeber and to Latta, had 8 villages and covered considerably more territory than the Koyeti. Hence the same population may be ascribed to them. The Bokninuwad were evidently a smaller group, since Kroeber reports for them only two villages and Latta none. It would not be safe to allow them more than 200 persons. If we do so, then the tentative estimate for the three tribes must be put at a total of 1,800.

For the remainder of the territory held by the Yokuts there are only two documentary references, the diaries of Garcés in 1776 and Zalvidea in 1806. Both these writers give population data which have been subject to considerable controversy.

For the Buenavista region the four pertinent villages are mentioned by Zalvidea and are as follows:

Village and Tribe	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
Malapoa (Tulamni)	...	29	22	8	59
[361] Buenavista (Tulamni)	...	36	144	38	218
Sisipistu (Hometwoli)	28	50-60	...	...	...
Yaguelame (Yauelmani)	...	92	...	...	300

From even casual inspection it is apparent that Zalvidea did not see the complete population of any one of these villages and that many of the inhabitants had been removed by previous expeditions or were in hiding. The village of Malapoa is small but presents no serious demographic discrepancies. The number of children was low, but as has been pointed out in a previous discussion Zalvidea was counting as men or women everyone over the age of seven years. The children, calculated according to his method, amounted to 13.5 per cent of the total.

At Buenavista he found only 36 men to 144 women, an incredible situation unless most of the men had fled or had been killed. Under normal conditions the number of men should at least approximately equal that of the women. Therefore in order to reconstruct the probable population we are forced to assume the presence of at least 144 men. This gives a total of 326 persons of which 8.6 per cent would have been children. For the other two villages only the number of men is given, no doubt the men actually seen. Indeed at Yaguelmane Zalvidea "counted" the 92 men he specifies. Significantly, however, he counted men "from 7 to 40 years" and infers that the village had a population of 300. If for Yaguelmane we allow 10 per cent of children seven years old or younger the adults would number 270. If the sex ratio were near unity, then, with 92 men 40 years or younger, there must have been 47 men over that age and 135 women of all ages. If the same ratios are applied to Sisipistu with 55 men from 7 to 40 years of age, the population would be 180. This figure is quite consistent with the number of houses, 28, for the number of persons per house would then be 6.43. The four villages (Malapoa, Buenavista, Yaguelame, and Sisipistu) consequently must have had populations of 59, 326, 300, and 180 respectively. The average of the four is 191 persons.

[129] Since there are no other historical data pertaining to the lake region, it is necessary to utilize the village lists of Kroeber (1925) and Latta (1949). These investigators, through their informants, have located 3 villages

*161 way to the Colorado and Garcés found at least one deserting soldier living with the Indians. It is quite possible that decline of population had already begun as early as 1776.

After traveling 4-1/2 leagues Garcés found another rancheria (no. 5), at which he spent the night of May 2-3. This must have been somewhere near the hamlet of Woody at the southern boundary of T25S, R29E. On May 3 he moved another 2-1/2 leagues, still north, to reach the White River near or slightly to the west of the village of White River in T24S, R29E. Here he camped at a rancheria (no. 6) of 150 souls. On May 4, having reached his farthest point north, he visited another rancheria (no. 7) half a league east. At rancheria no. 6 he found an Indian who was a fugitive from the coast and also heard that two Spanish soldiers had been killed for molesting Indian women. The contact with the whites [109] was therefore clearly established. Stephen Powers (1877), who was in the San Joaquin Valley in the decade of 1850, says that "on White River there are no Indians, neither have there been any for many years." Here again is an indication of depopulation at a very early date.

On May 5 Garcés started to retrace his steps southward, reaching at 2-1/2 leagues the previous rancheria (i.e., no. 5). From here he must have diverged somewhat eastward of his northbound trail for at 2 leagues he saw another rancheria (no. 8) "to the east" which he had not seen on the way up. This probably was toward the eastern side of T26S, R20E. Tnen, he says, he went southeast 3 leagues to Poso Creek. This would put him on Poso Creek near the center of township T27S, R30E, a point about 9 miles airline above his place of crossing on May 2. Here he found a rancheria (no. 9), the chief of which told him about another rancheria (no. 10) to the east where a Spanish renegade lived with an Indian wife. The following day, May 6, he started out again south or southwest and got lost in the hills of upper Poso Creek. In these hills between Poso Creek and the Kern River he found another rancheria (no. 11) of "more than 100 souls." This was probably in the northern part of township T28S, R30E. Finally on May 7 he reached the Kern 1 league above his first crossing. His first crossing had been accomplished 2 or 3 miles below the mouth of the canyon hence he must have come out very close to the mouth. He then went downstream to the rancheria where he had crossed (no. 1) but he did not stop here. He continued down the river for 2 leagues to a rancheria he had not seen before (no. 12) and which had "some 150 souls."

Two leagues downstream from rancheria no. 1, or about 3 leagues below the mouth of the canyon would have put him at a point roughly 5 to 6 miles east-northeast of Bakersfield, not at the site of the city, as is supposed by Coues (1900, p. 299). On May 8 he went 3 leagues south-southwest, then turned and traveled 6 leagues southeast and east to the Tehachapi. These distances and directions plotted on the map place him just at the mouth of Tejon Creek.

To summarize the rancherias mentioned: Garcés saw four villages on the Kern in territory of the Paleuyami or Yauelmani (nos. 1, 2, 3, 12), six on Poso Creek [361] or minor watercourses to the north thereof (nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), all Paleuyami, and two on White River (nos. 6, 7) in the territory of the Kumachisi.

The size of these villages has been subject to some debate. Garcés cites two with 150 persons and one with 100, but Gifford and Schenck think that he specifies population only for the largest places. The other nine would therefore be smaller. These authors, however, put the average village size at about 60 (750 people in 12 villages).

*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish [114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near ●[361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at [226] least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

[79r] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of 108 Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

*161 The distances on both trips are very consistent and the village locations check closely with those shown on Schenck's map, except that only the Taualames should be placed on the east bank of the river. Viader is very explicit in saying that all the others were on the west bank.

Cuyens, Mayem, and Bozenats are beyond doubt villages, since each was named after its chief, or captain. The Tationes and Apaglamnes are given in the plural: "los indios Apelamenes y Tatives." They may well have possessed more than one rancheria each, as is supposed by Schenck. Schenck thinks that Cuyens and Mayem were transient parties from Kroeber's Miwok villages, Chuyumkatat and Mayemam, which were on the Cosumnes. Aside from the possible similarity in names there is not the slighest evidence in Viader's diaries to support such a theory. Viader definitely specifies rancherias, and the missionaries of that period were able to distinguish rancherias from fishing parties.

From the record we have in this area five villages certain and at least one other probable. For six villages of average size (there is no indication that they were smaller) the population would be assumed as 300 persons each, or 1,800 in all.

The mission records show for baptisms:

Tribe or Village	Dates of Conversion	Number of Baptisms
Cuyens	1811-1813	88
Mayemes	1813-1823	91
Apaglamnes	1818-1824	48
Tationes	1805-1811	243

The total is 470. These were San Joaquin River natives, not from the delta and marsh region. On the other hand they were less remote from Spanish influence and attack than the tribes which extended up the lateral streams. Hence the proportion of baptisms was probably intermediate between the value of 50 per cent assumed for the very exposed bay and delta people and that of 10 per cent ascribed to the Cosumnes. An estimate of 25 per cent would be reasonable, yielding a population value of 1,800. The two methods of calculation coincide, and the result, 1,800 inhabitants, may be allowed for the area.

For the lower Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers the only tribes mentioned in the Spanish documents are the Tauhalames (or Taulamnes) on the Tuolumne and the Lakisamne (or Lakisumne or Laquisemne) on the Stanislaus. Kroeber (1925, p. 485) writes: "the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River . . . the Lakisamni . . . on the Stanislaus . . . ." Schenck says (p. 141):

> The villages of Taulamne and Taualames are both definitely placed, the former on an inaccessible rock on the Stanislaus river in the foothills, the latter at the ford of the San Joaquin just below the mouth of the Tuolumne river . . . . This seems to establish the region between the lower Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers as Taulamne territory. Merriam agrees in assigning the same region to the Tuolumne.

●[361]

Schenck's only reference to the Lakisamne is on the same page: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." But the mission records and all other documents clearly distinguish between the two groups, rendering Schenck's hypothesis entirely untenable.

Some of the confusion may derive from the account of

*161 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherias," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 6 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, [361] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concerning tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*161 648 In the later documents there is little if any reference to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*161 [101] From the citations above it appears probable that the Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings. 342

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [362] [592]

[304 531]

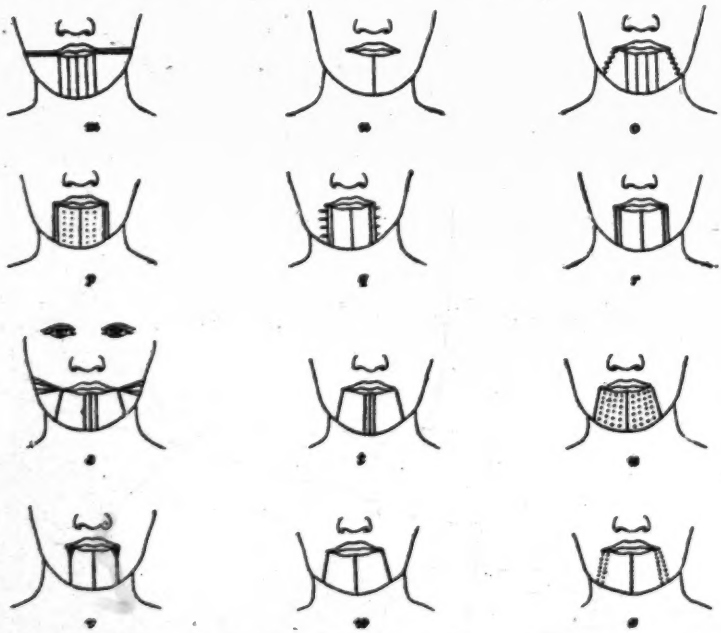

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: m–o, Chukchansi Yokuts; p–u, Mohave. Men: v–z, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber. [412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol, Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni, Tuhohi,* and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told 342 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied 592 one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. [352] These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This 342 shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wowol,* and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with [362] the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organised tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yɛt
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syɛn, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
[177] the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hɛn tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɛn
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɛn). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
278 when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

372 usual materials. Dead willow wood provided
313 only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

412 The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

> The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a
> [322] narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

> Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43] Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44] Ibid., pl. 66.

[45] P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y ● 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´wiš).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwiš; the clay pipe was šekmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´ši:n, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´ti:l) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called šo´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 185b] Chuckchansi

226 over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[99]

Firewood, Firemaking

313 Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak, "any kind" of wood, was used for making fire, said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand to control and eventually to quench the flames. No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood, which was bundled up with string and then
313 ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was
482 laid on the back and held in place by the load, to protect against bruising. A person could carry about five logs, four feet and eight inches in diameter, or more if the logs were smaller, N.W. thought.

313 Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

● 372 Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[99] Powers, 376.

W Y 224 372 [237]

The fire fan (ile´tɨl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

W Y 223 343

Pigeon snaring.---Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pɨn ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nɨs a´tmɨn šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

W Y 223 231

The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for

W Y 223

snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160] S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´namɨn' for short, just like slang."

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa°dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b¹p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't¹p: slippery elm
napa''ap°: alder
soho'p°: cottonwood
tanapo'nip°: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s°hu'b°: small willow
se''nowiyap: elderberry bush

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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
435 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of
438 average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
436 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the
172 Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
● 372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[124] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne
[438] baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
524 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nəp) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
38] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

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Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

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For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apᵃ) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

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The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dk:d, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I).

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[439]

The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

W Y portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

224 Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were ob- [381] served. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or W staggered to a safe distance, the man descend- Y ed and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; natural- [825] ly no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter W did not indulge in any formulaic address or Y ritual before or after killing a bear.

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not es- 224 sential to have a dream helper to be a skillful 776 hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

W Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels Y (šiti´la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, 224 would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti´la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and carried a longer string than other bows of the same length. The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and repointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain. 791 484 [789]

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch. 411 [237 322] [381]

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. [283]

Balsa Construction

501 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi in- [524] formant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (to´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for
[426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´ñiš (M.
292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165]
237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´´ʿts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po´) surrounded with quail crests.
237 Necklaces (walaṭ) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nʿt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by
302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yʿn, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin-
[177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which
[757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

302

286 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´h:t, M.L.; white color, čau´ded, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

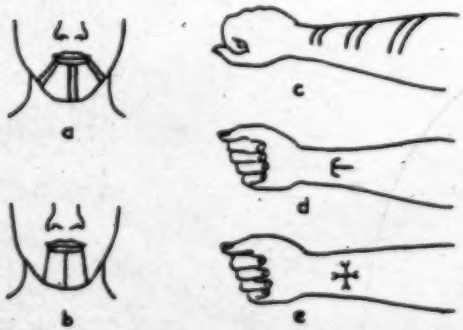

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 147 b] Choinimni

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute
534 (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kɪč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
302 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
● 386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
276 called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called so´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kɪl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men 562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row 386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

821 192 773 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pɛš: sun
toiyu´nom u´pɛš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɛš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]
soiyo´lui yawačɛt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.
wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."
we´čɛn čano´´onɛt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pɛš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɛn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɛpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 387 822 192 Paint.--The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

386 822 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. ṭe´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 [616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

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MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud*. Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido*, meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow*. Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha*. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw*, Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu*, meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow*. *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

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Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317 blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135] I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302 for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439 White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317 near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[204 to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumpa*

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Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable. 386 [824] [261]

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons. 769 302

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet. 123 438 484 [317 323]

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called *Hutudu* (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow. [103]

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

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The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *akketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy
517 and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians
[824 mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the
386] sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While
317 driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the
386 purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick. 531 317 386

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted. 531 517

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These Wukchumne Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo.
[302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black. and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne
[438] baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver. 171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 607 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He *lost every-*
539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of čs and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this annual pilgrimage to the lake shores will be appreciated. 501
We learn from pioneer white settlers that when it was possible 484
they, too, used to spend a portion of the summer at the valley lakes, Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista, and Kern.

One of the great experiences of the eighties was to be a member of an excursion about Tulare lake on the steamboat owned by Judge J. J. Atwell of Visalia. There would surely have been a marked contrast between the Atwell boat and the great tule rafts of the Yokuts, had they met upon the lake. At the sight of the smoke-belching Atwell boat the Yokuts occupants of a tule raft would probably have swum across Tulare Lake and hidden in the Coast Range Mountains.

The Yokuts raft is best described by T. J. Mayfield, whose 501
account in "Uncle Jeff's Story" is repeated here for the benefit 396
of those who have not read it. 484

"A great, long tule raft was built. The Indians used to build small tule rafts that would carry one or two persons for use on Kings river below the rancheria opposite Sycamore creek, but this raft for the lake trip was at least fifty feet long. It was made up of long bundles of tules, pointed at each end, and bound together with willow wythes.

"The bundles were made separately and then bound, or lashed together, making a sort of keeled boat with a depression along the center of the deck. The tules were lashed together in such a way that the raft, or boat, was pointed at the ends and resembled a great cigar, except that the pointed ends were turned up so that they were two or three feet above the deck.

"Along the center of this boat was piled their dunnage. 501
This dunnage consisted of supplies and camp equipment, and 484
included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, dried meat, skins for bedding and many other things. On the sides of the boat sat eight or ten Indians, generally one or two families.

"For us children this trip was an occasion of great excitement. We were all eyes and ears and could scarcely contain ourselves.

"The trip was made in the late spring when the flood from the melting snows in the mountains provided enough water in the river to float the raft over the sandbars.

"The whole rancheria did not make the trip. As I recollect, there were three rafts built the first year. They were built several miles below Sycamore creek, just how far I cannot say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

726 good clubbing. In reply to further questions,
202 the [Southern] messenger told them that his
539 leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They
● [411] then descended to the plains and fought there. They used only arrows and obsidian (tsa·sip), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wükchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called ye´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobemuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

224 hind crotch to the chin. The skin was turned
281 inside out as it was worked off and the antlers removed with it. For the costume, the cut under the throat was sewed up and the head and neck stuffed with shredded tule; the head rested on the man's head, the skin hanging down his back, said S.G. J.B.'s assertion that the hunter looked out through the eye-holes, with the skin tied under his chin, does not sound practical. The bow and arrows were tied
[411] to the body with a belt, in such a way that the weapons pushed the skin up at the back making a more natural appearance. The hunter leaned
224 on two short sticks to assist the four-legged pose as he walked. These he cracked together to suggest fighting deer. With the disguise a man could approach within twenty feet of grazing animals. If one deer fell victim to the silent arrow shot, others ran up to investigate and were killed also.

Three men would engage in a deer drive, two to scare up the deer and one to kill by waiting in ambush on the deer trail.

S.G. has never heard of "charming"
[276] animals, or of smoking oneself and weapons. J.P. said hunters gathered to eat tobacco and lime and to vomit the night before hunting. They rose early, bathed, ate only acorn gruel, and departed in the morning. The only tabu was on saying where one was going, "if you told, you would never see any deer." Neither has he heard of any quarrels over hunting territory or claims on special places since game was so plentiful "nobody cared where anybody else went." Not every hunter was skillful enough to get deer, but a hunter would often take another man along to help him, and this man received
[262] some meat in return. S.G. believes that everybody ate deer meat, but some people do not like bear meat. J.B. said he did not eat cougar flesh although many people did.

J.P. said "there were five animals just
136 like deer, everybody ate them" (i.e., they were
[262] not totemic). These were: ŠO´koi, elk, wandered east of the swamps in the valley; soi´yod, a goat with straight horns, belongs in the valley, seen near the foothills at Hadi´dıt; duwe´sıp, mountain sheep, had curved horns and belonged in the mountains; wo´kno, antelope, in the foothill valleys, especially in Antelope Valley (Local Map B, no. 13); and hoi, deer.

224 Bear hunting.--Bears were not ordinarily shot at in the open, and were rarely sought as game. The meat was not eaten by many people, and the animal was held in considerable awe. When deliberately sought to be killed, the creature was roused during hibernation, forced to run out into the open, and shot from ambush. The skin, paws, or claws were redeemed by members of the Bear lineage, certain members of which would use these parts in the Bear Dance. As an illustration of the hunting method and its attendant dangers, J.P. told the following:

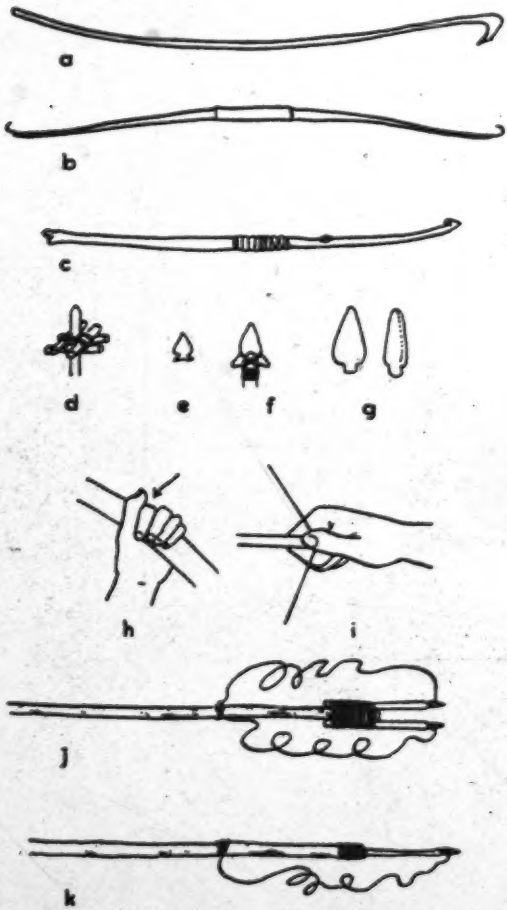
224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons---The plain bow (ta´dup) and sinew-backed bow (tap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse´ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

411 322 Of the ten plain Yokuts bows in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, four still have the bark on the inner side. None shows much recurving, and they are no doubt the basis for Kroeber's comment that Yokuts "common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick...."[172] Plain bows had strings of čidak twine.



[227]

Fig. 10. Hunting and fishing equipment. a, rodent hook. b, sinew-backed bow (about 4 feet). c, self-bow (about 3 feet, unstrung). d, bird-arrow tip. e, obsidian tip of deer arrow. f, same showing fastening. g, flint tip of war arrow. h, bow grasp with arrow rest. i, arrow release. j, k, double and single harpoons.

[172] Handbook, 530.

411 As the best instrument of this group,
322 No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was
[237] glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as
[439] Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[173] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik·t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[174]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[175]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted.
> [439] Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [sic--no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

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[173] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[174] Handbook, 530.

[175] P. 373.

1: Gayton E-5 (1926-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

411 237 322 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 237 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´ked) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (ño´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian [438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 237 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

411 237 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, dijibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 [224] Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, [224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 324 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of 411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used the plant, though not exclusively. The 322 joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for [171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] p. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, c.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Chainimni. A.H.G.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 349 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[181]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait [237] and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo''owin). They had their own booths up [439] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

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9. [181] Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

● 411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house
[574] was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?]. Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker),
[262] wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 190 9] Chuckchansi

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 190 b] Chuckchansi

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were 321 "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 218 b] Western Mono N525

W Y 302 terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

W Y 411 Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·´dᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no´j·bⁱ; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

W Y 411 322 The sinew-backed bow (ta´mued") was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (ta´mobⁱ) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

W Y 411 322 237

W Y 411

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 -
[P. 219 a] Western Mono NS-25

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W
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Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

Y
W
411

For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apᵃ) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

W
Y
[324
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The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dk:d, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I).

W
Y
[439]

The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

W Y 411

The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted. This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jab¹), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood [?][157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

W Y 413

Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

W Y 224

Traps.--A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

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[157] California Laurel?

[158] Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 surface. The *t'unoi* net was fastened to a circular frame on a pole, held vertically, and raised. The more usual Californian net of this type is on a half hoop, and is used rather for scooping or horizontal lifting.

263 Salt may have been obtained at springs, but the reported cases are from the Pitkachi, whose "salt" stank; from the Chukchansi, who went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground; and from the Yaudanchi, who, with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as *alït* and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

THE BOW.

411 Common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick; good bows were carefully smoothed of large mountain cedar wood and sinew backed. The commonest type, primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.

Mention of the right and left end of the bow makes it seem to have been held horizontally, or at least diagonally, as by most California tribes.

The arrow, *shikid* generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *t'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow. The Mohave also fought with arrows lacking flint tips. The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

413 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of soft stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. (Pl. 49, *c*.) This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used this plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [233] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity
285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the
531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however,
285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the
171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Sinew-backed juniper bows were recurved at the tips and
237 carried a longer string than other bows of the same length.
The sinews for backing were taken from the loin of the deer
[381] in wide strips and were glued to the back of the bow with a glue
made from deer horns and hoofs. The bow was wider and flatter than the common bows and was narrowed in the middle for a hand grip. Strings for these bows were made of sinews from the loin of the deer.

411 Bow covers were often made of skin from the tails of
mountain lions. When such could not be had, any skin was
281 sewed into a bow cover. Quivers for holding arrows were often made of untanned antelope skin with the hair left on. When it could be secured, the Yokuts hunter liked the skin of a fox for a quiver. The entire skin was used. Even the skin of the head was used, the mouth and eye openings being sewed shut with sinews. The tail was left on the skin and the skin of the hind legs used for attaching a shoulder strap.

411 Yokuts arrows are the most refined and varied of all their hunting equipment. No less than seven kinds of arrows were commonly used by Yokuts hunters. All but two of these were made of two pieces, or with a fore-shaft. Aged Yowlumne Yokuts have stated that once they used only a one-piece arrow like those used by their neighbors to the east. These were tipped with an obsidian, or volcanic glass point, or with a similar point made of jasper, chalcedony, or some other stone which chipped easily. Another one-piece arrow was made by children and by men for use in a game, or to shoot small animals like gophers, mice and rats at short range. They were feathered, but had no stone point. The end of this arrow shaft was pointed and hardened in the fire.

There are several important reasons why a two-piece arrow was used by the Yokuts. First of these is the fact that it was very difficult to find or to make straight a one-piece arrow shaft as long as was used by Yokuts hunters. A second reason for using a two-piece arrow was that when game was missed, the stone point was almost always damaged. This made useless a valuable shaft until it could be taken to camp and repointed. The importance of this can be understood when it is known that a Yokuts hunter generally carried fewer than a half dozen arrow shafts. As many as two dozen fore-shafts were carried in a bag attached to the gee string.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped. 411 224

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal. [824]

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound. [823]

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed. 411 726

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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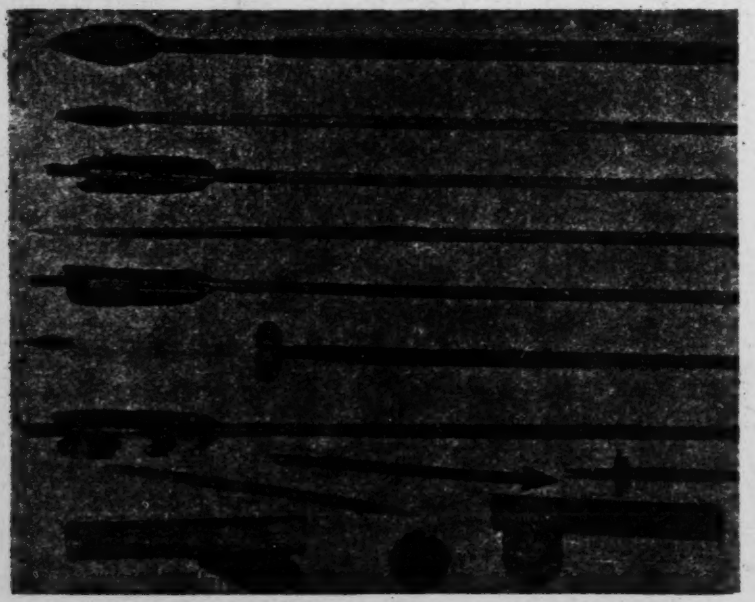

ARROWS AND TOOLS

Top shows a fore-shafted javelin. Second from top is a one-piece arrow. Third, fifth and seventh from top shop the use of red-tailed hawk feathers. Fourth from the top shows a wooden foreshaft. Sixth from the top shows the skip-bomb arrow. Eighth from the top shows, left to right, foreshafts used for squirrels, war and birds.

Bottom, left and right, shows chipped stone knives set in wooden handles by means of asphaltum. Center is a skip-bomb roll of tule for use on the javelin shown at the top.

All of the above were made by Wahumchah, last surviving man from the Yowlumne tribe.

411 223 Bird fore-shafts had a sharp wooden point with two crossed pairs of small sticks attached to it by sinews about an inch and a half from the point. Yokuts claim that this point would not glance off the feathers of the bird, but would pull many of them out, tearing the skin, and badly bruising the body. This point also often broke the wing of a bird when an ordinary arrow would not.

411 224 Squirrels were shot with a wooden pointed foreshaft having a barb attached to it about two inches from the point. The projecting foreshaft prevented the squirrel from crawling

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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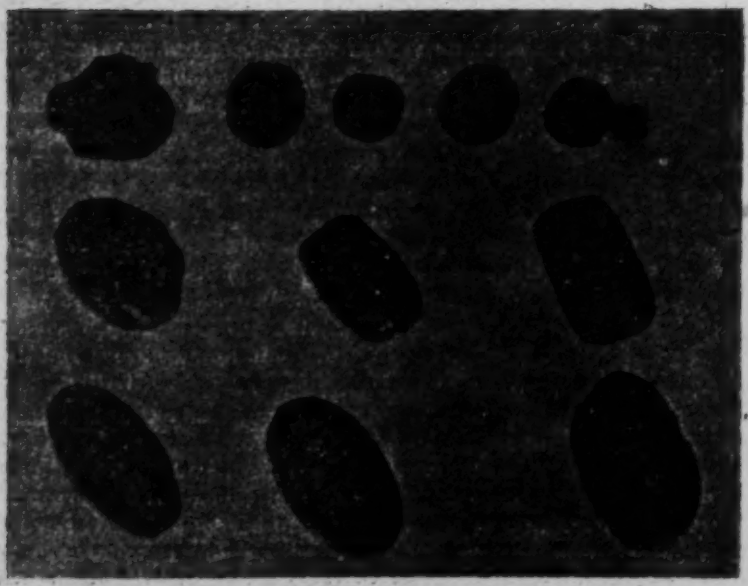
224
[412]



Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wukchumne. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1865. "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.
At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to peck the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary waterproofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon. 411 223

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a [258] crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews [823] were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the [648] mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

159 We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

159 Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They 791
were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would 484
leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents [789]
apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting par- 411
ticulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but [237
by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian 322]
overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints [381]
of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its [283]
diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped on to it.

Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves out of button-willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint-heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter, lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the [224] probable length of the shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should pronounce the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak! An old hunter says he has seen an Indian stand a hundred paces distant from a hare, slowly raise his long, polished bow, shoot a quick glance along the arrow, then send it whizzing through both his enormous ears, pinning him fast to a tree behind him.

324 411 Some mention was made in Chapter XI of the manner in which flint arrow-heads are made. Mr. E. G. Waite, in a communication to the *Overland Monthly*, gives the following description of the method employed both in Central California and among the Klamaths, as he witnessed it in an early day:

"The rock of flint or obsidian, esteemed by the natives for arrow-pointing, is broken into flat pieces, after the manner usually described. When the pieces have reached a proper size for arrow-heads the mode of finishing it is in this wise: The palm of the left hand is covered with buckskin held in its place by the thumb being thrust through a hole in it. The

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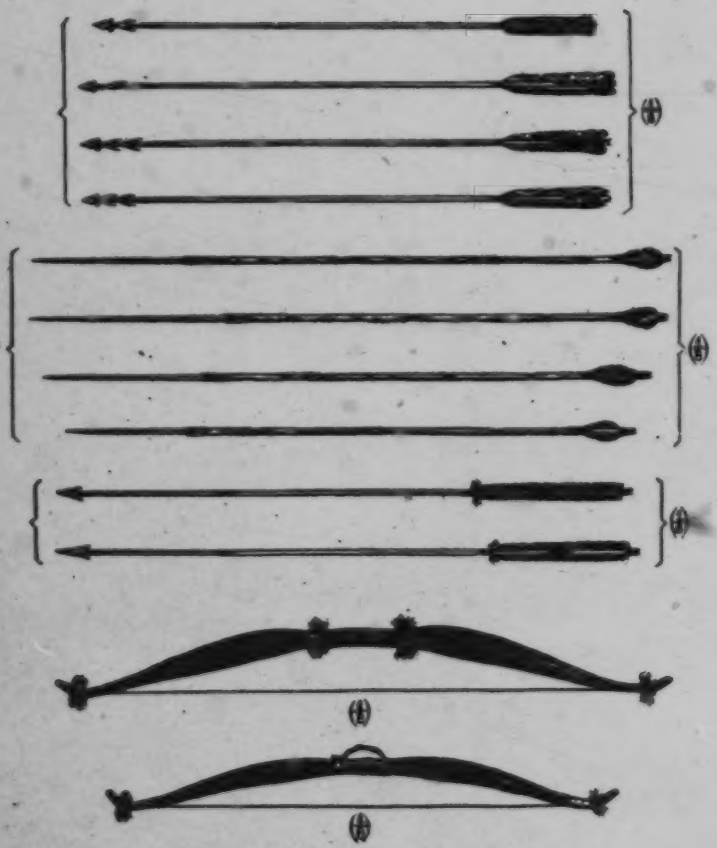

Figure 60.—Bows and Arrows.

[facing p. 374].

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237] therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

372 usual materials. Dead willow wood provided
313 only "a slow and punky" fire.

Mortars

412 The stone mortar and pestle (koi´wus and po´lwai) were obtained through trade with people of the foothills. Mayfield comments that mortars taken by the Choinimni to Tulare Lake were not brought back. Because he saw one dug up at a previous camping site, he believed they all were buried, but more probably many disappeared in trade to the Tachi.[42] The oak mortar (pe´wus), gotten from neighbors in the roblar, was used with a wooden pestle (ma´ta) (M.G.).

Kroeber states:

The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was a little more than a foot high, half as much again in diameter. Except for a
[322] narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called Kowish; and the Choinimni used it.[43]

J.A. insisted that the metate or flat grinding stone (hise´ts) and mano or grinder (lo´wat) were used before Mexican intrusion. Particularly they were used for unshelled seeds, which were rubbed on it, then transferred to the mortar for pulverizing. "All ordinary people had them." Kroeber illustrates a flattish grinding stone from the "Kings River Yokuts" but seemingly there is no textual reference to it.[44]

Bedrock mortars were, of course, unavailable in the valley plains and lake region.

Powers states:

Around the lake and on Kings River one will often find a family using a well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.[45]

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[42] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31, 37.

[43] Handbook, 527-528, pl. 45.

[44] Ibid., pl. 66.

[45] P.377. "Thither from the mountains" is probably thither from the Coast Range, not the Sierra Nevada.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached.
[438] A slender pestle of stone was used with it. These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into little dishes (ṭipe´k·l ki´w·s). It was chief-
757] ly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 No detailed description of basketmaking techniques was obtained from the Chunut and
438 Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

285 In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other coastal people to the west). By laying them on
[439] a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa'lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me (Gifford): "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
361 large squares, the families divided from each other, and outside they have very large houses in the form of hemispheres where they keep their seeds and utensils.

412 Utensils.--A metatelike stone mortar, "jars of the same material" (probably steatite vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned. Skins were used for bedding.

262 Foods.--Pages speaks at length of the animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on their abundance. Of water birds he mentions white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes, and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse, "multitudes of quail ... more savory than those of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the valley ?] were "buffaloes [sic], bears, wildcats, wolves [sic], coyotes, ferrets and foxes"; in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers [cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [sic] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are mentioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots were made into flour, and the blossoms into a yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink, somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were dried so that the crystallized juice [sic]

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohot (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohot later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pono (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itamwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´iɛn[242] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[242] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyun by J.B.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 64c] Wukchumni

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412
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252
415

a

b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

252 Deer meat was usually cut into hunks with
an obsidian blade and boiled in a clay pot with
262 salt (tus), according to S.G. But the addition
of salt in cooking was denied as aboriginal by
[263] M.L. and M.P., who agreed that in old times
[412] salt was only eaten in tiny pinches, usually to
accompany vegetable foods, particularly greens.
However, all agreed that deer meat was more
often roasted than boiled, and that this was
done by men.

Ground squirrels and other rodents had the tails broken off, were singed thoroughly on coals, and then were roasted in a hole kept for such purposes close under the fireplace.

Fish were sometimes boiled, but more often were split ventrally and laid on coals which had been pulled from the fire and covered with a layer of sand and grass. In turn, coals were laid atop the fish after they had been protected with another layer of grass and sand.

Fish from Lime Kiln Creek, Kaweah River
267 and its several sloughlike branchings, and Wood-
136 lake were abundant for Wukchumni and Gawia.
M.L. described thirteen kinds. The rainbow or "lake" trout (e´pɨs); minnows [?] (ta´kɨč), a little fish about 5 inches long; suckers (po´dhoi); another tiny fish "which never grew any larger" (ša´dhui); a black fish with a short head, a large dorsal fin, and few bones (tu´kmu); perch, a small flat fish (tapo´psu); a trout "with a swallowtail" (čadu´du); a small fish with lateral fins that "looked like pins" (ču´khiu); a large oval fish about fifteen inches long, with a large mouth and "one big back bone" (ṭa´ṭu); a similar fish but smaller (ko´po); a fish which resembled a catfish yet lacked whiskers (ni´e´tɨč); the "greaser" fish which "has too many bones" (ta´wɨs); and the catfish (ča´dut). Eels were not seen in Wukchumni territory nor did salmon reach the Kaweah River, M.L. claimed; she added that few of the old varieties of fish were available now.

Deer meat to be jerked was cut in lateral
252 strips from an initial cut down the backbone.
262 The back sinews were first removed as they were
the most valued. The meat was rubbed with rock
salt which was in strong solution or pulverized.
The strips of flesh were hung over tree branches where they were not in too hot sun, and turned daily until dry.

Fish were split ventrally and, unsalted, were hung along a slender pole set up on forked sticks in a river bottom. Fish were hung by their gills only when being carried.

Yellowjackets' larvae (ka´wa) were a
322 favorite accompaniment to manzanita berries.[NS]
[262] The entrance holes to the yellowjackets' nests
were watched at sundown; often three or four
were located near each other when the returning

[NS] The seeds added as flavoring to manzanita cider were
[263] also called ka´wa. Analogical naming, perhaps a form of
192 nicknaming, was a favorite Yokuts trick; in this case we
cannot be sure whether seeds or larvae are the original
"kawa."

Salt

258
263 Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi
[439] (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´d:t) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

412
322 A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ǯa´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191] Handbook, 530.

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čəne ʔəl) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types essential for food-gathering, preparation, and
482 cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ñaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10845; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket. 428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" [764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in- [437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yuoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the [343] separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či''up, či''up, či''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed [787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns, Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to
262 separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
224 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather
184 fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.---Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.---The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgiss, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

● 412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 155 b] DUMNA

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mas, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pas [242] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hat (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´naš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɛ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yan) at bedrock mortars (tinɛl), using a large pestle (čɛ'; 412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nam (ti´pan, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gan. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɛlao, pipe of cane [siḳɛll]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɛš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɛ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wič (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River 648 region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

283 Cordage and nets.---Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

286 The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

283 According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

283 286 Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

281 Rabbitskin blankets.---Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under [136] them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

● 412 Woman's equipment.---The digging stick (č'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches

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[171] [107] Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[171] [108] The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukchumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was from a long straight limb of a tree growing [824] more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 222] Long poles for shaking down acorns were made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

412 322 Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres of uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

412 322 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the handle was taken from another uncooked root.

515 Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head, baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes." [262 252 171] [The inference is that some varieties of soaproot were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 322 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 324 Cooking stones were made of soapstone, said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used for cooking larvae and worms.[110] [412 322]

Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of the bow. [237] The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 294] western Mono NS25

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Explanation of Plate 2

Yokuts and Western Mono Specimens, Göteborg Museum

a, Wobonuch winnowing tray, burden basket; b, Wobonuch rock-lifter, mushbasket, cradle; c, Wobonuch fish basket, sieve, individual eating basket; d, Wobonuch pestle for bedrock mortar, handstone, arrow straightener; Wukchumni tobacco mortar and pestle; e, Waksachi fire fan, Wobonuch soaproot brush and "treasure" basket; f, Wukchumni gambling tray, dice, counters.

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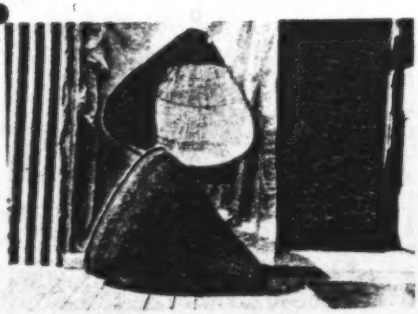

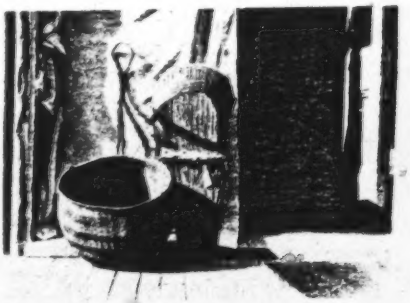

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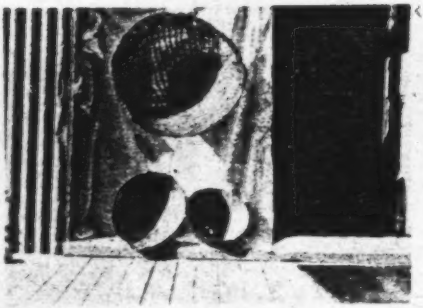

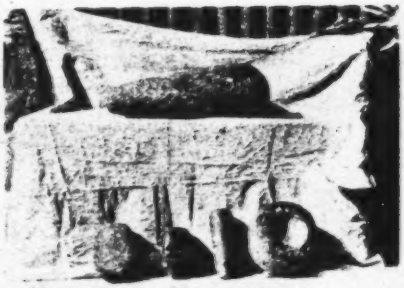

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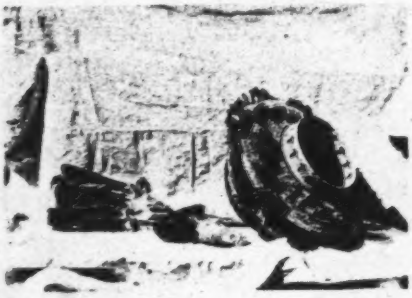

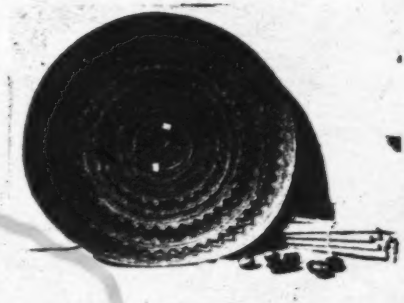

PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings. 342

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [362] [592]

[304 531]

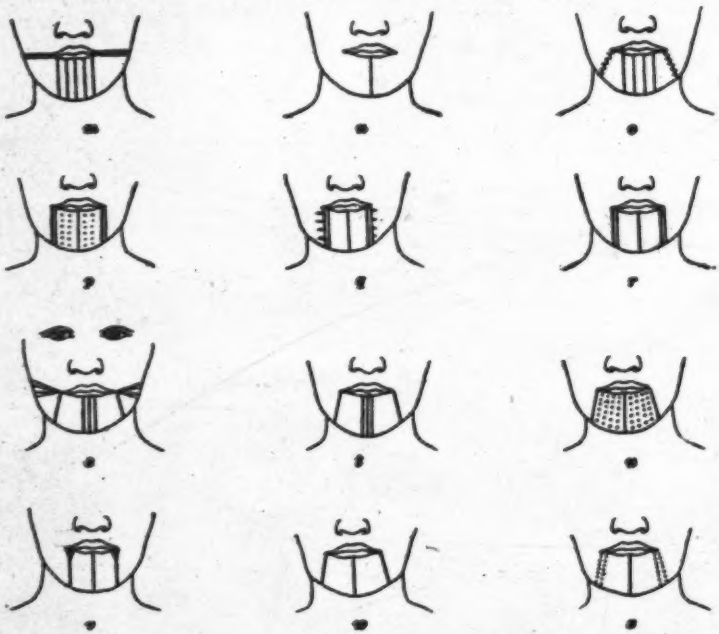

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: m–o, Chukchansi Yokuts; p–s, Mohave. Men: t–v, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber. [412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Miwok NS16

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MIWOK MORTAR HOLES IN BEDROCK AND BOWLDER PESTLES

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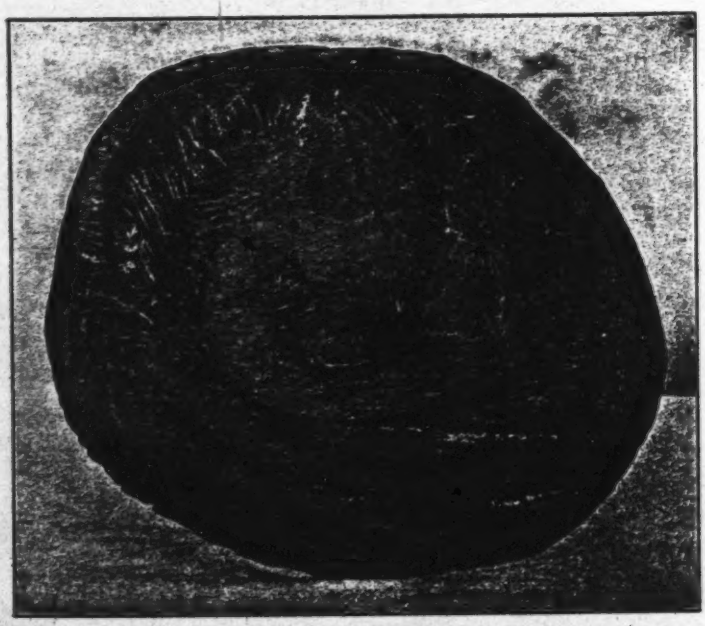

VALLEY YOKUTS MORTAR OF OAK

[Facing p. 524]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de- [415 324] scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulosun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple- [415 177] ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.) [171]

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention. [773]

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers. [302]

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *taduwush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

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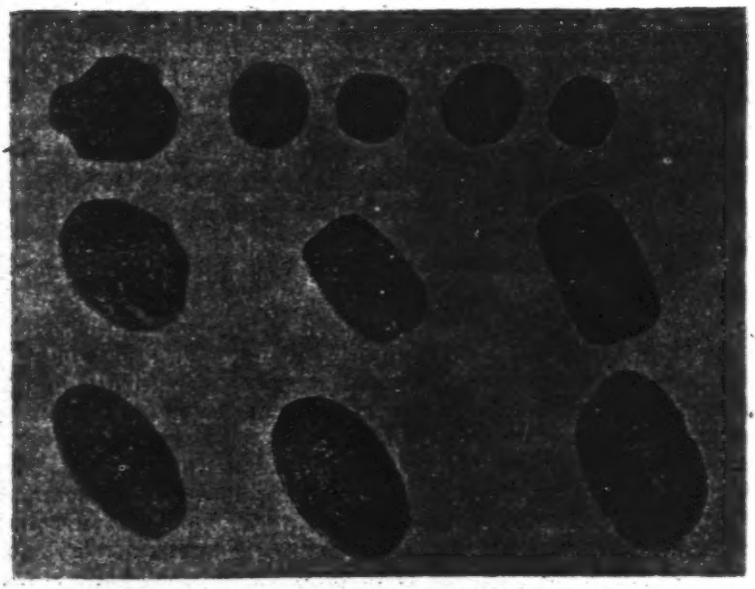

Yokuts arrow straighteners and the tools with which they were made. These were all unearthed for the author by Ichow, an aged Wukchumne. He had seen his grandfather bury them about 1865, "During the white man's big war," said Ichow.
At the top left is a sharp fragment of hard blue stone used to peck the articles to shape and to the right are four more which through use have been reduced to hammer stones. At the left, center row, is a stone which shows hammer-stone marks and which was discarded because it contained a flaw. To the right is another which broke while being made. The other four show varieties of construction. The completed arrow straightener was heated in the fire and used to harden and straighten the cane arrow shafts. Buttonwillow and gooseberry shafts were most often dried and hardened over an open fire.

down a hole and the barb prevented the foreshaft from slipping from the wound.

A most ingenious device was used on ordinary waterproofed stone-pointed foreshafts for shooting ducks when they were resting on water. An ordinary arrow dives or is stopped almost as soon as it touches the water. To prevent this the Yokuts slipped a small roll of tules on the foreshaft. This lodged against the ferrule on the end of the main shaft. When the arrow struck the water the roll of tules prevented its diving and allowed it to skip forward on top of the water. It was the original skip-bomb weapon. 411 223

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 as more thousands in all stages of completion. A study of these
324 proved that the steatite was first split into thin slabs, gouged, scraped, and sanded smooth, then cut into strips by means of a chipped stone saw. I found two of these saws, their chipped
[412] edges still coated with steatite. The strips were next cut into squares. Cuts were made from opposite sides until the strip was severed. Then holes were drilled in the square blanks.

Ichow, last chief of the Wukchumne, explained to me the whole process of making steatite beads, not knowing at the time that I had already found proof of almost every statement he was making. Said Ichow, "When I was a boy I saw an old Wukchumne man make lots beads. He drive stake in ground. He sit on ground straddle that stake. He cut little square hole in top that stake. He put square bead in that hole. Then he take little stick with *kots* (obsidian) drill point on end. He spin that drill between his hands and make holes in them square beads."

Ichow went on to explain that the square beads were strung on a small, hardened rod of chamise wood and rolled between the hand and a gritty, flat piece of sandstone. This ground the corners from the square beads and left them of uniform size. This steatite bead was the most common form of Wukchumne money. Said Ichow, "Most our money was them soapstone beads. Them *Telumne, Kaweah, Koyeti,* and *Choinok* used the same beads almost all time. Them *Chunut, Tachi,* and *Wowol* people used more shell money, but they used some our soapstone money, too."

The most interesting feature of this steatite Yokuts money is that the edges of it were milled, almost exactly as are the edges of our silver dollar. The principal difference in the milling was that the Yokuts bead-money was milled at an angle with the flat sides. This milling is surprisingly uniform and will be found on this form of Yokuts money at old village sites from Paleta and Tejon Canyon on the south, to Coalinga and Friant on the north.

436 Spangles and ornaments of various forms and sizes were
301 made from abalone shell. I have several statements establishing the fact that they passed from person to person as money; but because of their supernatural power, they were valued so highly that such use was greatly restricted. They were known as *Tahp* and were used on *Tripne* (supernatural) ceremonial costumes. They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 From the Pismo clam were also produced nicely smoothed
321 and rounded curved objects with pointed ends. These were drilled from the pointed ends, the opposing holes meeting at the middle. I have never seen one of these objects taken any place in Yokuts territory, except from the mouth cavity of a buried skeleton.

Slender, straight-sided tubes were also made from Pismo clam-shell. They varied from three-eighths of an inch in diameter and three inches long, down to one-fourth of an inch in diameter and less than one inch long. Some were not cylindrical, being larger at the middle than at the ends. The Wukchumne Yokuts called these *Cutscotch* (Coots'-cotch).

The most valued of all clamshell money were long, curved tubes. These varied with the size of the shell, the largest being more than six inches in length. They were slightly wider than they were thick and were perforated lengthwise. This perforation is the most remarkable feature of all Yokuts manufactures.

The shell of the Pismo clam is as hard as the glaze on a piece of china. To drill two opposing holes, each three inches deep, through such material, having them meet in the middle, is a feat worthy of modern tools in the hands of a practiced mechanic. Mayfield, who was a white man raised by the *Choinimni*
[439] Yokuts, stated to me that an old artisan of that tribe obtained in trade slender objects which he (Mayfield) believed were "walrus, or sea lion whiskers." The large ends of these were pounded between two rocks, forming a sort of short-bristled brush. A shallow hole was drilled with a stone-pointed drill as a starter. Fine, sharp sand was placed in this hole. Then the brush-pointed "whisker" was placed on top of the sand and spun between the palms of the hands. Mayfield had not seen the Pismo clam money drilled in this manner, but had seen other hard objects so drilled. From Ichow I learned that an identical process was used by the Wukchumne and Yokodo. The only variance was that no "whisker" of any sort was used. The drill was made from the slender chamise-root splint used in reducing
[412] the square steatite beads to a round form. Said Ichow, "That old fellow take piece of green chamise root and scrape it just about this size [illustrating with a piece of ordinary bailing wire which he picked up beside his chair and which he continued to hold in his hand as he talked]. Then he hold this piece root over fire and scrape and dry him good and straight and hard like

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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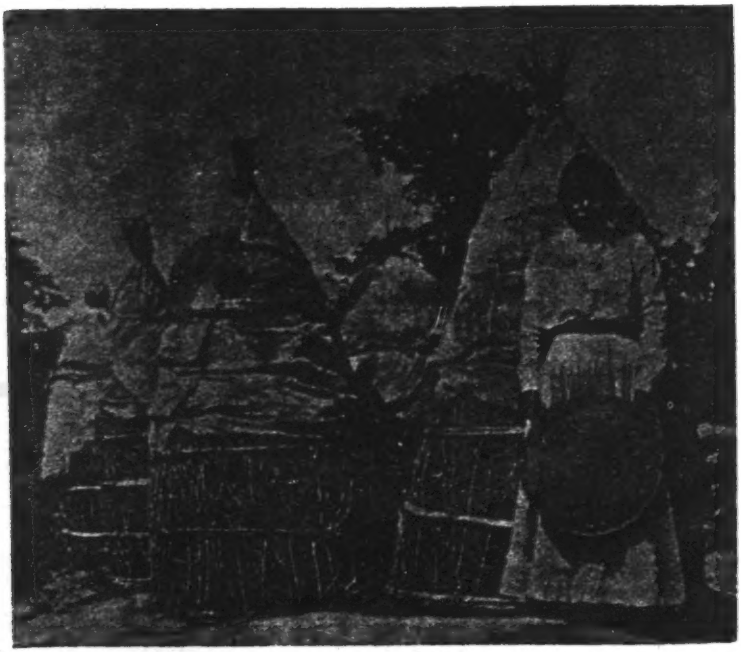

Acorn granaries and a Chukaimina Indian woman in Squaw Valley about 1890. Note that her hair is bobbed in mourning. The Yokuts Indians were dying in such great numbers during the 1880's and '90's that few photos taken during that period show a woman without bobbed hair. Photo furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

THE PREPARATION OF ACORNS

252 When she decided to prepare acorns, (*Putus,* poo'-tus), the *moke* (mo'-ke) took a flat bottomed basket (*kot'-chow*) of about half-bushel capacity, placed it under the granary, and pushed apart the grass and branches, allowing the acorns to slide from the granary into it. When the basket was full, the branches and grass were replaced, sealing the granary as it was before.

252 412 The acorns were taken to a cool, shady place and there were hulled. The hulling was done by means of a rock. This rock was generally a nicely shaped stone of a size to be easily grasped in the hand and known to collectors as a mano (Spanish word for hand stone), but called *ko'-dis,* or *wik'-sid,* by the In-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

dians. This same stone was used as a rubbing stone and was generally flat on opposite sides. The ends were kept rough by pounding them with a jagged rock. This was done so that the mano would not slip off of the acorn while it was being hulled. 252 412

A second rock was often used in the hulling, it being embedded in the soil in front of the worker and having drilled in it one or more shallow holes. The acorn was placed upright with the point in this hole and the large end struck with the rough end of the mano. A slight tap was sufficient to break the hull loose, and it fell away from the acorn. The hulled acorns were placed in a basket, the process being carried on until several gallons of hulled acorns had been obtained.

The sweet valley acorn had a very thin hull, which often split while drying. It was not necessary to crack them with a mano. The cracked hulls were pulled off with the fingers. The other hulls were removed with the teeth. As these acorns were badly eaten by moth larva, they were smoked after being hulled. Holes were drilled in them. They were then strung on hemp strings like beads and hung from the inner framework of of the house where the smoke from the fire prevented the moths from depositing their eggs. The acorns were next taken to a mortar. These mortars, along the streams, often existed in the large earth-bound rocks, and remain today as almost the sole evidence of many Indian village sites. 252 [412]

Away from earth-bound rocks, portable stone mortars were used. Some of these were excavated in very rough boulders. Others were nicely shaped inside and out. A few were so finely shaped and polished as to appear to have been made on a potter's wheel. In primeval days many wooden mortars were used. Pioneer white San Joaquin Valley settlers tell us that when they arrived in Yokuts territory the trunks and large limbs of fallen oak trees were cut full of holes where the Indians pounded acorns. A double handful of acorns was thrown in the mortars, which the Indians called *puh'-wus*. *Pahd'-uh-we*, the pestle, a slender stone, was grasped between the hands and the end brought down on top of the acorns. Repeated blows pulverized the greater portion of the acorns, which, by reason of curing in the granary, were dry and brittle. 252 412

Sifting of the pounded acorns was done with a flat tray called *ki-o'-to*. The powdered material was brushed from the mortar onto the tray by means of *tro'-kote*, a brush made of 252 415

[text continues on p. 111]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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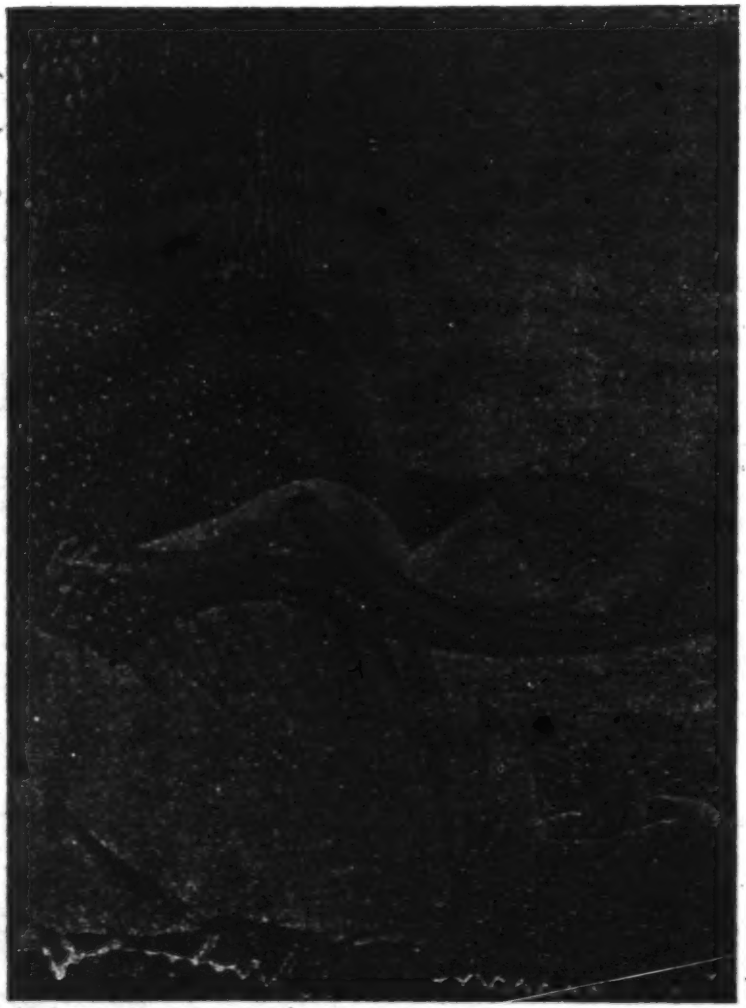

A Chukchansi woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire. Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 Many persons, including those who have lived near San
137 Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that black-
222 berry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly
[231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the
222 Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries
222 still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food
415 preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket
[482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pull-
222 ing the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached.
[412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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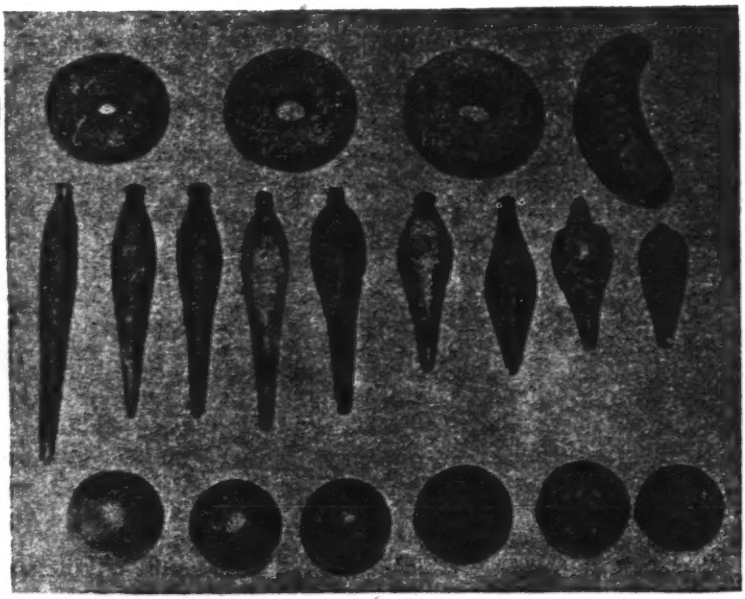

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 526 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER VIII

HUNTING AND FISHING

THE MANUFACTURE OF CHIPPED POINTS

There are many traditions about the North American Indians which persist with surprising uniformity and which are also quite characteristic of that noble race. There are on the other hand certain traditions which are even more persistent and which are certainly not generally true, and some possibly with no foundation in fact. Probably the most dogged of these last traditions concerns the manufacture of arrow and other chipped points. The most common tradition concerning this type of work holds that the chip was removed by heating the stone and then applying water, or some other cooling agent. 324

Some stories state that the stone was heated in the coals, and the water applied with a small wooden stick, or brush. Other accounts state that the moisture was applied from the mouth by means of a milkweed string which was allowed to come in contact with the heated stone. Other variations of this account are too numerous to mention, but they all depend upon the supposed reaction of heating and sudden cooling. It is probable that such a chipped point has never been manufactured since the beginning of time, but no amount of reasoning or scientific research or definite statements by Indians seems to be sufficient to put an end to such stories.

The most common method of chipped point manufacture depended upon the breaking from a large piece of stone of a suitable flake. This flake was thrown off from the stone by means of a heavy blow. The hammer generally used was a heavy piece of bone, often the shin bone of a deer or elk, the blow being struck with the end of the bone. [412]

By some manufacturers the large fragment of stone was held against a lump of stiff clay and the flake thrown off between the clay and the stone. It is explained that this kept the blow from fracturing the flake itself. If the flake was quite large and a large spear point or knife was to be made from it, it was placed against the same lump of clay and further reduced by blows. These chips were removed with the bone hammer in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 the same way that the first flake was obtained. In this manner the flake was roughly reduced to shape.

The remainder of the chipping was done by pressure and not by blows. The method by which this was done probably varied, but the principle was always the same. It is stated by one authority that the Indian squatted with his knees on either side of an up-right stake which had been driven securely into the ground. The work was rested on the top of this stake. The [412] implement used in pressing off the small flake was generally the tip of a buck horn.

The selection of materials like bone and horn for the work of chipping brittle stones, or obsidian, which is really a volcanic glass, shows thorough understanding of the nature of the material. The horn or bone is hard enough not to be broken in removing the chips, but at the same time is yielding enough that the edges of the chips cut into it and are not shattered, as would be the case with a steel or stone implement.

The flake which was being reduced by shaping was held in the left hand between the tips of the fingers and the base of the thumb with the edge toward the worker, the hand being protected by a piece of buckskin. The buck horn was held in the right hand. It was sometimes lashed to a stick, which extended up as far as the elbow and was held between the upper and lower arms, with the elbow bent almost double.

The side of the flake was placed upon the edge of the top of the stake, which extended several inches above the knees of the worker. The buck horn was placed across the opposite edge of the stake with the tip resting upon the edge of the flake where the chip was to be removed. The point where these two met was elevated approximately one half inch above the top of the stake.

By bearing down strongly on both buck horn and flake so that they could not slip on the stake and then raising their outer ends gradually, the worker could secure tremendous leverage, and bring great pressure to bear upon the edge of the flake. As the flake cut into the buck horn, and as both were lowered toward the top of the stake, the pressure became so great that a chip was thrown off the flake. By varying the direction of the pressure exerted against the flake, the direction of the fracture could be controlled. The fracture was almost directly in the line of pressure.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER IX

BASKETRY

YOKUTS STITCHED BASKETRY

The Yokuts tribes will probably be noted throughout all time for the wonderful basketry which they manufactured. There were several types of this basketry, as well as a number of forms. These baskets, mortars, steatite vessels, round wooden boxes, dried animal bladders and crude bags were the only containers known to these Indians. 285

Practically all of the Yokuts baskets were of coiled construction. They were not woven, but were stitched together. This process was much slower and more difficult than that of weaving, but produced a basket as strong as though it were made of sheet metal. Many Yokuts baskets were used for cooking and, when completely dry, would become water-tight twenty or thirty minutes after they were placed in water.

The filler, or coiled material, was obtained from a tall grass which grew in clumps along the valley streams and sloughs. To pioneer white cattlemen of the Joaquin this was known as bunch-grass (Epicampes Rigens). It had no joints, being perfectly smooth from one end to the other, and attained a length of more than four feet. The Indians called this material *chaw'-kish*. 285 824

The white, or light, straw colored material with which the stitching was done, came from the root of a swamp grass (Cladium Mariscus), which was at one time quite common throughout the entire overflow area of the valley

Cladium roots attain a diameter of about three sixteenths of an inch and a length of three or more feet. Yokuts women still dig it from the ground by means of pointed sticks. The bark is removed from it and it is split into two, three, or four parts. [412]

The splitting of this material requires great care and much practice. One piece is held between the teeth, the other two between each thumb and the next two fingers. By equalizing the pressure between the two hands and the teeth the root is split into three equal parts. In this way Yokuts women can split a root four feet long into three parts so even in size that the dif- 285

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yahmah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses
[222] and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
481] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

3: Latta Y-5 (1923- 949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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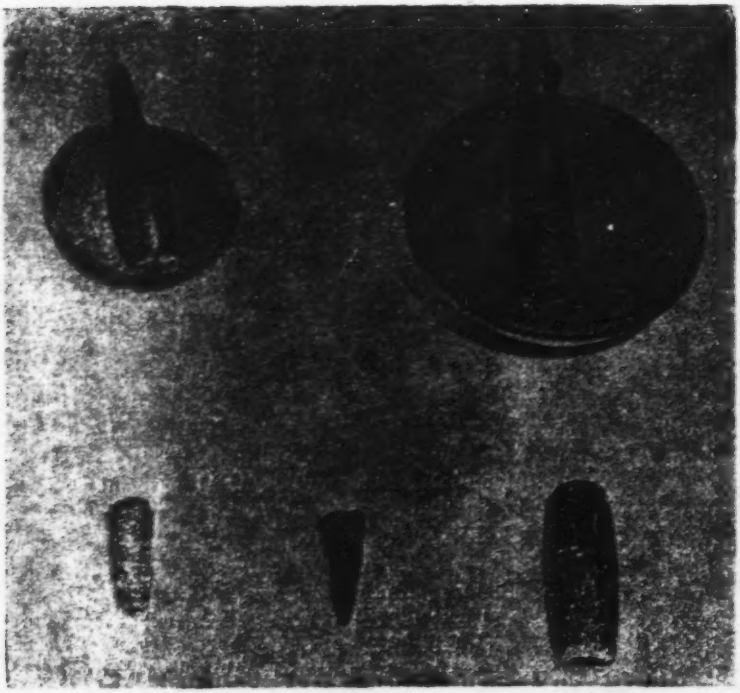

Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Comalino Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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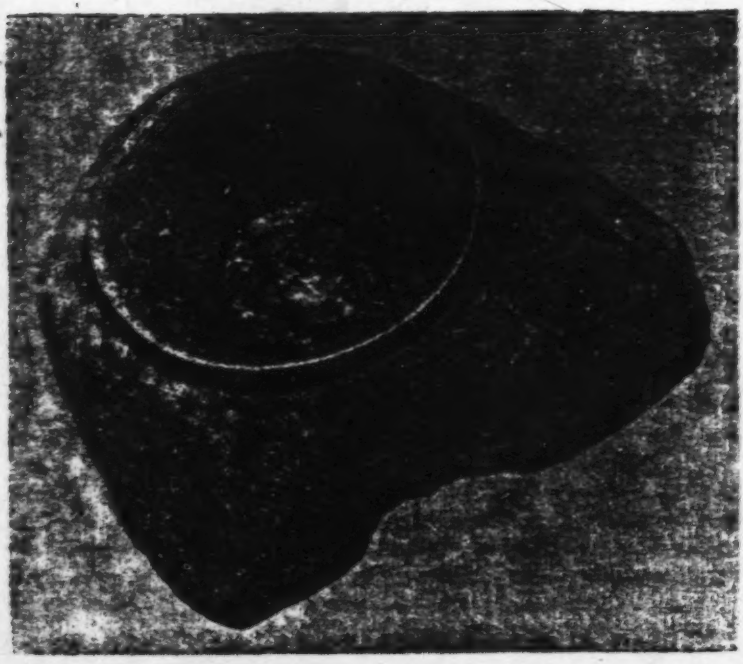

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
592

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Mono NS25

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[412]

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

Y

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The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

[237]

[482]

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

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[412]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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sensation cues on which judgment of the size and smoothness of the roll is based, seem to come largely from the heavy cushions below the base of the fingers. When the rope of clay emerges and is visible below the hands it is too late to rectify irregularities in its shape.

The first roll of clay was set inside the rim and pinched to it; all subsequent coils rested on the edge of the preceding one. When setting a new coil the potter held one end of the roll in her left hand and pinched it on with that hand while the loose portion rested across her right hand as shown in plate 96*a*. The roll was pinched into a thick, flat-sided ribbon as it was being put in place. While the coil was being added the potter occasionally turned the basket in contraclockwise direction in order to keep the portion of the pot on which she was working in a convenient position before her. When the coil was in place and the ends welded together the potter dipped her fingers in water and pressed and smoothed out the junction between the new coil and the one on which it rested.

After the sides of the pot were built up about two inches the potter stopped to smooth off more completely its inner and outer surfaces (pl. 96*b*). For this she used a small chip of wood picked up from the ground, or sometimes a section of a large acorn husk. By this time the clay in the pot was sufficiently firm to allow it to be picked up and handled. Slight incrustations and bumps were dampened and scraped down with the chip or rubbed with the fingers. Generally, the scraping and smoothing movements were vertical. The surfaces were gone over in this manner after every two or three inches of coil-building until the pot was completely formed.

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When the pot was entirely formed the potter went over the surface with a small polishing stone[5] of steatite (pl. 97*a*). This served two purposes. First, it rubbed out minor irregularities in the surfaces, for though the vessel was firm enough to be handled the clay could be scraped off slightly. But as the pot dried rapidly its surface soon became harder than that of the polishing stone so that the steatite rubbed off in a fine white powder. Secondly, this powder settled into the clay and produced a hard surface which in turn became more effective in rubbing off more dust from the stone. The potter occasionally rubbed the steatite stone on the flat side of a granite pestle and the resulting dust she applied to the pot with her fingers. In this final polishing process the strokes were horizontal or oblique. They

[412]

[5] University of California museum specimen 1-27004. There are two similar stones in the Barrett collection, mus. nos. 1-10876, 1-10943.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
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Y W 323

cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

Y W [412]

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

Y W [285]

Y W 171 184 323

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

The second point of difference war in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Toi'in na ki'wic nim hl'am al'ei, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 50*d*, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97*b*.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

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Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

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For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apᵃ) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

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The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dk:d, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I).

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The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

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The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted. This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jab¹), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood [?][157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

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Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

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Traps.--A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

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[157] California Laurel?

[158] Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

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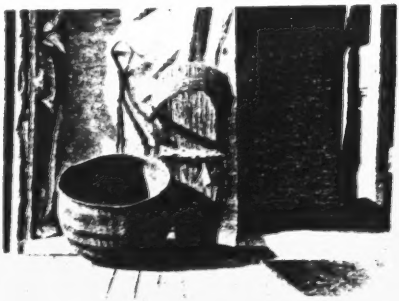

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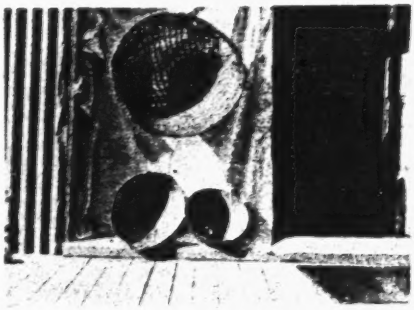

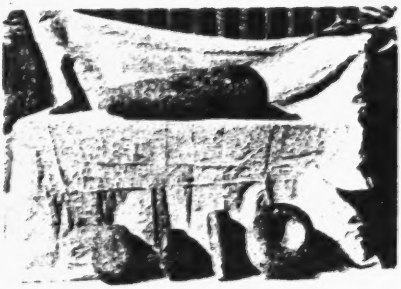

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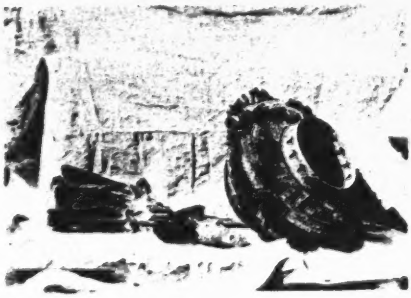
[525]



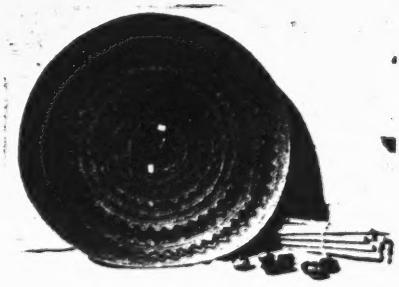


PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 surface. The *f'unoi* net was fastened to a circular frame on a pole, held vertically, and raised. The more usual Californian net of this type is on a half hoop, and is used rather for scooping or horizontal lifting.

263 Salt may have been obtained at springs, but the reported cases are from the Pitkachi, whose "salt" stank; from the Chukchansi, who went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground; and from the Yaudanchi, who, with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as *alit* and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

THE BOW.

411 Common bows for small game were little more than a shaped stick; good bows were carefully smoothed of large mountain cedar wood and sinew backed. The commonest type, primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.

Mention of the right and left end of the bow makes it seem to have been held horizontally, or at least diagonally, as by most California tribes.

The arrow, *shikid* generically, had three forms among the Yaudanchi, known as *f'uyosh*, *djibaku*, and *wuk'ud*. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow. The Mohave also fought with arrows lacking flint tips. The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

413 The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of soft stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. (Pl. 49, *c*.) This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have used this plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

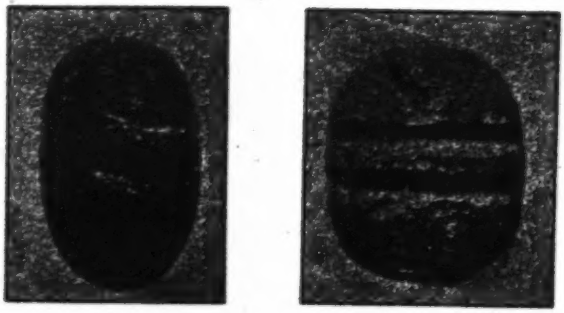
SERRANO NS20

Western Mono NS25

River Yumans NT15

Diegueno US9

DRWYS 413



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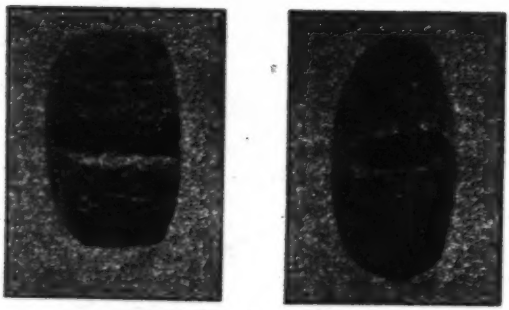

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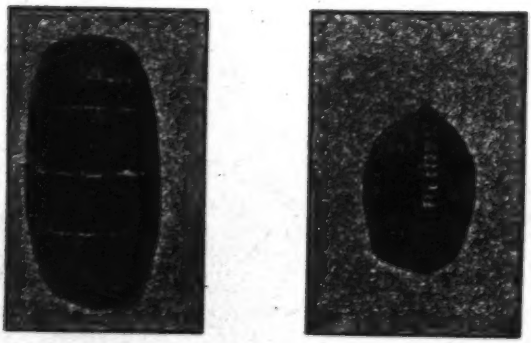

e f

ARROW STRAIGHTENERS

a, b, Mono; c, Yokuts; d, Cahuilla; e, Diegueño; f, Mohave (pottery)

[p. 530(A)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water 515 was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64 c] Wukchumni

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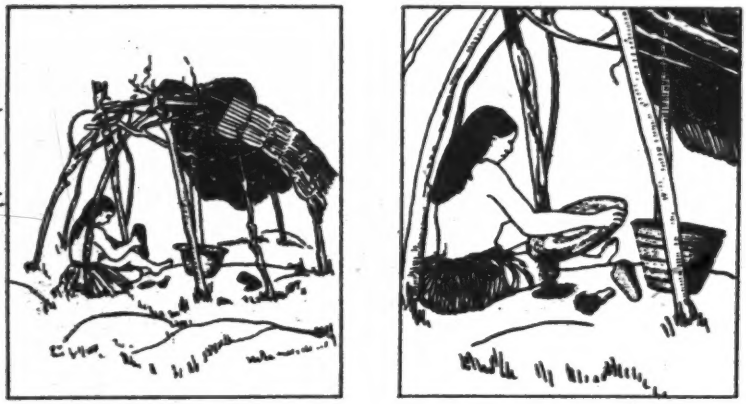

a b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 799] Wukchumni

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (č:ne ̃ž:l) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[392] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[393] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters
[439] were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types essential for food-gathering, preparation, and
482 cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ̃naš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[392] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[393] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled
[222] scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na)
285 was invariably of twined weave, coarse and
415 close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´nats) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´wic) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes and dis-
[855] tribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken.

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular
252 trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork
[285 basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same
415] shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita
[263] cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse
222 Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these
252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for
252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

A "grass" grows down toward the valley
222 which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped
[251] off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[Lit., of acorn meal dough. -Analyst]

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes."
252 [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

● 415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110]Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111]Ibid., 528.

[112]Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

W
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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa·dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b·p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't·p: slippery elm
napa'·'ap·: alder
soho'p·: cottonwood
tanapo'nip·: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s·hu'b·: small willow
se'·'nowiyap: elderberry bush

W
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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono´ci (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, B.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

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Pottery

Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wiš (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwiš, wi´či kiwiš, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

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Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

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The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all night. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though de- [415 324] scribed as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulonun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts imple- [415 177] ment, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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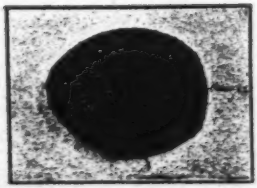

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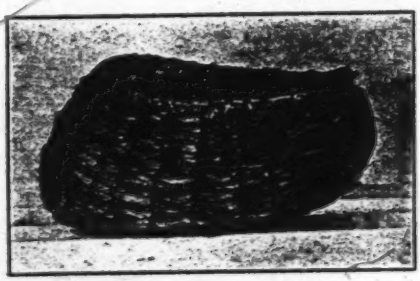

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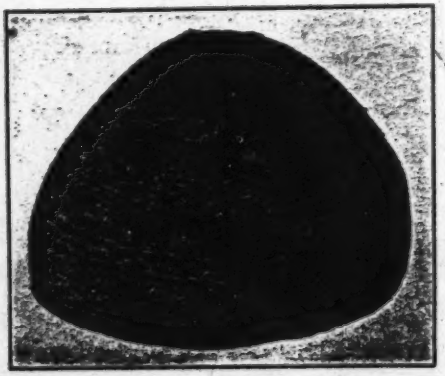

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YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for suspension; c, soft basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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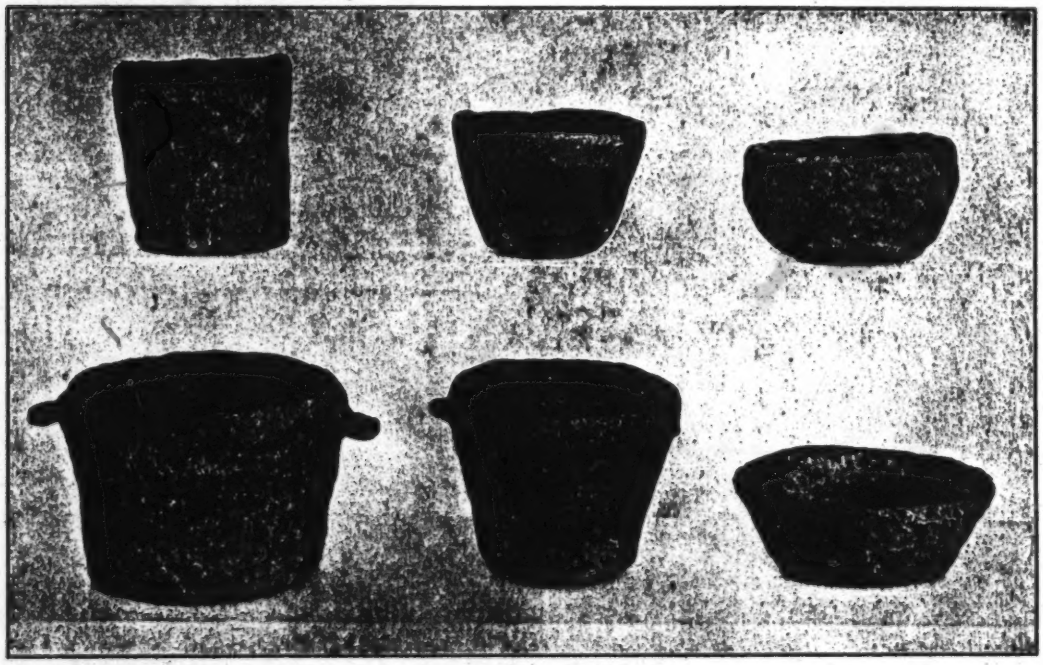

YOKUTS POTTERY

[p. 530(c)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
619 *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
361 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823 MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it.
[137 Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
● [415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252 by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the village of *Altau,* now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko.*
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow,* or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow,* or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Siketepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu.*

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo.* This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

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[415]

A typical Yokuts camp. In the foreground is the firepit and the woodpile for outside cooking. In front of the house is the universal tule-mat shade. The oblong tule covered house has a slot shaped smoke hole directly over the door. Beneath the smoke hole is the firepit for indoor cooking and heating. The ends of the house are round. Wehumchah, eighty-five years of age and last surviving full-blood man from the Yowlumne tribe, appears at the left. He lived in such a house until he was sixteen years of age. He supervised the construction of this camp.

lashed together. These houses were probably not larger than ten by eighteen feet. As in the case of the other temporary houses this house was also covered with tules and was called *Che*.

On Tule River the *Yaudanchi* built their winter house of tules in a cone shape. The house had a hoop at the top to which the poles of the leaning framework were attached and which left an opening for the smoke arising from the fire pit directly below.

[285] The framework was covered by sewn tule mats. The houses were placed in rows with brush covered shades in front. These Yaudanchi houses more nearly approached the tepee of the plains Indians than any other Yokuts houses. The Yaudanchi also built a larger house, which had a ridge, two fire places, and a door at each end; but we have no details of the construction.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Weh-puk'-in and He'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 168

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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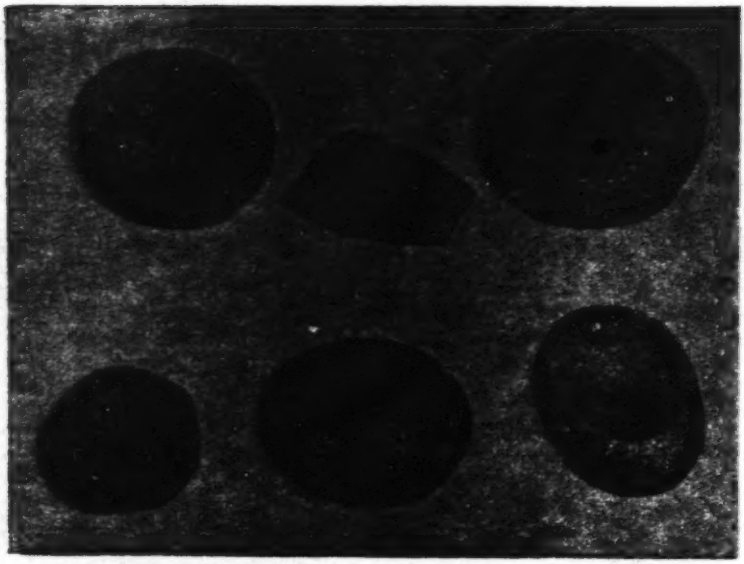

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the perma-
342 nent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

dians. This same stone was used as a rubbing stone and was generally flat on opposite sides. The ends were kept rough by pounding them with a jagged rock. This was done so that the mano would not slip off of the acorn while it was being hulled. 252 412

A second rock was often used in the hulling, it being embedded in the soil in front of the worker and having drilled in it one or more shallow holes. The acorn was placed upright with the point in this hole and the large end struck with the rough end of the mano. A slight tap was sufficient to break the hull loose, and it fell away from the acorn. The hulled acorns were placed in a basket, the process being carried on until several gallons of hulled acorns had been obtained.

The sweet valley acorn had a very thin hull, which often split while drying. It was not necessary to crack them with a mano. The cracked hulls were pulled off with the fingers. The other hulls were removed with the teeth. As these acorns were badly eaten by moth larva, they were smoked after being hulled. Holes were drilled in them. They were then strung on hemp strings like beads and hung from the inner framework of of the house where the smoke from the fire prevented the moths from depositing their eggs. The acorns were next taken to a mortar. These mortars, along the streams, often existed in the large earth-bound rocks, and remain today as almost the sole evidence of many Indian village sites. 252 [412]

Away from earth-bound rocks, portable stone mortars were used. Some of these were excavated in very rough boulders. Others were nicely shaped inside and out. A few were so finely shaped and polished as to appear to have been made on a potter's wheel. In primeval days many wooden mortars were used. Pioneer white San Joaquin Valley settlers tell us that when they arrived in Yokuts territory the trunks and large limbs of fallen oak trees were cut full of holes where the Indians pounded acorns. A double handful of acorns was thrown in the mortars, which the Indians called *puk'-wus. Pahd'-ah-we,* the pestle, a slender stone, was grasped between the hands and the end brought down on top of the acorns. Repeated blows pulverized the greater portion of the acorns, which, by reason of curing in the granary, were dry and brittle. 252 412

Sifting of the pounded acorns was done with a flat tray called *ki-o'-to.* The powdered material was brushed from the mortar onto the tray by means of *tro'-kote,* a brush made of 252 415

[text continues on p 111]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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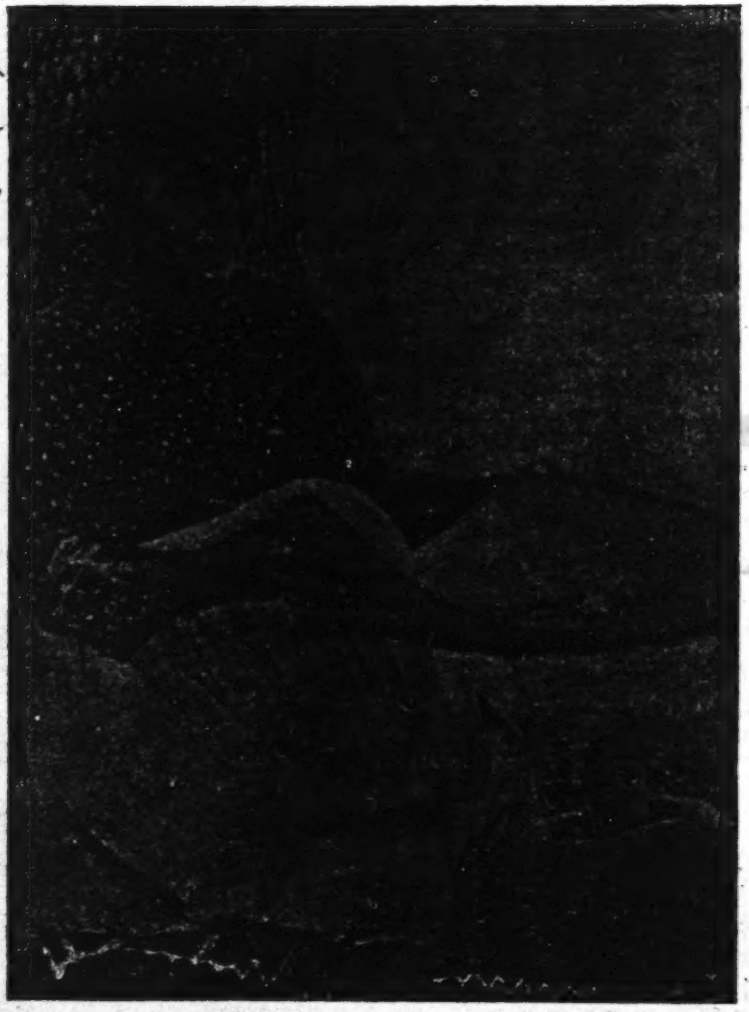

A Chukchansi woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wah-puk'-ta showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it. 252

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-is chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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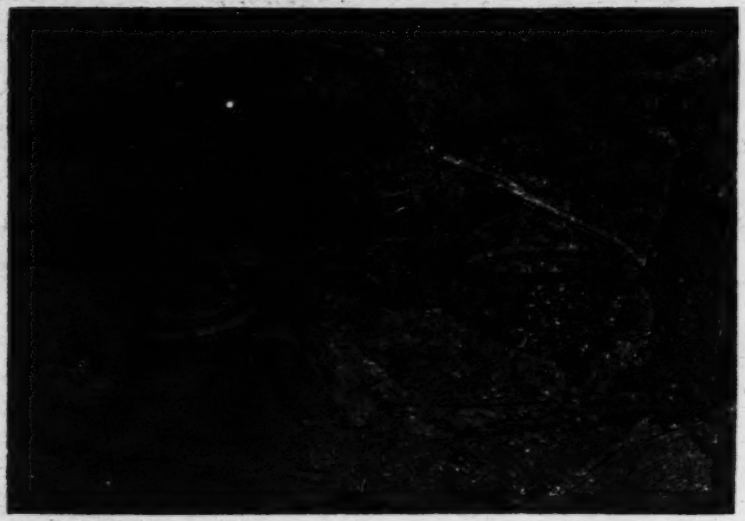

Weh-puk'-in showing the method of heating water and cooking acorn gruel with hot rocks. Rocks are removed from the fire with green wooden tongs and dipped quickly into the small basket of water at the right. The resulting flash of steam removes the coating of ashes and burned acorn gruel. The rock is then dropped into the large basket of water or acorn gruel and is stirred about with the looped acorn stirrer. When the rock has lost its heat it is lifted from the basket in the loop of the stirrer and replaced in the fire. The design on the basket at the left shows "coming night." The one at the right shows "measuring worm."

At the present time we find the Indians lining the holes in the sand with cloth, generally an empty sugar sack, but we are assured by most old Indians and pioneer whites that in early days only leaves were used.

It is of particular interest to note here that *Wahumchah* is positive that the old-time *Yowlumne* lined the leaching holes in the sand with cloth. As the southern Kern County tribes *did* make cloth, it is more than probable that his statement is correct.

Much acorn bread was eaten raw from the loaf. As needed, pieces were broken off and given to the children, or eaten by their elders. [264]

From this cake was made a thick acorn soup, or mush. By the Wukchumne Yokuts it was called *ta'-pin*. To make this

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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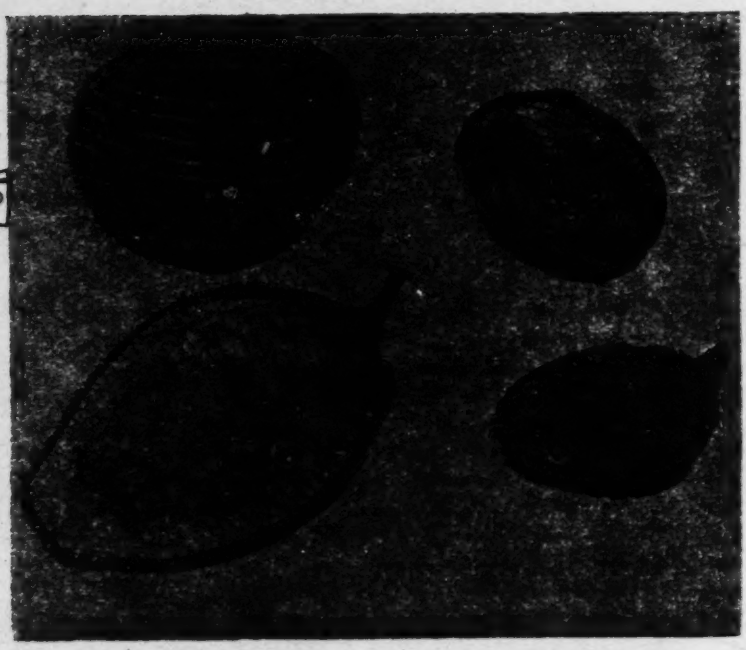

Four Yokuts harvesting and camp wicker utensils. The two at the top are tuh'-meuks or simple collanders. Those at the bottom are seed beaters. With one of these in the right hand a woman was able to beat the seeds of oats, wild rice and other standing grasses into a large wide mouthed basket held under her left arm.

mush, the cake was pulverized in a mortar and placed in a basket. Water was added, and the whole cooked quite thoroughly by means of hot rocks (*chak-toy'-tuh*). The rocks were placed in the basket by means of two green sticks used as tongs and removed from it by a looped stick (*shi'-ow*) which was also used to stir the soup. When first removed from the fire by means of the green tongs, the rocks were quickly dipped in a basket of water. The flash of steam caused by this removed from the surface of the hot rock most of the ashes and burned acorn meal with which they were coated. The Wukchumne used soapstone cooking rocks, claiming they were superior to any others. Much of the cooked mush was allowed to harden into a loaf, or cake, of bread.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 Many persons, including those who have lived near San
137 Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that black-
222 berry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly
[231] bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the
222 Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries
222 still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gath-
●415 ering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket
[482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pull-
222 ing the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached.
[412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity *of black mud from the sloughs, or tule* swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits.*

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak.* 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yahmah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses
[222] and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
48] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wahmoimket about 1928. In her right hand she holds a basket made to be suspended from the neck, leaving both hands free to pick blackberries. Leaning against her is a boy's baby cradle. In her left hand is the flexible cradle, made before the child is born and for use until the other is completed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
481]

They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally
[353] hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush
[222] against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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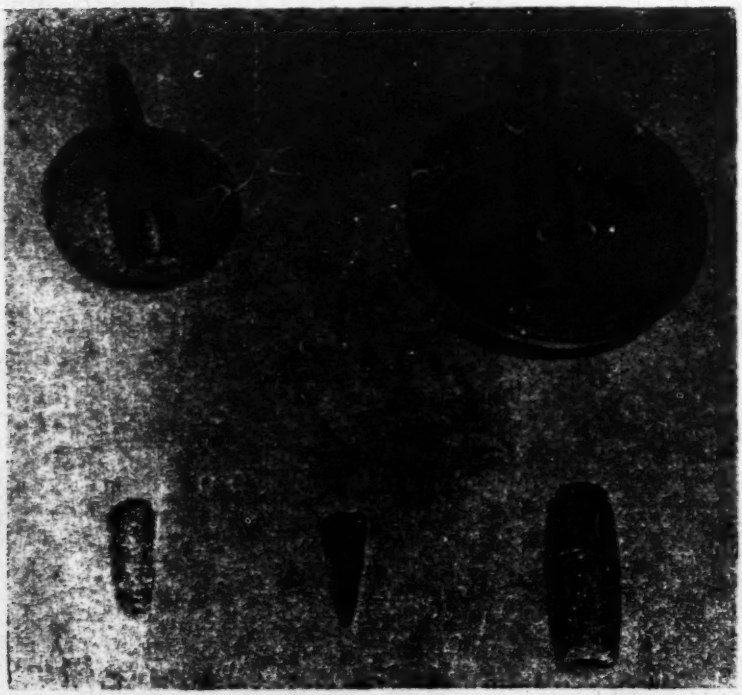

Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Comeilino Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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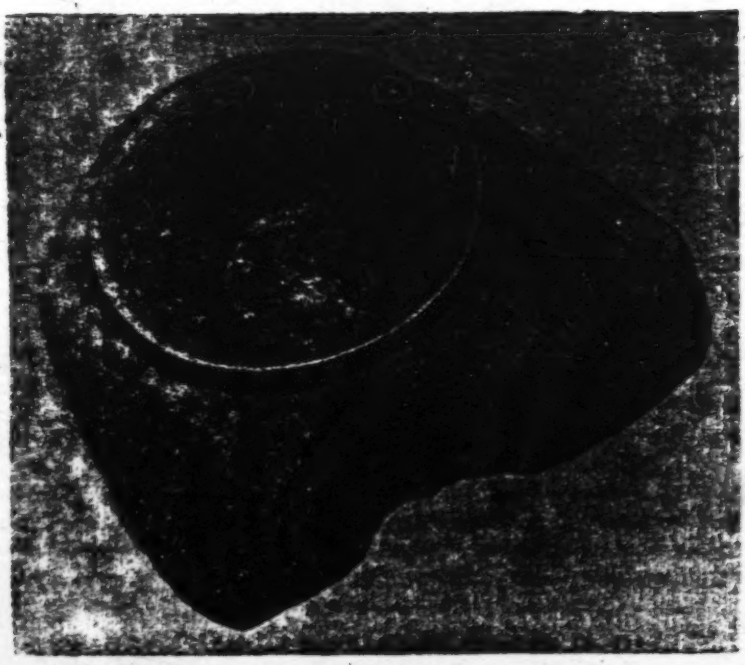

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
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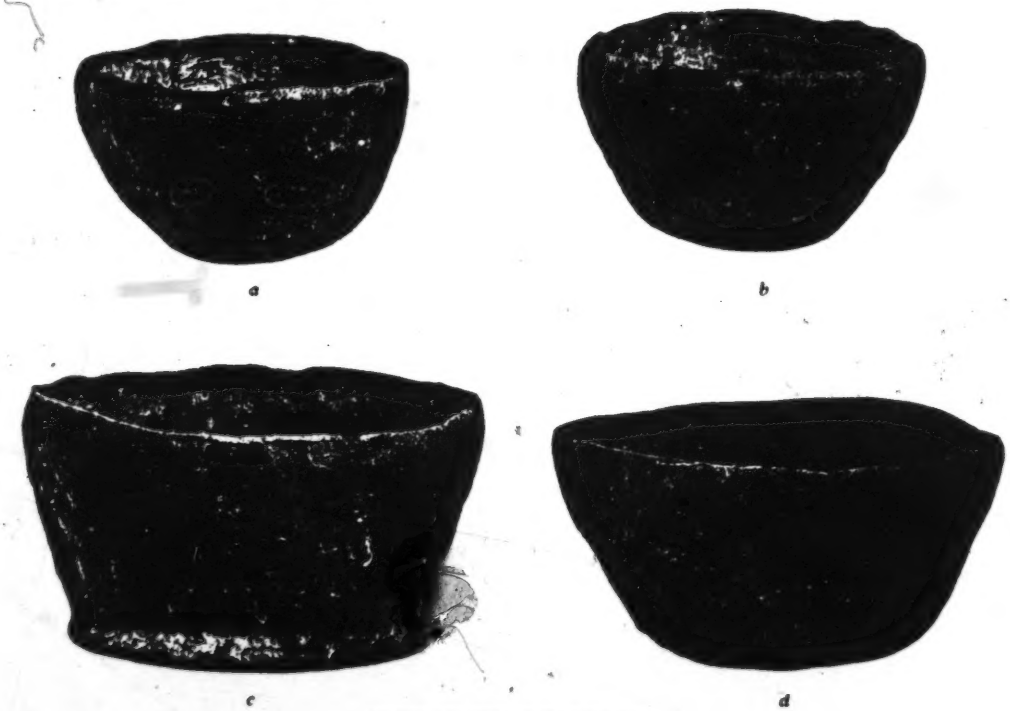
5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25



YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[P. 244(E)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono US25
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a

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244/E]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Mono NS25

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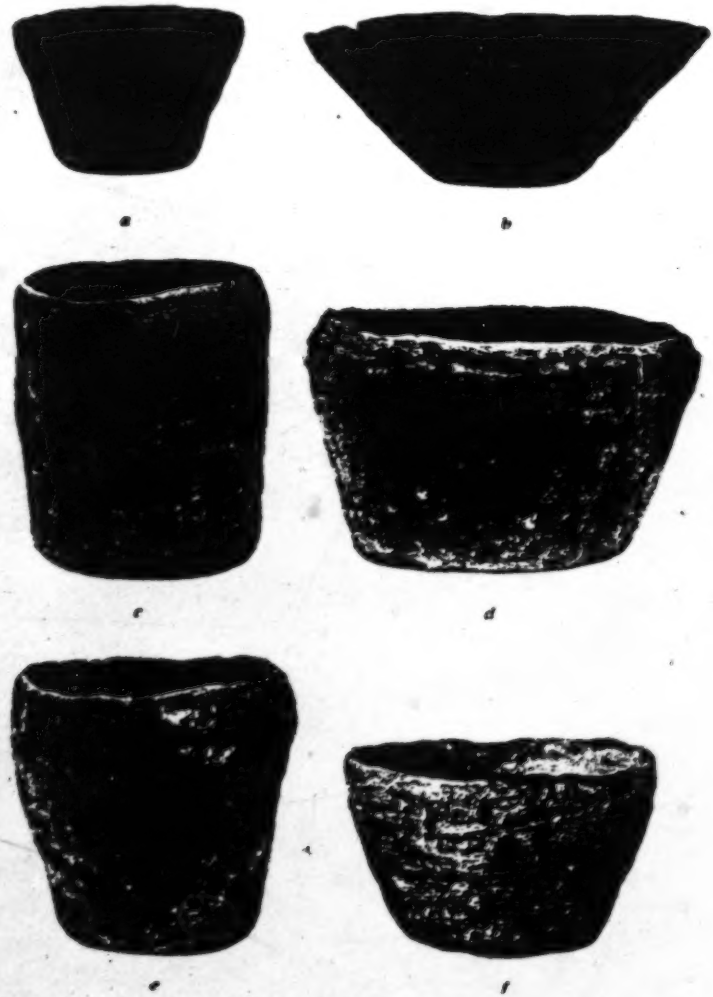

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(G)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts
Western Mono

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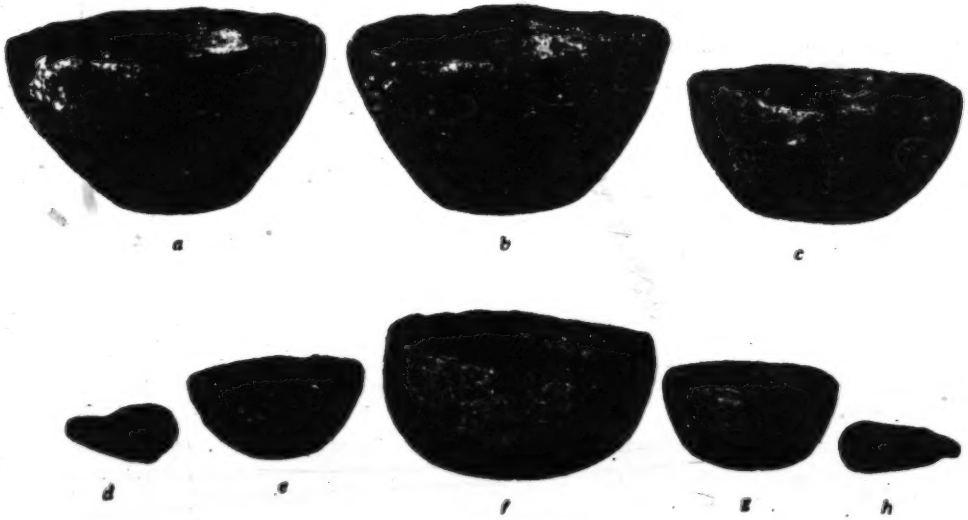

WESTERN MONÓ POTTERY
(University of California)

[p. 244(H)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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[531]

decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

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There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wic (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wic (wina'bi).

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[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Museum numbers, provenience, and dimensions of specimens illustrated.

Plate 95.—*a*, Wobonuch potter testing clay after preparatory pounding; *b*, same rolling first rope to set in base of pot.

Plate 96.—*a*, method of building pot from clay rope; *b*, potter smoothing coils with chip of wood.

Plate 97.—*a*, finishing surface with steatite polishing stone; *b*, Wobonuch method of separating fine and coarse particles of pulverized dry clay.

Plate 98.—*a*, dried pots heating before firing; *b*, two pots undergoing firing, two pipes in foreground being heated.

Plate 99.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Small bowls: *a*, 71196, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 114 mm. diam.; *b*, 71197, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 111 mm. diam.; medium-sized receptacles: *c*, 71242, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 152 mm. diam. at opening; *d*, 70319, Mono, José Basin, Fresno county, 96 mm. height, 157 mm. diam. at opening.

Plate 100.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Cook pot: *a*, 70616, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 203 mm. height, 203–213 mm. diam. from ear to ear. Atypically shaped receptacle: *b*, 71195, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 152 mm. height, 162 mm. diam.

Plate 101.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Medium-sized receptacles: *a*, 70843, Yokuts, Dunlap, Fresno county, 82 mm. height, 133–139 mm. diam.; *b*, 70856, Yokuts, Little Sandy, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 236 mm. diam. at opening. Cooking receptacles: *c*, 70619, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 190 mm. height, 139–153 mm. diam.; *d*, 70618, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 156 mm. height, 223 mm. diam.; *e*, 71217, Mono, Cold Springs, Fresno county, 171 mm. height, 152 mm. diam.; *f* (Univ. Calif. collection, Wobonuch Western Mono specimen), 1–27009, 137 mm. height, 230–249 mm. diam. at rim, 146 mm. diam. at base.

Plate 102.—Western Mono pottery, University of California. Medium-sized receptacles, small bowls, and pipes: *a*, 1–27011, 92 mm. height, 181 mm. diam. at rim, 75 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–27010, 95 mm. height, 184 mm. diam. at rim, 78 mm. diam. at base; *c*, 1–27013, 70 mm. height, 151 mm. diam. at rim, 83 mm. diam. at base; *d*, pipe now in Göteborg Museum, Sweden; *e*, 1–27016, 44 mm. height, 86 mm. diam. at rim, 35–39 mm. diam. at base; *f*, 1–27014, 65 mm. height, 139 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *g*, 1–27015, 49 mm. height, 84 mm. diam., 44 mm. diam. at base; *h*, 1–27018, 86 mm. length, 24 mm. diam. at rim of bowl.

[p. 252-255 not processed]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Figure 41.—Baby-basket, acorn-baskets, sifters, &c.

[Facing p. 376]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [531]

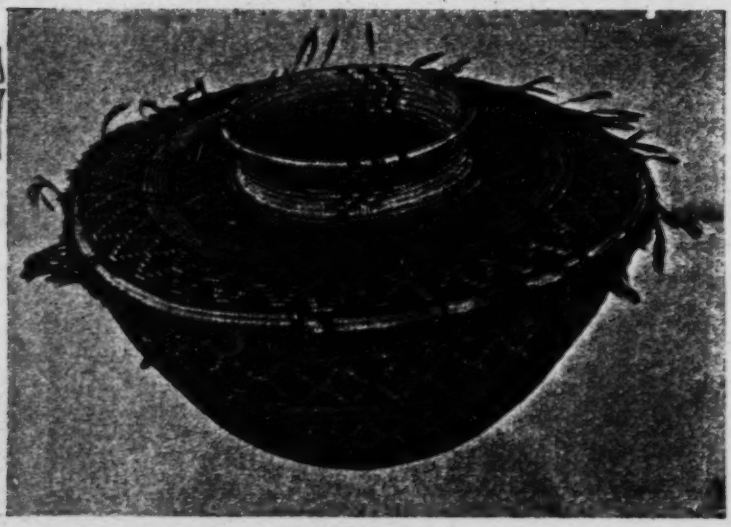

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be- [789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

Y 756 789 [415] 791

in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T Y 756 789 791

Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T 173 756 789 791

One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

281 the outer wrapping around a baby while strapped in its cradle. (M.L.)

Much the same process was used for deerskin, which was dehaired with a strong solution of deer brains. Some men were better tanners than others; while most men got enough deer brains in the course of their hunting to keep themselves supplied, dried brains could be bought from expert hunters who had more than they needed. The brains they mashed into flat cakes which they dried on warm rocks, then stored. J.P. said only deer brains were used: he pronounced cougar and bear brains "dangerous" when asked about them.

Hides were pegged out on sand, fur side down, for about a week. When dry they were folded by being stepped on and put in a storehouse, unless they were to be tanned at once, in which case the skin was not folded but was turned over and again pegged out, this time over damp sand or earth. A strong solution of deer brains, which had been soaking overnight, was worked into the fur. This was left for twenty-four to thirty-six hours and, if the brainy ointment had dried out meanwhile, the dry places were remoistened. When the skin was ready, a scraper of deer rib bone was used all over the hide to scrape off the fur; finishing was done by careful plucking with the fingers. On the inner side all adhering tissue was scraped off with a dull obsidian blade. The skin was then rinsed thoroughly in water and wrung out. A man alone would wring it by bunching it lengthwise and looping it around a ramada post or near-by strong sapling and twisting the ends. Two men would wring a hide by having one hold the two ends while the other turned a stick thrust through the loop. After as much water as possible had been pressed out, the skin was pulled out, stretched, and rubbed. At this stage care was taken not to get dirt on the clean damp skin, the work being done on tule mats or grassy ground. When ready for
● [447] final drying the skin was hung lengthwise over a horizontal pole in the shade (today wire fences serve this purpose). To soften the skin later it was folded twice and pounded lightly with a round hand stone, then pulled and rubbed until soft. (J.P., S.G.)

Rabbitskin Blankets

The skins of rabbits were invariably saved for blankets. Their only other use, according to M.P., was as warm padding to be laid around babies on the cradle board. Such skins were split ventrally, after skinning; they were usually skins already mutilated. The normal method was to cut the skin under the throat and around the head in front of the ears. The four paws were cut off just above the toe joints. Then casing was commenced by pulling on the ears; when the skin was pulled back over the

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit, Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts); also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobonuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from the list as given by J.P.; the list is corroborated, of course, by other informants and much indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions, the yate'ič or "dance managers." Not all informants agree whether this was a regular official or not; perhaps only larger tribes had need of them. They were the "bosses" of the winatums who, both male and female, were worked to the utmost in their responsibility of providing shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the assembly space were erected long shades, with back screens if needed, under which the visitors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the hosts, the other visitors at each end; informants were indefinite as to how far this plan was followed. In the families of the winatums all members helped: the older winatums saw that there was sufficient food and generally directed activities, while their sons supplied wood and water and carried messages, and their wives and daughters prepared and cooked food. The visiting winatums, particularly those of the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts paid for their services just as they paid their own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

Each family had an acorn granary. These 343 were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

The average granary held ten to twenty 251 sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not 251 personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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417
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Figure 88—Yokuts Tule Lodge.

[facing p. 370]

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nıl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went with their mother to do the gathering. This,
[591] of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal
[224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa ̌čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
[562] members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
776 guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "pana´nıt a´mın čana´ši (coming his help-
er; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days [total, six]. The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 On another occasion he wanted to get some-
825 thing to drink, and went to kumku´mıč (humming-
157 bird place) where there was a little saloon.
He came back, drinking along the way, and
finally fell by the roadside. While he was
203 unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let
us pack this man to our den." They took him
home and kept him all night. When he woke in
the morning he was frightened. The bears were
dancing; they told him to join, and all danced
together for some time. At last they let him
go, but told him to be sure to return in four
days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out
as fast as he could and never went back."

756 When talking of the doctor's cache or
556 pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any
of the objects said to be in them. She told
422 the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went black-
berrying in the direction of Kings River. The
old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea,
and died about one week after her return home.
At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ıč was "just
beginning to get his power." He had gone up to
visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by super-
natural means what was happening at home, so
returned. But his mother died before his ar-
[164] rival. Then he went to his father's pački and
brought back a large handsome basket. This he
placed over his mother's head, and he talked,
saying where he had got the basket and that it
was to be buried with her. This was the only
object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely
knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 To illustrate the danger of a layman en-
556 tering a pački she related the following.

422 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipıt, and
his wife went out to dig roots. The old man
753 went toward his father's pački. Though he was
not a shaman, he danced in front of it and
called to his father. The door opened a wee
bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he
put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings
of humna around his neck; he took many baskets.
He returned to his wife and hung beads on her.
They took these things home. Immediately
Čipıt fell ill. His face and eyes became
swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in
six days. He was a plain man and had tampered
with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but
had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grand-
father" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were
very fond of this old man, they played around
him frequently at his house. On one very
foggy morning he told them to run outside be-
cause he was going to die. The fog cleared
suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit.
He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it
had told him he was going to die that day.

Property

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423 feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (ŏo´nıl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

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756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make [535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. [177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
512 Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wač (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all [361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
423 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukshumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

166 and manzanita berries. The Wukchumni also went
222 to Woodlake and Dry Creek for fish and fresh-
423 water oysters. The Wukchumni felt they had a slight edge on the claims to Woodlake. Red (grass) salt was got at Mencken Flat. During these summer trips old people stayed behind with a supply of food, and relatives would return occasionally to see them. An aged person who was on the brink of death would not be left alone; a close relative (mother, sister, or daughter) would remain. When the people came back, they all built new storehouses for their supplies. M.L. said that while she and her
[224] female relatives gathered seeds, her brother went out every day to kill squirrels and rabbits. These he skinned and dried to add to
[281] the winter food supply; the skins were cured and made into blankets.

Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Neighboring Sites

103 The following sites are shown on Local Map B (map 3); the information is from M.L., S.G., M.P., J.P., Tm.W., and S.O. Overlapping Waksachi territory in the Lime Kiln Creek region is shown in another map in Part II.

1. ye''itao: Gawia central village
2. sokoda´o: Gawia campsite
3. čed:pwi´ša: Redbank, so called because of its red earth; also called cida´pw:š
4. poanai´yu: Gawia campsite
5. had:ta´o: Gawia camped there in spring
6. pa''asi: Woodlake; the word for any lake or large pool; regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod
7. hai''yuhao
8. čaše´ša: rocky hill east of no. 7 (not positive)
9. waipau´ču
10. topo´no: meaning "buckeye tree," a favorite Wukchumni campsite; present homesite of J.P.
11. sukai''yu: another campsite; present site of "Willow Gate" to J.P.'s place
12. dapa´o: meaning "cottonwood place"
13. wo´kano: Antelope Valley, little hamlet there
14. gutsču´m: Lime Kiln Creek
15. aiya´gu: a small sharp peak
16. opo´nyu: Mencken Flat, a salt-gathering campsite
17. moi´yak: painted rock near no. 29
18. šono´: a flat near the Kaweah River
19. gutsnu´mi: Terminus Beach; Wukchumni village site
20. toño´našu
21. čoiši´šyu: Bell Bluff; meaning "dog place," given also as čoi´šu; believed to be site of a shaman's cache, name refers to magic dog guardian
22. sanukwa´o: a Wukchumni hamlet
23. hotnu´nyu: a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

All persons with supernatural power, and
[788] those respectful to this cosmic force, tipni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

If a man wanted to live long or wished for
[237 432] other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.)[A] If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

A [during the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the 186 valley, the upland Monachi were found to be [197] treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

619 What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the 423 Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing [574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

574 The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they 484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described [501] by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large 574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, 502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the 484 river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3] Ibid.

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them
648 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
252 surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very early to knock down more acorns. They found a
648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so'nil) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

●423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[626] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529 .
[P. 181b] Chuckchansi

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

The salt called 'alit' was derived from
258 salt grass which is covered with a white in-
263 crustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe,
222 the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W [854]

S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

Y W 423

The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

W Y 103 131 361

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Rancheria Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tăveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi´čit toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´n:n, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´ku:k, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon-booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
W the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main con-
343 sideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method.
825 The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
Y tame" (B.O.).

The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
223 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably
343 Yaudanchi).[161]

[161] Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

W Y 231 778 432 825 accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K:lmi´šɛt, winatum, and the chief, Pao'ɛč, at Tušao.

W Y [433]

W Y 233 In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'ɛč was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K:lmišɛt, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K:lmišɛt stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'ɛč reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'ɛč was helped by all his ain:č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K:lmišɛt would help hoist him up.

W Y 231 The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'ɛč and K:lmišɛt "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini´, "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 Bear.---Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain *lineage member*] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

W Y [436]

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773] [169] The identification of tua´kini´ is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Tokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshulul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechahet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowul*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more [501] intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Duiau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 301 824 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 796 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 226 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some [423 616] foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 484 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local [535 527] and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

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12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 481.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives. . ."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
[501] for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
825 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 152 a] Choinimni

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing («pla´o'iša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Gukaai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´kaai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as gukaai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
536 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
● 424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 152 b] Choinimni

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (čuʼ)
796 skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
535 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (leʼaʼla) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušlɨʼlɨn, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušlɨʼlɨn most frequently gave this cermony; Pušlɨʼlɨn was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kaplɨʼlɨn did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao) and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance.
[302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."* The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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*Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, e.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
835 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and tocsac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, ti´pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among W Y [425] friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha´bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´niš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´''ıts) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nıt). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yın, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

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[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[651] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi-
622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment
624 of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's
622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not
556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers [doctors, singers, winatums] involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 124 a] Wukchumni

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´nič´ and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

Y 769 When the funds were accepted, the re-
431 cipients had the opportunity to indulge in
437 trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get
[224] deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were
[558] laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the
[756] Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but Y might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several
[426] individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y

Reciprocity

769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe M in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi fami-
769 lies who stood in this reciprocal relation were
648 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of
767

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[p. 131a] Wukchumni

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ıšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'ıšna mayın; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ıšna mayın; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely
756 because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other
789 informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kasyu´ñıt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyıč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kıč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, [787] not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the [184 426] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 238 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 There was no money exchange for interest (lakına´nič) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money 426 privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

W Y 756 789

pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534]

When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman had to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769

Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak:na´n:č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

W Y [426]

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182]

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´'o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

755 feathers (so´n:l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso´o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p:l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añuṭun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though [428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 80a] Wukchumni

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 160a] Kechayi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them
648 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
252 surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very early to knock down more acorns. They found a
648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so´nıl) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[626] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 197 b] Chuckchansi

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may be classed as omens were mentioned in course by
787 the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 789 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern [778] tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the Cali- [428] fornia archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 [312] 361 [137] The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 [501] The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San 262 824 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass [423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by [428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other 439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 262 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 [224] In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. [439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

T Y 796 276

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

T Y [833]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

T Y [285 431]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

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435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

> The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu´dipi
2. po´ñoi	7. no´mč:n
3. so´p:n	8. mo´ñus
4. ha´po´ñi	9. no´n:p
5. yu´ts:nuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] 576 [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] p. 375.

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo´d:s (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´h:t (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin 431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono č:m) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonoč:m) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 124a] Wukchumni

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´n.č and followed an established method. ● 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected 437 as the recipient; but this tribe was not the tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 124 b] Wukchumni

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normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent, tu ~nwas.)

To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 125 a] Western Mono NS25

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka'suwaš.

Y [756] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

Y [426] This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

Y M 769 648 767 The pairs of Wukchumni and Wakasachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.H., and corroboration of some of

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
852 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
783 held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was
783 brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
837] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

● 431 A further exchange of gifts took place.
846 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
852 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
783 etc., while the young father's family had provided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[269] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177 the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] P. 383.

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, [787] not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the [184 426] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi´čit toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nan, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´kuuk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y [431] W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit·p nuš (will be baby (?)), and the act of giving birth was called ax· diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be W Y [587] "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W Y 584 At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't ● Y often so old." They did this because "they W didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

585 When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, ●431 acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y W 606 591 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home W Y [574] frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kasti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wiki hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakzachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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182 756 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 626 671 262 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of [574 431] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own [431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality [565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 773 829 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or [787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same 182 829 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave
648 some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*pella*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
648 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunad) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles,
825 bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary
782 that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There
432 was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

J.P. described the ritual for bears and
825 eagles.
782

539 If a man killed a bear, he would take it
432 to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to
782 redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the
432 hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or
three chiefly men in a village they would
divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing
feathers, another the leg bones, and another
the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the
meat. "The chief would not let those people
gathered there go away until all the meat was
eaten." When the killer had finished, the
chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in
water so that it would be revived and return to
its supernatural home. As he did this he said,
"tuñdi´ta po´dta ma tupı´nita" (? ? you go
up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter
when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
782 called his people to pay for it. The coyote
lay on a Blanket, the people threw down their
432 strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it
would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man
"buried the whole thing right then because no-
body ate that meat."

825 <u>Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions</u>.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduwıts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again; probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

All persons with supernatural power, and
[788] those respectful to this cosmic force, tapni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

If a man wanted to live long or wished for
[237 432] other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).
[during the puberty and initiation ceremony]. — Analyst]

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Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

Y
W
[766]
[432]

Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

W
Y
[231]

W
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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

W Y 231 778 432 825 W Y [423]

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, Kɛlmi´šɛt, winatum, and the chief, Pao'ɛč, at Tušao.

W Y 223

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'ɛč was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, Kɛlmišɛt, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and Kɛlmišɛt stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'ɛč reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'ɛč was helped by all his ainɛč." Then the old man would jerk the rope and Kɛlmišɛt would help hoist him up.

W Y 231

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'ɛč and Kɛlmišɛt "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini´, "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 W Y [436]

<u>Bear</u>.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini´ is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 233 a] Western Mono. 525

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown W Y [431] away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote.---Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit·p nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called ax· diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

J 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta'nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 485 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by means of one set of cords. The cradle frame
335 (with its permanent mat) was called a'hı́ı́č; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭı́ñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands
[439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home'tı́n (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoı́č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo'ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi'yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi'diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
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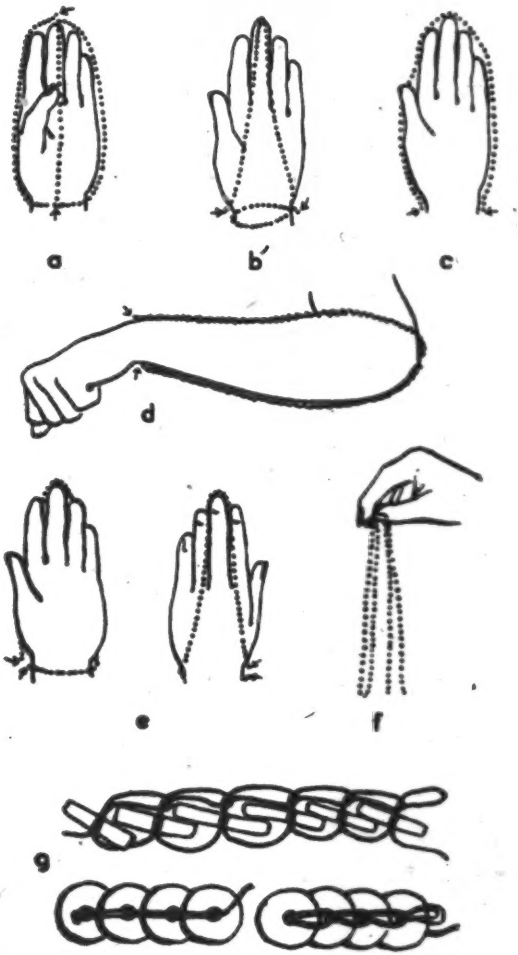
[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

436 attached to them differ slightly from in-
804 formant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok,
435 the measurement around the hand, all informants agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called hista´'a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a equaled 20 cents. A single strand which reached from the wrist around the elbow and back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously half-hitched strand covering the same distance



[284]

Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Waksachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yɛt	6. tu´dipi
2. po´ñoi	7. no´mčɛn
3. so´pɛn	8. mo´ñus
4. ha´po´ñi	9. no´nɛp
5. yu´tsɛnuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] p. 375.

276 pare tobacco for his own use or for sale, but usually there were one or two older persons,
249 men or women, who made a business of it.[223] "It was easy work for old folks who wanted to make a little money" (M.L.). M.L. used to go over toward Yokol with her grandparents to gather it.

Tobacco was never planted or cultivated. But when in the early spring an interested person saw a good growth of tobacco, he would return to it a few weeks later and pinch out the tops of the plants "to make the leaves grow big" (ku'u ˈtuna ta ˈñhi mita ˈm ṭu ˈdan nip ta ˈptap). When the plants were full grown and the lower leaves about to turn yellow (hi ˈam aku ˈm ṭada ˈki'aš, now perhaps yellow), these leaves were picked off. As others showed a faint change of color, they too were picked. The leaves were washed individually in a basket of cold water, were packed together while still wet, and tied in bundles. They were left in a clean shady spot for about two weeks, during which time they soured and turned dark yellow. Then they were untied and spread out in the sun to dry.

In the meantime the last leaves left on the plants had ripened, and these were picked, put in a pottery jar, covered with water, and boiled for one day. The decoction was then left to stand for a full day in the sun.

276 Now the dried, soured leaves were pounded up in a special hole reserved for the purpose in a bedrock mortar. This process, too, usually took all day. The resulting powder was combined in a large jar with the cooked thick liquid in such proportions that the mixture had a doughlike consistency. It was taken out in fistfuls, shaped in small rough lumps, and laid on a rock to dry. When entirely dried, these lumps were broken up and repulverized in the mortar hole. Once more the powder was combined with the tobacco liquid and shaped into little cakes. This time the cakes were carefully shaped, either into round balls or low, broad cylinders "like a thick pancake." Such cakes were merely called "tobacco" (šogan). When thoroughly dried, they were carefully collected and stored in a buckskin sack. Later on they might be taken about and sold; they were said
[435] to bring $2.50 to $5.00 each, depending on their size.[224]

Some liquid remained in the pot: only a very small amount of these fine dregs was ever available. This was boiled down, or left to stand in hot sunshine until it had become thick enough to shape. It was worked into small slender cylinders about the size of one's forefinger. This was called pulči ˈna, was very expensive, and had special uses. Often a hole was drilled through one end of the cyl-

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[223] A full account of Tübatulabal tobacco manufacture, with comparative data, is given by E. Voegelin (pp. 36-38).

[224] The price seems high. Neither informant (M.L. or J.P.) could evaluate them in terms of shell beads.

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after
755 dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were
[827] caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress,
535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear
292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman
237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.
755 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or
522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826]
[435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. H.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (she'et) skin.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca´was. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222

Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in
222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected.
[252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked
[252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some
[251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

222 Grubs of a small black butterfly[32] were also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little
252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These
[251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the
[439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid
263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the
435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be slightly larger than the lump of salt for which
439 it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

263 The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

According to N.W., rock salt was got from
263 the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of
439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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[32] These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
salt grass which is covered with a white in-
263 crustation when growing. It was gathered by
hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said
J.R., and no one else can take the berries from
222 them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe, the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
292 string into which chicken-hawk down had been
237 rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma,
W Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.
Y The skirt was made by either men or women,
292 but the headdress was made only by men. An old
462 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
435 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done
Y with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
301 ed point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat
304 stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o´čik (red), toiye´'i očik (white), and mutakei´wik očik (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

435 In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
438 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

436 When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
172 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791
chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796
arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302]
either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177]
Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535
inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177]
from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181
a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648
take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by [177
white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead
of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302]
appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

583
Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585
virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435
anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the 834
arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
609 bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particu-
● 436 larly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nel was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyɛt was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Lučú´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
131 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the
forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a
[824] horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
321 coastal people to the west). By laying them on
a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a
[439] stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor N.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y [354] of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they T Y were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening 515 [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T to entertain others or to practice, a man would Y dance the ha´tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of 517 Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524 MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wɨs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´'i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by
means of one set of cords. The cradle frame
335 (with its permanent mat) was called a'hı́ ́lıč;
the separate mat (mattress), even when the in-
fant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭıñi,
the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle
is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

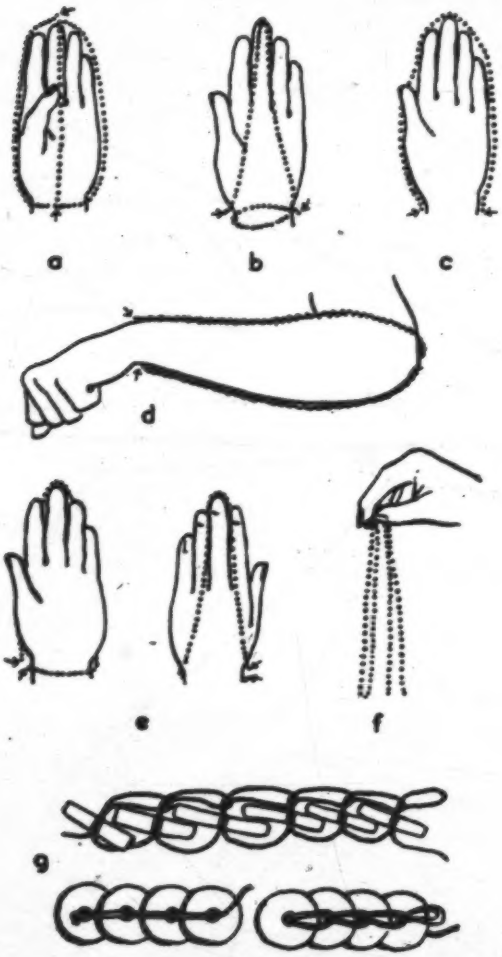
436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps
[439] Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home ́tın (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoı́č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo ́ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi ́yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi ́diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.F.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

436 attached to them differ slightly from in-
804 formant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok,
435 the measurement around the hand, all informants agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called hista´'a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a equaled 20 cents. A single strand which reached from the wrist around the elbow and back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously half-hitched strand covering the same distance



[284]

Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Waksachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth ~~twenty-five~~ cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the čhok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the čhok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu´dipi
2. po´noi	7. no´mčan
3. so´pan	8. mo´nus
4. ha´po´ni	9. no´nap
5. yu´tsanuk	10. ti´´uv

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] P. 375.

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.
386 822 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.
ša´lu: black. Charcoal.
wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi te´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi teyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi teyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi teyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi'op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 [616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in.. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were 321 "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
321 the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
324 and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 <u>Tobacco</u>.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

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[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

W Y 231 778 432 825 accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi´š·t, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

W Y [423]

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmiš·t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmiš·t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmiš·t would help hoist him up.

W Y 223

W Y 231

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmiš·t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 W Y [436]

Bear.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

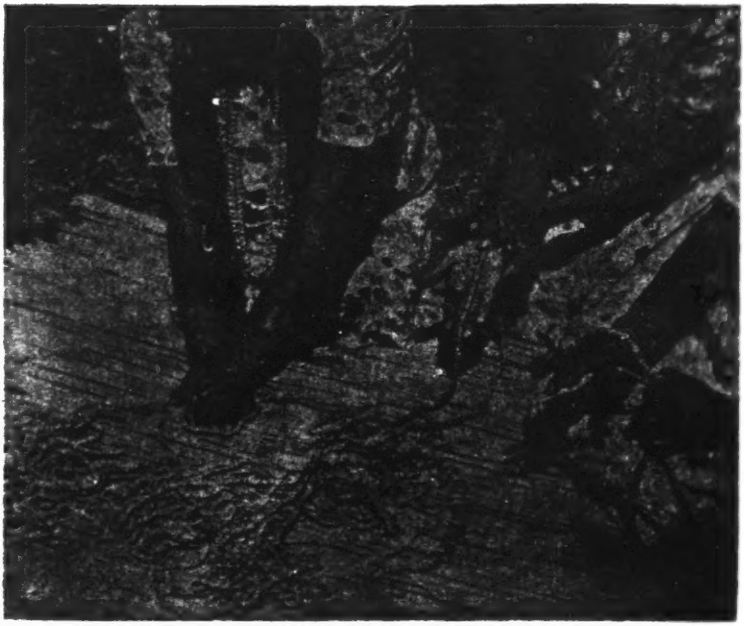
At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

● 436 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made 438 up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chia*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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804
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Yokuts bead money and three types of measurement used by various Yokuts tribes to denote one Chok, or unit of money. At the left is shown the measurement extending around the hand. At the center is the measurement extending from wrist to fingertips. At the right is the measurement around the hand foreward of the thumb. The Indian woman at the left is wearing strings of bead money around her neck and in her hair.

Between the Wukchumne, *Pahdwishi* and *Kaweah*, the *Chok*, or unit of measurement of bead money—in other words, the Yokuts dollar—was the distance around the hand, measuring just outside of the thumb. Among the *Telumne* (Tay'-lumne), distant only twenty miles from the Wukchumne, it was the distance from the tip of the longest finger to the first wrinkle in the wrist. Incidentally, these two distances are almost equal. Some of the Yokuts tribes measured the chok around the rim of the hand. Ichow explained that in such cases the hand was placed flat on the ground and the beads measured around the hand from the last joint of the thumb to the last joint of the little finger.

436
804
134

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

435 In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
438 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

436 From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

436 When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
172 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls. 436 172

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F. W. Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as probably being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded to the *Entimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves. 487 439 [172]

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California. 487 439 172 [177]

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaelogical evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast. 487 439

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 It is difficult to obtain a set standard of Yokuts values
436 that white people can understand. It has also been very diffi-
487 cult to obtain from the Yowlumne an easily understood explana-
tion of such values. Perhaps the simplest of these has been that between deer skins and obsidian, a bundle of fifty tanned deer skins bringing about fifty pounds of obsidian.

In Yowlumne territory obsidian could be traded for anything, and had a very high trade value. It could be taken to Yokohl Valley and traded for soapstone, or to the West Side and traded for asphaltum. Some traders carried obsidian to the sea coast to trade for the seashells named above.

A few definite things have been learned about the value of seashells, which were the basis of most Yokuts money. One of these is that the complete shells had little value compared to the beads that were made from them. From one periwinkle, or olivella shell, at most three beads could be made and this required much labor. One tanned deerskin was worth three such beads. Beads or ornaments made from abalone, keyhole limpet, or Pismo clam shells had more value than did those made from periwinkle shells. These ornaments, or beads, were much larger than those made from periwinkle shells. From these few facts can be determined the relative values of a number of Yokuts commodities.

When the first white settlers arrived in the San Joaquin Valley they paid the Indians as much as twenty-five cents for a large, tanned deerskin. Some were purchased for as little as five cents. This furnishes almost the only data available concerning the comparative values of Yokuts and white money.

436 In 1852 a Kaweah Indian boy was brought to trial at Vi-
685 salia for shooting an arrow into a work ox and seriously injur-
ing it. For this offense he was fined fifty buckskins. The fine was promptly paid by his people. From early records and the statements of pioneers we know that an ox was at that time worth from sixty to eighty dollars. If we knew what portion of the value of the ox the fine represented we would have a ready measurement of the value of buckskins. We are probably only justified in assuming that an uninjured ox was valued at more than fifty buckskins.

439 Wahumchah's grandfather and a brother of this grand-
487 father were two of the four Yowlumne Yokuts who swam with
Padre Garcés across Kern River at the Rio Bravo Rancho (present Olcese Ranch) in May of 1776. The great-uncle lived

3:. Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 brother take big roll of tanned deer skins, maybe antelope skins, to desert, bring back maybe fifty pounds *kots* (obsidian). Then
487 he make good arrow points and sell 'em for good Yokuts money, maybe shell beads, maybe *kadis* (steatite) beads. He sell one good tanned deerskin for one good kadis bead, maybe three good seashell bead."

The preceding represents all the definite information I have been able to record concerning Yokuts trading and trade routes, but around the remainder of the rim of the San Joaquin Valley are easy mountain passes which show signs of Indian encampments and which were undoubtedly old Yokuts trade routes. The fact that early Spanish and American expeditions traveled these passes, often guided by Indians, makes it almost certain that they were so used. Some diaries kept by scribes accompanying these early expeditions actually record that they were following Indian trails.

Most prominent of these old routes through the Coast Range are the following: Coalinga to San Benito and King City; Big Panoche Valley; Los Baños Creek and via Saucelito and Quien Sabe Valleys; San Luis Creek and Pacheco Pass; Orestimba and De la Puerta Creeks; Hospitál Creek; Corral Hollow; Buenos Aires Creek; and Altamont Pass. Over most of these passes roads were established early in the settlement of the San Joaquin Valley. Old trails through them connected with others paralleling the Coast Range and Sierra foothills and the west bank of the San Joaquin River and the lakes to the south. Along these three last routes were established the first wagon roads to traverse the length of the San Joaquin Valley.

THE YOKUTS MONETARY SYSTEM

436 It will come as a surprise to many persons that the Yokuts, so often contemptuously described as "diggers" or "the lowest form of human life," were among the few Indians in North America who developed a medium of exchange worthy of being classified as a monetary system. This writer had gathered data from aged Yokuts for about twenty years before he became aware of the fact that when the Spanish arrived the Yokuts were advancing out of the more primitive trade and barter culture into that of a system of monetary exchange. True, their monetary system was very crude, but the necessary elements were there and the money could not be successfully counterfeited. A penniless Yokuts could kill deer, tan the skins, carry them

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor. 436

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley. [454]

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money. [301]

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well 436 324 [438]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 as more thousands in all stages of completion. A study of these
324 proved that the steatite was first split into thin slabs, gouged, scraped, and sanded smooth, then cut into strips by means of a chipped stone saw. I found two of these saws, their chipped
[412] edges still coated with steatite. The strips were next cut into squares. Cuts were made from opposite sides until the strip was severed. Then holes were drilled in the square blanks.

Ichow, last chief of the Wukchumne, explained to me the whole process of making steatite beads, not knowing at the time that I had already found proof of almost every statement he was making. Said Ichow, "When I was a boy I saw an old Wukchumne man make lots beads. He drive stake in ground. He sit on ground straddle that stake. He cut little square hole in top that stake. He put square bead in that hole. Then he take little stick with *kots* (obsidian) drill point on end. He spin that drill between his hands and make holes in them square beads."

Ichow went on to explain that the square beads were strung on a small, hardened rod of chamise wood and rolled between the hand and a gritty, flat piece of sandstone. This ground the corners from the square beads and left them of uniform size. This steatite bead was the most common form of Wukchumne money. Said Ichow, "Most our money was them soapstone beads. Them *Telumne, Kaweah, Koyeti,* and *Choinok* used the same beads almost all time. Them *Chunut, Tachi,* and *Wowol* people used more shell money, but they used some our soapstone money, too."

The most interesting feature of this steatite Yokuts money is that the edges of it were milled, almost exactly as are the edges of our silver dollar. The principal difference in the milling was that the Yokuts bead-money was milled at an angle with the flat sides. This milling is surprisingly uniform and will be found on this form of Yokuts money at old village sites from Paleta and Tejon Canyon on the south, to Coalinga and Friant on the north.

436 Spangles and ornaments of various forms and sizes were
301 made from abalone shell. I have several statements establishing the fact that they passed from person to person as money; but because of their supernatural power, they were valued so highly that such use was greatly restricted. They were known as *Tahp* and were used on *Tripne* (supernatural) ceremonial costumes. They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.-Analys]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 From the Pismo clam were also produced nicely smoothed
321 and rounded curved objects with pointed ends. These were drilled from the pointed ends, the opposing holes meeting at the middle. I have never seen one of these objects taken any place in Yokuts territory, except from the mouth cavity of a buried skeleton.

Slender, straight-sided tubes were also made from Pismo clam-shell. They varied from three-eighths of an inch in diameter and three inches long, down to one-fourth of an inch in diameter and less than one inch long. Some were not cylindrical, being larger at the middle than at the ends. The Wukchumne Yokuts called these *Cutscotch* (Coots'-cotch).

The most valued of all clamshell money were long, curved tubes. These varied with the size of the shell, the largest being more than six inches in length. They were slightly wider than they were thick and were perforated lengthwise. This perforation is the most remarkable feature of all Yokuts manufactures.

The shell of the Pismo clam is as hard as the glaze on a piece of china. To drill two opposing holes, each three inches deep, through such material, having them meet in the middle, is a feat worthy of modern tools in the hands of a practiced mechanic. Mayfield, who was a white man raised by the *Choinimni*
[439] Yokuts, stated to me that an old artisan of that tribe obtained in trade slender objects which he (Mayfield) believed were "walrus, or sea lion whiskers." The large ends of these were pounded between two rocks, forming a sort of short-bristled brush. A shallow hole was drilled with a stone-pointed drill as a starter. Fine, sharp sand was placed in this hole. Then the brush-pointed "whisker" was placed on top of the sand and spun between the palms of the hands. Mayfield had not seen the Pismo clam money drilled in this manner, but had seen other hard objects so drilled. From Ichow I learned that an identical process was used by the Wukchumne and Yokodo. The only variance was that no "whisker" of any sort was used. The drill was made from the slender chamise-root splint used in reducing
[412] the square steatite beads to a round form. Said Ichow, "That old fellow take piece of green chamise root and scrape it just about this size [illustrating with a piece of ordinary bailing wire which he picked up beside his chair and which he continued to hold in his hand as he talked]. Then he hold this piece root over fire and scrape and dry him good and straight and hard like

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this wire." A brush was pounded on the end of the chamise-root splint and use made of it exactly as described by Mayfield. 436 321

In my collection of Indian artifacts are a number of these Pismo clam-shell tubes that had been broken before they were placed in the mouths of the dead. In a number of cases it is clearly shown that the two opposing holes did not at first meet at the middle. In the correction of this error was involved the most surprising feat exhibited in all Yokuts manufactures. The drill was diverted so that a branching hole was made and the two holes did meet. This was done so as not to be visible until the tube was broken.

The common Yokuts name for the Pismo clam form of Yokuts money is *Humasa* (Hoo-mah'-nah).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weazel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

[825 436 177]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237 therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

136
did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east. [439]

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large 136
archeological excavations in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake 172
to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12]

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea [321]
shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done 439
some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from [436]
salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products.

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people 105
who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a [262]
relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple.

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the 105
lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts 184
to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi-

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

[P. 56a] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat-
[223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare
439] wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the
Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels
437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y Very little that is definite can be
M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village
M where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood
[105] mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona´či by the
648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

321 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.)
412 were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 An assortment of obsidian blades, also
412 made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 Women came by these possessions in a var-
[584] iety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a
285 burden basket was frequently included as this
431 was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.
428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these"
[764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in-
[437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 The two plants used for poisoning fish
278 (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he
202 went directly to the chief's house. A mat was set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[431] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ñed), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ɩt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´nıč and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 124 b] Wukchumni

769
431 normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent,
tu ~~hwas~~.)
437 To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y [756] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but Y [426] might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

Y M 769 648 767 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

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Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

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Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

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[462]
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[437]

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353-373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757] little dishes (ṭipe´kıl kı´was). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 No detailed description of basketmaking
438 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

285 In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 18] Western Mono N525

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

TWINED BASKET TYPES		YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
		CHUNUT	WUPCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
	close twine, always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern					
1 COOKING BASKET		?	pake'no	pono	pato-n	tapond'li
Y [824] [438]	close twine, stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes				
2 BURDEN BASKET		o'nas	o'kal	o'nal	wono pono	?
	medium open twine, handled					
3 SEEDBEATER		ho'lai	yanaki te'nyuk	ko' phai	pato-'	tanaho
	fine open twine, no handle					
4 SIEVE		?	te'nyuk	ko'phai	pu''an	?
	coarse open twine, no handle					
5 FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER		?	o'pal	ko'phai	pu''an	?
	close twine; stiffened with soaproot juice	unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	te'o'li^{u}a	?
	open twine; cage has lid					
7 HANGING BASKET OR CAGE		used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

[P. 56a] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine Y acorns of the black oak.

To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- [223] wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with 439 them to make shelters, then sold them to the Y Patwisha, who lacked tule.

The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak [222] abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the Y above-mentioned tribes.

The Tachi from the lake bought burden 439 baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was east- Y ward, of commodities westward.

Very little that is definite can be M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe 177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant [191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village M where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- [105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ˆci by the 648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa ˆtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

411 Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's
237 sinew, splits it up with flint into small
322 fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining -- for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow -- and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. When not used the bow was unstrung, and the string tied around the left limb of the bow, and to prevent the slightest lesion of either the bow or the string the former had a section of fur from some animal's tail, about four inches long, slipped onto it.

411 Arrows (toi´yuš) according to S.G., were
237 about 2 feet long for deer, a bit less than 2 feet for bear-killing, as not more than 2 inches of the arrow extended beyond the bow when it was drawn. For small game a 4-foot, one-piece, arrow of willow (kai´wan) was used. The cane arrow (si´kəd) had a foreshaft of oak sprout, which, when shaped to a point, was ground down on a rock and then heated over coals for hardening. Deer arrows were of cane with an obsidian tip (fig. 10, e, f) on the foreshaft. All arrows had three feathers, preferably "squirrel" hawk (šo´hup) wing feathers. The top of each split feather was fastened first, each one being inserted under a separate turn of the binding sinew. When the bottoms of the feathers were fastened down, they were laid a trifle out of line to give a slight spiraling of the feathers, "to make the arrow fly straight." The feathers had to be left wing feathers, as only one half of each feather was used, and these were always laid on with the "right side" (outside) toward the worker.[176] S.G. did not know how the obsidian
[438] points were made. He says a natural obsidian was obtained from the lake people: if his statement is correct they must, in turn, have gotten it from Coast Range people.

411 Arrows were kept in a quiver made of a
237 whole fox skin with fur left on. It was called a´oja timai´ya (fox sack) and was hung on the right shoulder.

Of Yaudanchi arrows Kroeber states:[177]

[176] I neglected to inquire if a left-handed arrowmaker used right wing feathers which, it seems, would be required. Possibly such a man would insert the feathers with the wrong side toward himself.

[177] Handbook, 530.

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in
726 which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

Ih referring to neighboring people,
101 directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other *mountaineers to the south, Tübstulshal (Pitanisha)* by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously
823 by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.
361
103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's foray.

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
● [438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.U. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 228 a] Western Mono NS25

Musical Instruments

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Flute.---This (u´tač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´tau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

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Whistle.---This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.---For this instrument (ča´o'ıč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

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Clapper.---This (ta´ohıl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

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Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pıt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kın). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lın nım ti´'ıs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ım ti'ıs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

W Y 796 276 taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752 Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ɛč broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276 At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438] The jimsonweed plants (taña ñibᵃ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki ´lɛš and Koti ´diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuñao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiwpinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish,* or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup,* the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start. 438 484 123

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials. [141]

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317 blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135] I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302 for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439 White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317 near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[824 to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such [261]
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made 438 up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chin*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
435 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of
438 average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

436 When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
172 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor. 436

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons [454] in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley.

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair [301] ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money.

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable 436 form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* 324 Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. [438] It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 542
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call-
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with 513
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 513
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. 237
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove. [438]

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[134] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. [illegible]as black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctor[illegible] the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know ju[illegible] they used it. That was their own business. When somel[illegible] died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] R. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353-373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating
613 the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the
619 basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny
621 hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices
177 were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the
613 practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or
177 Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the up-
778 land Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural
177 beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 On the side of material culture a more
439 even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4]Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5]Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 595.

[6]E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a
184 Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
609 bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

● 439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particu-
436 larly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
574 visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´´i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

[484] Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Y [361] Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɑn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of Y [164] balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɑl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y [439] The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɑt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T [411] The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T 101 131 The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɑn, where there was a deep little river."

Y 103 131

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the
forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a
[824] horizontal stripe under each eye. A small
black spot was added under each horizontal
stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
321 coastal people to the west). By laying them on
a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a
[439] stone held in the hand, they were broken up
into several parts, which were again cracked
into smaller pieces by the same method. Each
piece was given a circular shape by rubbing
down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill
(wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end
of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill
[237] on the left thigh while the right hand pressed
the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48]Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor N.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49]Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 56a] Wukchumni Western Mono N525

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
131 Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat-
[223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with
● 439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden
437 baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y Very little that is definite can be
M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood
M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
[105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʼci by the
648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa ʼtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humta´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Nuṭo´ni,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced natsu´ni by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P 656]

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states [834] that the breechclout was not removed during bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven 291 ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi´´ič (fig. 13, g). 291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom 294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, 286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

A sandal (daki´´ič) of thick hide, deer 291 neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very 294 hot weather or when making a long journey. Several layers of hide were cut to the foot 281 pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

Sandals were not worn by women. No type 291 of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions 281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

291 their construction were all unintelligible.
281 M.L., now blind, said that the Wukchumni and Patwisha, but not the Gawia, had a moccasin called woñka´da. It had two seams and a "piece up the front" (a tongue?). The Yaudanchi bought ready-made moccasins from the Eastern [439] Mono. These had a seam up the toe-front and tied in front at the ankle; they were called ča´k:t (M.S. did not know their Mono name).

Men ordinarily wore the hair long and
302 parted in the middle; they did not wear bangs. When it proved a nuisance at work, it was tied at the nape of the neck with a length of string or leather thong. Yaudanchi men, on dress occasions, tied their hair in a "club" at the nape of the neck with an eagle-down string (ča´yi); this arrangement was called a´pati. In hunting, the hair was knotted and held in place with wooden skewers.

A hair net was not used on ordinary occasions, but as a foundation for feather head ornaments with ceremonial dress. It was not used by women. Of fairly fine mesh, 1 to 2 inches to a taut loop, it was rectangular, roughly 12 to 15 inches wide and 30 to 40 inches long. There was a definite way of putting it on (fig. 7). With the hanging hair pushed into a cluster at the back of the neck, the net was laid lengthwise over the head so that the front end hung over the face to the

Fig. 7. Method of donning hair net. a, net laid on with flap over face. b, flap gripped in teeth, hair and net twisted together. c, twist wrapped around head. d, end tucked in and flap rolled back over twist.

411 As the best instrument of this group,
322 No. 1-3943 was selected for description. It measures 3 feet, 7-3/4 inches in over-all length and is 1-3/8 inches in width at center. The bow curvature is slight, and only one end is now recurved. The ends differ, one having a projection to carry the permanent fastening of the bowstring, the other hooked (fig. 10, c), the string being hooked and unhooked over this end. This weapon differed from the others of the group in having a hand grasp 7-1/2 inches wide of skin thong wound around the bow at the center. The wrappings were exactly parallel, touching but never overlapping. The wrapping was started by laying one end along the outside and returning the wrapping over this end. On the back about 6 inches above the grasp was
[237] glued a red-headed woodpecker's scalp. It is possible that this was a hunter's talisman.

The sinew-backed bow (fig. 10, b) was doubtless made of mountain cedar [juniper] as
[439] Kroeber states, as was true for the neighboring Mono from whom, in fact, most Yokuts bows were obtained.[173] The sinew used was that taken from the long back muscles of deer; it was fastened to the back of the bow with glue made of boiled deer brains. The string was of sinew (pik·t).

Kroeber states:

> The commonest type [of bow], primarily for the hunt, was nearly as long as a man, of about two fingers' width and the thickness of one. The ends were recurved, probably through a curling back of the thickened sinew. Bows made specifically for fighting were shorter, broader, and flatter, and pinched in the middle. Except for being unpainted and probably not quite so extreme in form, this type appears to have been the same as the northern California one.[174]

Powers describes Yokuts bows as he saw them.[175]

> As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted.
> [439] Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows [sic--no sinew-backed bows], but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly.

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[173] A description of making the sinew-backed bow is in the Wobonuch section, Pt. II.

[174] Handbook, 530.

[175] P. 373.

pushing motion. Willow arrows were straightened by the same method.

223 349 Bird hunting.--Kroeber attributes the pigeon booth to the Yaudanchi and describes a similar method by which they captured eagles.[1n]

The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait [237] and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

223 The Wukchumni went up the Kaweah River into Patwisha territory to get wild pigeons (šo''owin). They had their own booths up [239] there. They took with them house mats for temporary shelter, and these they sold to the Patwisha when returning.

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Fig. 11. Wukchumni hunting and fishing blind. a, log float. b, end view. c, sewn tule screens in place.

6. [1n]Handbook, 529, 524, pl. 45.

Salt

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[439]

Modern "American" salt is called kuyu. In old times two kinds of salt were available. Rock salt (tus) was bought from the Monachi (Eastern Mono), who said it "came from a whole hill of salt that looked like snow." Before it was used this salt was heated on hot coals, which caused it to crumble. The other and more common salt (a´d:t) was derived from marsh grass, and was called in English "red salt" because "it looked red all over the grass."

Once M.L. and her stepmother, who was a Gawia, went over to Haditao for salt. The old women dug up the grass that grew there. She got some wood and made a fire. At sundown she put the grass on the fire which had burned down to coals. M.L. went to sleep but her stepmother stayed up until the grass was reduced to ashes. Then she lay down for a little while. She would not let the little girl look closely at the fire, nor would she herself eat anything. She worked all the next day piling up more grass. At sundown she ate a little bit but would not drink, explaining that if she ate much or drank water there would be nothing in the fire when she finished. When the ashes were brushed away there were lumps of salt in the bottom of the fire. The old woman lifted these out and freed them from the ashes by shaking them in an open-twined basket.

In 1925 M.L. had some grass-salt which she prized. It was greyish pink in color, had the texture of coarse sugar and the taste of mild vinegar.

Kroeber makes a somewhat different statement about grass-salt.[191]

The Yaudanchi,...with other southern tribes, gathered a salty grass known as alit and beat it on stones to extract the juice; which was particularly favored with green clover.

This was a grass growing in alkaline ground which was abundant in the tular.

Woman's Household Equipment

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A Wukchumni woman's housekeeping equipment comprised one or more digging sticks, a soaproot brush, hot-rock lifters, and a "set" of baskets. The digging stick (ča´poi, lit., mountain ash) was made of manzanita, if obtainable, or of young white oak. The length varied according to the owner's preference. The tip was charred and rubbed down on rough stone which gave a heat-hardened point; the point was reworked by the same method when it became too blunt. Sometimes a woman who liked a short stick (about four feet long) would contrive a

[191] Handbook, 530.

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (čine ž·l) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings of string. The liquid from the bulb was
[314] viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types
482 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ñaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by
335 means of one set of cords. The cradle frame (with its permanent mat) was called a'hı́ ́lıč; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭıñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands
[439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home´tın (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoı́č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo´ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi´yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi´diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
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[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 143 b]
Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's 439 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

186 [192]

What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

619 423 [574]

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

574 484 [501] 574 502 484

[text continues on p. 145]

[3] Ibid.

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

482 [854] Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute *534 (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living [237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] [198] A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay 302 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at 386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the [439] Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wen) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was 276 called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called so´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11]Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12]This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13]Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14]Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

619 together to gather acorns, just as the Wuk-
222 chumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 In spite of the somewhat inimical rela-
439 tions with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɛs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɛ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɛn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 Few sites or localities could be named by
103 E.M.; these have not been mapped.
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aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɛč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɛč: got liquor

koko´hɛp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [742] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by 184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [209] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [184] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

251 three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in 222 the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. [252] Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked [252] in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some [251] people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

Grubs of a small black butterfly* were 222 also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little 252 hot water; they were not cooked long. These [251] were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

263 Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the [439] Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid 263 for either by bead money or by baskets. If the 435 payment was a basket, this receptacle would be 439 slightly larger than the lump of salt for which it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

The salt so obtained was mixed with water, 263 "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

According to N.W., rock salt was got from 263 the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of 439 Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half

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*These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 .
[P. 181b] Chuckchansi

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
263 of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
263 salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from
222 them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe, the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about the material, merely saying that the beads were
321 made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. per-
324 foration, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 <u>Tobacco</u>.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the
439 ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

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796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono [439] and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

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22. na´´an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo-no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´´owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata´wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´´iu: Badger
31. kiču´´u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo´o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´´: Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´ᵘwijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Paᵘwijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´´pwets), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Vailey, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order. [574]

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´s:p); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region. Y [322]

Warfare

W Y 726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

W Y [177] Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927. W Y [556]

W Y 342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was W Y [574] thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y [361] There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Wakasachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W Y at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [352] Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head [522] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] 513 There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 217 b] Western Mono N525

W Y 343 515 clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513] Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533 No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kıč) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y 291 [439] <u>Footgear</u>.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Wak-
Y sachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
[237 foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
439] bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt,
Y which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
292 of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ŏa'
237 string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

W The skirt was made by either men or women,
Y but the headdress was made only by men. An old
292 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
462 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he
435 sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O.,
Y had his or her ears punched. This was done
with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
301 ed point was pressed from in front against the
304 lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192] o´čik (red), toiye´'i očik (white), and mutakei´wik očik (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

Y W 381 411

Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

Y W 411

For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apᵃ) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

W Y [324] 413

The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dk:d, Michahai; ha´ob¹, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called marasoˈgomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I).

W Y [437]

The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

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[156] The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

Fishing

Y W 226 Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Y W 263 258 Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now Y W a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put [264] directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ṭi´k:t koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´l:t, and in Waksachi, u´nab¹. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to Y W cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

[439] Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Y W 272 263 Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´m:t (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

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[162] Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

W Y 222 262 Y W [252] W Y [462] 251 Y W [481] W Y 262 252 W Y [439] W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

Yucca.--The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Piñon nuts.--Pine nuts (pone´diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´°wa. They were superior to the local variety.

Acorns.--Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piča´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [491]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317 blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135] I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302 for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439 White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317 near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[804 to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls. 436 172

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F. W. Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as probably being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded to the *Entimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves. 487 439 [172]

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California. 487 439 172 [177]

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaelogical evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast. 487 439

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne,* quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah,* one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi,* Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

A few Yowlumne traders traveled to what is now Inyo County to trade for mineral salt, and for obsidian, the volcanic glass used in making arrow and spear points. They also traveled to the West Side to trade for asphaltum from the deposits near present Maricopa and McKittrick. Some venturesome traders traveled to the coast near Moro Bay to trade for abalone, Pismo clam, keyhole limpet, and periwinkle shells, from which some of their ornaments and money were made. 487 439

Many kinds of herbs, roots and seeds in addition to saltweed ashes and salt from salt grass, were traded, but to a limited extent, because the growth of most herbs and roots was wide-spread in the San Joaquin Valley. Dried wild blackberries were traded to the people who lived on the plains and lake shores away from the rivers, where those berries grew in abundance. [251]

Yowlumne traders traveled as far north as *Yokohl* Valley, northeast of present Lindsay, to trade for steatite, or soapstone, from which were made their cooking vessels and one variety of bead money. Chalcedony, jasper, agate, and any other stone which was easily chipped into arrow points was also valued very highly. Rare curios or oddities of any kind had a high trade value. Quartz crystals, star-fish, sea urchins, cowrie shells, the canine teeth of grizzly bears, and any other uncommon objects, were certain of a ready market by trade. [135]

To fully explain Yokuts trading and trade routes would require more space than is available for this entire article. But it is necessary to know at least something of this practice, which, because of the low mountain passes to both east and west, was probably more extensive among the Yowlumne than it was among most other Yokuts tribes.

According to old Yowlumne Indians, elk, deer and antelope skins, steatite and the salt from native salt grass were the local key articles of trade. They were scarce in much of the desert territory east of the Sierra.

Yowlumne traders would gather a pack of tanned skins, purchasing them with Yokuts money, and carry them to the desert, where there were deposits of obsidian, or volcanic glass. As there existed a set standard of values between deer skins and obsidian, it required only a short period of visiting, news exchange, and bartering before the Yowlumne trader was ready to return to his home on Kern River.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 It is difficult to obtain a set standard of Yokuts values
436 that white people can understand. It has also been very diffi-
487 cult to obtain from the Yowlumne an easily understood explana-
tion of such values. Perhaps the simplest of these has been that between deer skins and obsidian, a bundle of fifty tanned deer skins bringing about fifty pounds of obsidian.

In Yowlumne territory obsidian could be traded for anything, and had a very high trade value. It could be taken to Yokohl Valley and traded for soapstone, or to the West Side and traded for asphaltum. Some traders carried obsidian to the sea coast to trade for the seashells named above.

A few definite things have been learned about the value of seashells, which were the basis of most Yokuts money. One of these is that the complete shells had little value compared to the beads that were made from them. From one periwinkle, or olivella shell, at most three beads could be made and this required much labor. One tanned deerskin was worth three such beads. Beads or ornaments made from abalone, keyhole limpet, or Pismo clam shells had more value than did those made from periwinkle shells. These ornaments, or beads, were much larger than those made from periwinkle shells. From these few facts can be determined the relative values of a number of Yokuts commodities.

When the first white settlers arrived in the San Joaquin Valley they paid the Indians as much as twenty-five cents for a large, tanned deerskin. Some were purchased for as little as five cents. This furnishes almost the only data available concerning the comparative values of Yokuts and white money.

436 In 1852 a Kaweah Indian boy was brought to trial at Vi-
685 salia for shooting an arrow into a work ox and seriously injur-
ing it. For this offense he was fined fifty buckskins. The fine was promptly paid by his people. From early records and the statements of pioneers we know that an ox was at that time worth from sixty to eighty dollars. If we knew what portion of the value of the ox the fine represented we would have a ready measurement of the value of buckskins. We are probably only justified in assuming that an uninjured ox was valued at more than fifty buckskins.

439 Wahumchah's grandfather and a brother of this grand-
487 father were two of the four Yowlumne Yokuts who swam with
Padre Garcés across Kern River at the Rio Bravo Rancho (present Olcese Ranch) in May of 1776. The great-uncle lived

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to tell Wahumchah of this experience, as well as about the old trade routes. When Wahumchah was a small boy his father herded sheep on Kern River for the Jewetts. From the hills beside Cottonwood Creek he pointed out to Wahumchah the old trails over which his father had traveled in trading to the coast and to the desert, east of the Sierra. In 1937, following the powerline road south of the mouth of Kern River Canyon, I drove Wahumchah to those same hills and had him point out to me the routes of the old trails his father and great uncle had pointed out to him, more than sixty years before. After he was a grown man, Wahumchah had worked at the Tejon Ranch and had traveled over several of the trails on horseback and had heard other old Yowlumne Yokuts relate the same stories his father had told about them. So the routes were well fixed in his mind. 439 487

Here is Wahumchah's statement, recorded in May, 1937, in his own words: "In them old days the Indians got no trail up Kern River. They go up Cottonwood Creek and around the mountain the way that old wagon road go to Whiskey Flat [Kernville]. Then the trail go over Walker's Pass or out Walker's Basin by Piute Mountain to desert. One trail go up to Tehachapi and out Oak Creek Pass to desert. Another trail to desert go up Tejon Canyon back Tejon Ranchos House. Next old trail go up Pastoria Creek across the mountain south to Quail Lake. I don't remember about one go up Grapevine Creek where highway is now. Maybe it did, but I don't remember it.

"Most important old trail go over mountain where them white men get oil long time ago [Old Sunset, southwest of present Maricopa]. It go by Paleta to Cuyama Valley. All trade from Santa Barbara, and Santa Maria go that way. 'Nother old trail go by Carrizo Plains to Coast. Then one more go by the same road you go now from Bakersfield to Paso Robles. I think that's 'bout last road I know to coast.

"But they got some trails in valley too. They got one trail on each side Kern River. One from Tejon cross Kern River where Padre Garcés cross. That's the one he come from Tejon. It run on to Tule River and Kaweah River. One trail go across *Trawlawin* (Traw-law'-win), San Joaquin Valley, north of Buena Vista Lake and one south of Kern Lake. Them old Yowlumne traders use them old trails all time. They go everywhere and nobody bother them. My grandpa and his

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 brother take big roll of tanned deer skins, maybe antelope skins, to desert, bring back maybe fifty pounds *kots* (obsidian). Then
487 he make good arrow points and sell 'em for good Yokuts money, maybe shell beads, maybe *kadis* (steatite) beads. He sell one good tanned deerskin for one good kadis bead, maybe three good seashell bead."

The preceding represents all the definite information I have been able to record concerning Yokuts trading and trade routes, but around the remainder of the rim of the San Joaquin Valley are easy mountain passes which show signs of Indian encampments and which were undoubtedly old Yokuts trade routes. The fact that early Spanish and American expeditions traveled these passes, often guided by Indians, makes it almost certain that they were so used. Some diaries kept by scribes accompanying these early expeditions actually record that they were following Indian trails.

Most prominent of these old routes through the Coast Range are the following: Coalinga to San Benito and King City; Big Panoche Valley; Los Baños Creek and via Saucelito and Quien Sabe Valleys; San Luis Creek and Pacheco Pass; Orestimba and De la Puerta Creeks; Hospitál Creek; Corral Hollow; Buenos Aires Creek; and Altamont Pass. Over most of these passes roads were established early in the settlement of the San Joaquin Valley. Old trails through them connected with others paralleling the Coast Range and Sierra foothills and the west bank of the San Joaquin River and the lakes to the south. Along these three last routes were established the first wagon roads to traverse the length of the San Joaquin Valley.

THE YOKUTS MONETARY SYSTEM

436 It will come as a surprise to many persons that the Yokuts, so often contemptuously described as "diggers" or "the lowest form of human life," were among the few Indians in North America who developed a medium of exchange worthy of being classified as a monetary system. This writer had gathered data from aged Yokuts for about twenty years before he became aware of the fact that when the Spanish arrived the Yokuts were advancing out of the more primitive trade and barter culture into that of a system of monetary exchange. True, their monetary system was very crude, but the necessary elements were there and the money could not be successfully counterfeited. A penniless Yokuts could kill deer, tan the skins, carry them

They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama*, was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut*, an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.—Analys]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 From the Pismo clam were also produced nicely smoothed
321 and rounded curved objects with pointed ends. These were drilled from the pointed ends, the opposing holes meeting at the middle. I have never seen one of these objects taken any place in Yokuts territory, except from the mouth cavity of a buried skeleton.

Slender, straight-sided tubes were also made from Pismo clam-shell. They varied from three-eighths of an inch in diameter and three inches long, down to one-fourth of an inch in diameter and less than one inch long. Some were not cylindrical, being larger at the middle than at the ends. The Wukchumne Yokuts called these *Cutscotch* (Coots'-cotch).

The most valued of all clamshell money were long, curved tubes. These varied with the size of the shell, the largest being more than six inches in length. They were slightly wider than they were thick and were perforated lengthwise. This perforation is the most remarkable feature of all Yokuts manufactures.

The shell of the Pismo clam is as hard as the glaze on a piece of china. To drill two opposing holes, each three inches deep, through such material, having them meet in the middle, is a feat worthy of modern tools in the hands of a practiced mechanic. Mayfield, who was a white man raised by the *Choinimni*
[439] Yokuts, stated to me that an old artisan of that tribe obtained in trade slender objects which he (Mayfield) believed were "walrus, or sea lion whiskers." The large ends of these were pounded between two rocks, forming a sort of short-bristled brush. A shallow hole was drilled with a stone-pointed drill as a starter. Fine, sharp sand was placed in this hole. Then the brush-pointed "whisker" was placed on top of the sand and spun between the palms of the hands. Mayfield had not seen the Pismo clam money drilled in this manner, but had seen other hard objects so drilled. From Ichow I learned that an identical process was used by the Wukchumne and Yokodo. The only variance was that no "whisker" of any sort was used. The drill was made from the slender chamise-root splint used in reducing
[412] the square steatite beads to a round form. Said Ichow, "That old fellow take piece of green chamise root and scrape it just about this size [illustrating with a piece of ordinary bailing wire which he picked up beside his chair and which he continued to hold in his hand as he talked]. Then he hold this piece root over fire and scrape and dry him good and straight and hard like

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Acorn soup was dipped from the basket with the first three fingers and placed in the mouth. Both it and the cake were very nourishing, being rich in oil and starch. A small piece the size of a base-ball is said to contain food value equal to more than an entire loaf of our bread. 264 [146]

To the uninitiated, acorn bread is a tremendous disappointment. To me it tasts flat and chalky, but white persons who persist are said to learn to like it.

SALT FROM SALT GRASS

There being no natural deposit of mineral salt accessible to the Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley, the obtaining of this important article of diet was a serious problem. Along the east side of the San Joaquin Valley it is quite likely that a portion of the salt used was mineral salt obtained from mountain Indians who had in turn obtained it by trade from the inhabitants of the desert region east of the Sierra, where natural deposits of this mineral were common. We are assured by old Indians that salt obtained in this way was very expensive. Many beads of shell or steatite were demanded for a few handfuls of the crude salt offered. 263 [439] [435]

A large portion of the salt used by the Yokuts tribes in the San Joaquin Valley is still obtained from salt grass. Although the method of obtaining this salt has been observed by white settlers since as long ago as 1850, it is remarkable that there have been available through libraries and newspaper files no detailed accounts of the method of harvesting and refining it. 263 222

All salt grass does not bear enough salt to make it useful as a source of that material. Most persons who have walked through some fields of salt grass in the early morning have found it covered with what appeared to be heavy dew, have later had the experience of finding their shoes covered with a heavy incrustation. This is the salt used by the Yokuts.

The salt is exuded from the leaves of the salt grass and adheres to them in small globules smaller than a mustard seed. In the early morning this excretion exists as a small drop of liquid. By noon of a warm day it has become solid and by mid-afternoon is dry and hard and can be removed from the leaves of the grass by threshing.

As the grass itself is not desirable, the problem exists of removing the salt without breaking up the brittle leaves and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226
"Jackrabbit" Bill Browning, who passed away near Delano 136
about 1935. Surely the old lakes were a fisherman's paradise.

In addition to the lake trout described, a small turtle was 225
captured in great numbers and shipped to the San Francisco 439
market. Tulare Lake terrapin was a common article on San Francisco and other bay city menus.

SPEARING FISH

Although we hear much about hunting with bows and 227
arrows and we see some bows and arrows in collections of Indian relics, it is probable that throughout a great portion of the San Joaquin Valley the spear was in as common use as was the bow and arrow. This is particularly true along the tule swamps and lake shores throughout the central portion of the valley. And who has seen a Yokuts spear?

From about the shores of Tulare Lake a collection comprising almost 1,000 chipped stone points contains approximately 700 that would be classed as too large for use with an arrow. Several hundred of them are larger than needed for a spear. From what we know concerning the life of the Indians who were here when the white people came, a considerable portion of the fish taken from the lake were obtained by spearing. How this was accomplished upon the lake has been outlined in the preceding chapter concerning fishing rafts.

For a description of the method of taking fish along the various valley streams, we are again indebted to Mayfield. His description brings home to us the fact that the modern salmon spear, or gig, having a detachable point, was used by the local Indians long before white people were known in this territory. His account follows:

"Trout and other large fish were speared with a gig almost like a modern salmon gig. It had a long slender pole for a handle.

"This pole was often as long as twenty feet, and about an inch in diameter. It would be as straight as an arrow, and as smooth as glass.

"A fisherman took a great deal of pride in his fish gig and would keep it polished until it was shiny.

"On the larger end of the pole they would fit two short, pieces of hardwood or bone. One of these was sharp, was lashed on one side of the big end of the pole, and projected beyond the end of the pole about four inches. The other piece was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people who wanted to trade carried their things in baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah
(sung five times)
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies
796 dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

● 439 Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were
484 regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare
[501] Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭí´pin; sky, above) and down (atí´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭí´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (dí´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭí´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (í´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [717] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[23]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[23] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[26]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[27] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[26] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[27] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 [312] 361 [137] The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 [501] The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. 262 824 Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass [423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by [428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. 439 Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 262 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 [224] In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. [439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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did not secure enough rabbit skins for their own needs, securing additional skins in trade from the east. [439]

These conclusions are supported by data from the only large archeological excavation in the near vicinity, on Buena Vista lake to the south, with very similar environmental conditions. Wedel reports that at one site in 3700 cubic yards excavated only 1053 animal bones were recovered. Of these, 411 were bird bones and 142 terrapin bones. Elk and antelope numbered 61 and 45 respectively. Two hundred and one rabbit bones were found, most of them jack-rabbits (*Lepus*). In contrast to the small number of elk and antelope bones, bones from the genus *Canis* (probably mostly domestic dogs, but including some coyote) numbered 127.[12] 136 172

The Tachi, to some extent, were middlemen in the trade of sea shells from the ocean to the interior and are reported to have done some processing of ocean shells secured in trade from neighbors to the west. Considering their environment, the Tachi apparently were dependent upon their neighbors, especially those to the east, for the following items: obsidian, steatite, stone mortars, oak mortars, pestles and sinew backed juniper bows. In addition, they traded for pottery, basketry, pigments, rabbitskins and rabbitskin blankets and acorns. In exchange they provided lake products including fish, tule mats, salt from salt grass and shell "money" they manufactured from shells secured in trade. That the lake resources were important is indicated by the fact that, although some Yokuts' neighbors were allowed to visit the lake themselves, trade with westerners was carried on at a distance from the lake apparently in part with the intention of preventing them from learning the techniques of securing the products. [321] 439 [436]

The picture emerges clearly, then, of a desert-dwelling people who, paradoxically, were oriented toward a water-based economy. Without the lakes, marshes, and sloughs, the land would have supported only the scantiest population, and, in fact, large areas, especially to the west, were rarely visited. For the Tachi the acorn appears as a relatively unimportant luxury and not as a staple. 105 [262]

If we turn to non-material culture, the differences between the lake dwellers as exemplified by the Tachi, and the acorn using Yokuts to the east, largely disappear. In the existence of "tribes" sharing a common dialect and capable of common action, the existence of semi- 105 184

[12] WEDEL, p. 11. The remaining data on the Tachi and their neighbors are from Gayton, Kroeber and Latta.

796 The singer accompanists wore their usual
668 ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and
skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole
[534] instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw:l).
J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni
na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam
(going around or circling dance) and also
668 hi´´th:´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by
the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progres-
535 sion. When, each night, the dance was being
performed for the last time, the participants
circled once to the right and then to the left
(clockwise) three times. Some people joined
hands, but women who were carrying cradles held
their hands behind their backs to steady the
basket and infant occupant.

796 The dance ended at break of day. Then
everyone went swimming. They ran to the water
668 as fast as possible, men and women together.
[443] On the way back they picked up wood for their
breakfast fires. There were no food tabus.
Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold
steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

On the last day of the Ghost Dance a
[535] special rite called the Horse Dance was per-
formed. Owners rode their animals around within
[825] the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old
horses were led around and were rejuvenated by
the spiritual power (t:pni) of the dance. One
of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 Then word that the white settlers were
coming to kill them ended the affair and sent
668 the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible
648 torture from the whites flew about. On their
way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives
traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during
the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother
threatened her with warnings that if the white
men found her they would kill her, cut her open,
and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras
to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They
were still afraid of the white people. They
had one or two such dances, but one ended in a
drunken brawl.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

into the desert territory where they were scarce, trade them for obsidian, which was plentiful there, return it to his own land and sell it for Yokuts shell or steatite beads, which passed for money. It will be seen from this and from what is to follow that Yokuts money represented principally the accumulation of labor. 436

The cheapest Yokuts money was made from periwinkle or olivella shells with the tips ground off, so they could be strung. The smaller shells were of less value than the larger. The *Wukchumne* Yokuts called these shells *Chawik*. Olivella shells were made into three forms of beads besides the one describd. They were split in half. The large, outer half was punched for a string. Some of these beads were five-eighths of an inch across and more than an inch long. In some Yokuts cemeteries these two crude forms of Yokuts money have been found in great quantities; in some instances there have been several gallons in one grave, the hoarded savings of the first penny-pinchers and nickel-grabbers of the San Joaquin Valley. [454]

The whorl of the periwinkle was made into a thick bead having a curved edge. When strung, these nested somewhat like the snake-like gold chains made by modern jewlers. One of these beads was worth six of the shells with tips ground off, or two of the large half-shell beads. They were called *Huchin*.

From the thin lip of the periwinkle shell was made a bead which sometimes strung as many as twenty to the inch. "Two of these," said *Wahumchah*, an aged *Yowlumne* Yokuts, "were worth one curved bead. We called them *Mochowkuh* (Mochow'-kuh)." Beads made from purple mussel shell were called *Sueyuk* (Suey'-ook). From the keyhole limpet shell a hair ornament was made. Wahumchah stated that they were not common and that he did not know the value they had in relation to the other old Yokuts money. [301]

From fine-grained steatite the Yokuts made a valuable form of bead-money. This steatite was mined by the *Yokodo* Yokuts near Lindsay Peak, east of the present town of Lindsay. It was traded or sold by them to Yokuts traders from tribes over the entire southern San Joaquin Valley. Steatite bead money was very valuable. Wahumchah stated that it was three times as valuable as the most valuable olivella beads. Near Woodville I once found a place where a steatite bead maker had manufactured and cached his product for many years. From the sandy soil I screened thousands of completed beads, as well 436 324 [438]

285 materials have been analyzed by Merrill.[300] In the present paper under the heading "Woman's Household Equipment" is a description of basket types; a comparative display of shapes and techniques is shown in figures 2 and 3, and plate 1 shows a typical collection of Yokuts baskets.

[461] The informant M.L. said that not all women made baskets: "anyone could learn that wanted to but some were too lazy."

All Yokuts coiled baskets were made on a multiple-rod foundation, the favorite material being a grass called toña´k:s. The wrapping was usually a split root called ho´pat, which came in 4- to 6-foot lengths. The outer bark was scraped off and the interior split into two parts by holding one half in the teeth and splitting the other away with the fingers. K.G. started a coiled basket for demonstration.

To start a coiled basket a piece of the wrapping material about four inches long was shaved down to a point at one end. This end was rolled into a tiny coil, the loose end projecting to the maker's right. Another short piece of the same material and of fine grade (i.e., split thin) was set with one end under the turn of the coil and held in place with the fingers of the left hand. The coil, with inserted binding, was of a size to fit securely within the worker's left thumb and forefinger. The right hand began the wrapping process. The free end of the wrapping was poked repeatedly through the center hole of the coil with the aid of an awl until all the coil was wrapped and the center hole filled. By this time the first round of the coil had been made and the next wrappings were passed around the turn of the foundation "rod" between the previous stitches: a skilled basketmaker did not split even these small beginning stitches. Now a transition was made from the single foundation to the multiple-grass filler which would continue throughout the rest of the basket. This was done by inserting a few grasses under the end of the single "rod," and more and more were added as the coiling progressed until the desired foundation thickness was obtained.

The loose ends of the foundation grasses, which jutted out to the right from 2 to 4 feet, were kept under control by a small ring of the wrapping material (nowadays more often a twist of string) which could be slipped up and down the bundle of grass stems and through which each new grass was inserted before its butt was poked in under the last turn of wrapping. Only one grass was added at a time and these at about three-inch intervals, depending, of course, on the dimensions and coarseness of the basket under construction.

Work progressed from left to right (clockwise) from the worker's point of view, and for

[300] Kroeber, Handbook, 531-533; Merrill, Plants Used in Basketry.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf,
657 live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes;
[461] pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut
159 tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch
173 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high;
648 wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat on river take white man across water. Then lots white man come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutunutu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief. Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[274] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca´was. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.

462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 187 9] Chuckchansi

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with con-
342 struction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging
[462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

The ramada or shade as an adjunct to indi-
343 vidual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938)
344 home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.--A special
343 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such store-
251 house might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on cross-poles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to
251 pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
222 by their neighbors, should their food become exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt
224 every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Batudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 187 b] Chuckchansi

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 215 b] Western Mono NS25

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

W Y 342 **Houses**.--The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (če'ˑ´naho ya´owˑl, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hi·č (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wi´čˑt soto´li, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with ho'o (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaowˑl) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

W Y ● ●[462]

The doorway (tiše´hi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe: the first band ended each side of the doorway The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called ča´kilˑš ača´li (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (u´stun ho'o´hi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsa´kan tana´hi, smoke goes).

W Y [354]

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

W
Y
291 A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

W Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower
Y foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they
[237 bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and
439] Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

W Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt, which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted
Y of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša'
292 string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay
237 or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´bⁱ, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, W Michahai; sema´bⁱ, Waksachi) of crow feathers.
Y The skirt was made by either men or women,
292 but the headdress was made only by men. An old
462 man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particu-
435 larly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

W Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done
Y with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heat-
301 ed point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat
304 stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell-disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single
Y humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for
W this aperture.

Tattooing.--There were no special practi-
304 tioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and
W continuing down throat, chest, and breasts.
Y S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

302 Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka
[192 o´čak (red), toiye´'i očak (white), and mutskei´wak očak (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai.]

W Y 222 262 Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Y W [252] W Y [462] 251]

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone´diw°, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

Y W [481]

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

W Y 262 252

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´°wa. They were superior to the local variety.

[439]

Acorns.---Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

W Y 222 262 [462] [251] W Y 262 252

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

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Pottery

Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought
323 that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wiš (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by
W Waksachi. There were no special names for
Y dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwiš, wi´či
323 kiwiš, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa,
415 Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

W
Y Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home
[462] to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

W The clay was tested between the fingers
Y for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added.
323 The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all night. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus*, was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[482] [462]

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[412] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[text continues on p. 107]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1926.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

533 Therefore the compression occurs after the third repeat of the first phrase, after the second repeat of the second phrase, and so on.

Almost all the songs were sung by both males and females with no apparent
533 difference or "parts" such as found on the northwest California coast. One
462 of the exceptions to this statement is the single work song recorded -- the Acorn Grinding Song. This song was sung only by the women, who did the acorn grinding, while the males did not, or pretended not, to know it. It is true that the males knew more songs than the women; no reason was given why the women could not sing them if they wanted to. The one example of harmony, which occurs in the Sopas Song, is certainly accidental.

The tempos ranged from andantino to vivace, from 63 beats to 138 beats
533 per minute, with the bulk of the songs falling at the latter end of the scale. In some of the songs there was considerable rhythmic variation. This was for two reasons: the first was that some of the songs, like the Deer Song mentioned above, were supposed to be sung without a fixed beat. The second reason for variation stemmed from the fact that individual singers, when singing alone, could and would vary rhythm and melody much more than when the group sang together. The combination of the group's clapsticks and singing would carry the song to its conclusion with a minimum of discontinuity.

The spread of the melodic contour was rarely over eight or ten semitones, with the largest group falling between six and seven semitones. This is in contrast with the northwest California coast, where an octave and one-half are extremely common, especially in the Brush Dance and White Deerskin Dance Songs. This again contrasts with the limited spread which is found among
[171] the Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, and other north central and northeastern groups. Among these groups melodic spreads of three or four semitones are not uncommon, and there is one grass game song, recorded by Dr. Kroeber, characterized by a two semi-tone spread.

The scale was predominantly pentatonic, although the limited spread of some of the songs made it difficult to evaluate. Some, but not all, of the songs showed a definable rise. The rise in Tachi music can best be described as a low-pitch low-contrast section alternating with a rise of a fourth or a fifth and a descending lyrical passage back to the low-pitch low-contrast section. The Tawanic or Morning Song shows a rise beginning in the 5th measure, and again in the 18th. The Lizard Handgame Song #4 begins with a rise.

Another feature of the songs was the sparseness of lyrics. Most of the songs averaged no more than two or three phrases totaling 10-12 syllables. Common repetition patterns for lines were:

1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2; 1,1,1,2,2,2,1,1,2,2,3,1,1;

and so forth. The repetition of the Lizard Handgame Song showed some variation:

1,1,1,1,2,1,1,1,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,1,2.

264 Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

227 Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

411 Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty [283] colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all [439] bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and [463] taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

411 Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield 224 in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

291 Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 symmetrical mortars and pestles for grinding Indian tobacco,
517 or costumes for tribal ceremonies, were often concealed near these paintings.

The idea furnished was that the paintings added prestige to the spot and served to awe the lesser characters of the tribe and instill in them a respect for the equipment concealed there. The Wukchumne stated that such places were *Trip'-ne* (supernatural). Among the Wukchumne, paintings in general are called *Copch'-ke*. Red paintings, such as are common at Hospital Rock, were called *Haw'-you*. Paintings using mixed colors were called *Hoo'-cha-ing-utch*.

This writer is very skeptical about interpretations of Indian paintings, at least about those found bordering the San Joaquin Valley. His opinion is that the only person who could interpret those paintings is the man who painted them.

The above opinion is based upon two facts. The first and most important is that there is no common character which appears with any degree of regularity throughout the territory in which the paintings occur. Second, with the knowledge which the Indians have concerning the paintings, there should appear an interpretation of some sort, which would be more or less consistent among the various tribes.

The Indians readily recognize the characters which represent animals, but they offer no other explanation for the geometrical designs and line drawings than to give the Indian name for circle, triangle, square or other common figures. In exception to this they do identify drawings of the sun, moon and *Chapet* (Chah'-peet—the Indian doctor's magic tray), and a few mythological characters.

531 In each tribe there were probably one or more persons who
517 amused themselves by placing paintings upon the rocks and other objects surrounding the camp site. These parties prob-
463 ably developed skill beyond the average, and it is undoubtedly their work which we see today, placed there for the amusement of the painter, for the awe of the other members of the tribe, and for the interest and speculation of white invaders.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets. 361 172

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for children and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield. 361 [464] [357]

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality *Wawlu*, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops. [103]

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women. 101 181 [462]

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne Indians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers, 161

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
436 states that the unit of measurement in the
804 north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu´dipi
2. po´ñoi	7. no´mčɛn
3. so´pɛn	8. mo´ñus
4. ha´po´ñi	9. no´nɛp
5. yu´tsɛnuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205]A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431 [206]Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207]Handbook, 498.

[208]P. 375.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
224 for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround. Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes. However, our most detailed account of this is reported from the *Koyeti*.

The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no
101 full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats, down to a point probably two or three miles west of the pres-
224 ent Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround are known.

The *Wukchumne* say that once or twice a year they used
224 to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance. 651 541

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section. 769 622 476

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result. 622 541 651

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsnumi, the other two at 622

Fish poison (yao'ka) was made from a white
226 flower which was pulverized and thrown over
278 quiet water or a pond. The fish were scooped up in baskets as they came to the surface. The same flower was used in an infusion for headaches; it grows commonly on the plains (not identified). Another poison, undescribed, called t:'l:l, was mentioned by M.G.

223 Ducks, mudhens, and other water fowl were caught with nets set up among the tules, but the exact manner of operation of the nets could not be described. The Wowol secured ducks for Estudillo; "...in less than half an hour, within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake."[39]

Again Mayfield supplies an eyewitness description from the Tachi.

Sometimes three or four Indians would go out on the lake on one of the fishing rafts and hunt ducks and geese and stay out there as long as a week. During this time they poled the raft around through the [illegible] and ate and slept on it.

They would throw loose tules over the raft and themselves, forming a blind. Then, through the hole in the center they would slowly pole the raft...In this way they would approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and shoot them from the blind with bows and arrows.

Sometimes they would catch the ducks that flew overhead with a net. This net was a good deal like the net fishermen use to take trout out of the water after they have hooked them. It was about two feet across the mouth. They also snared ducks and geese among the tules.[40]

222 Of vegetable foods, sopas (arrowhead?) was the staple.[41] It was not put in a mortar at first, but in a depression in the ground, where it was trampled. The leaves and seed pods were
[252] picked out; the seeds were put in a mortar and pounded. The flour, wetted with water, formed a mush called so´pas:n sa´sa. There is a doctor's song about this foodstuff.

[251] Tule roots (pu´muk) were gathered, dried, pounded, and used as a flour for mush. Tule seeds (tsos)were also used. Before they ripened, the tule heads were tied together in bunches where they were growing. When ripe, the seeds were knocked off into a basket and the heads released. In February J.A. said, "We should be going around now to see how they are getting along. Then maybe next month tie them up."

Acorns in the neighborhood of Kingston
[48] were available to the Tachi. They went up there after them; men climbed the trees and shook down the acorns with hooked sticks while women collected them in burden baskets.

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[39] Gayton, Estudillo, 72.

[40] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32.

[41] On another occasion J.A. said sopas was a plant with "large leaves and red berries."

226 poisons: buckeye nuts ground with earth, and
278 crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish became stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

226 Diving for fish was an indulgence of an
481 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all who knew him to be an expert at this) would swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possible a handful of sand was taken along or grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb under the gills. It took much practice to do this, and the skill is better regarded as a pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

264 Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad),
lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ñtau) were desig-
262 nated by M.L., but other informants (M. and J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two. Certainly two fit the general aboriginal pattern better, as known here and elsewhere. Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a little meat. Everyone of any character was up before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at about that time. The evening meal was much larger and had added to the staple mush and meat such extras as the day provided--"greens," fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The evening meal was taken just before sundown. Both men and women had "snacks" during the day; children ate as often as they pleased; this may be a continuance of the unregulated nursing pattern.

262 Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten but wildcat and raccoon were considered very good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves, and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar, but most people looked askance at bear meat. For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained that this would never have happened with any other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs never touched it because this animal had been a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogen) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [789] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´wiš) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'upič. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dkid) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tːs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonːk, although J.B. had seen Ma´mːl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñːt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief,
[481] mourning families, and others proceeded around it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowːš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´mːts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[204] "He went
[text continues on p. 133]

[204] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

000
302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men.
[304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had
301] pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema,
301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and
[868] creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they ~~were able~~ to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

501 The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons,
[502] usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the
[263] conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɛs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɛs [262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɛt (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɛ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´yɛn) at bedrock 412 mortars (tinɛl), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɛm (ti´pɛn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɛlao, pipe of cane [sikɛl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɛš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɛ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wɛč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [481] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men 562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row 386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the dance would, if possible, be moved into a large [796] dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who [439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of 276 tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin ● 481 River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
251 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

252 262 Greens.---Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.---Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the [222] spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry [251] thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.---Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up [222 for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on 251] rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not [251] yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. [272] Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.---Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came [221 from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up 222] there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed [222 the trees, knocked down the cones, while the 481] women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the

[137]

[89] A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round (spherical?), are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 According to N.W., when pine nuts were
481] wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end;
[224 those black all over are "no good." The nuts
286] were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog.
[184 However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177 the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the established practice [probably about 1860,
178] after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o´wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] P. 383.

W Y 222 262 Yucca.---The yucca plants (o·´pa°dra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´b¹) and returned with Y W them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. [252] As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice W Y and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one [462] fire served for the group who divided up the 251 yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Piñon nuts.---Pine nuts (pone´diw², Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole ● Y with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made W a strong hook with which the men hoisted them- ● [481] selves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

W Y At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until 262 their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, 252 they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the W Y nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

[439] Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´wa. They were superior to the local variety.

W Y Acorns.---Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while 222 they were still slightly green; this was ac- 262 complished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked [462] them up and carried them home in burden baskets. [251] All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the W Y house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the 262 252

[163] Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] [522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [161] [648]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne,* quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah,* one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right
[361] where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

"When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[482] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals
[481] on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi,* Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

a gaming court was maintained at each village site. As has already been described, this court generally consisted of a smooth, level place, free from rocks and generally covered with a thin layer of fine sand. From numerous remains over the valley it is known that the court was longer than it was wide. Remains of such courts have been found which were fifteen to thirty feet in width and from twenty to sixty yards in length. 526 361

Upon these courts a number of games were played. Some of the games were participated in by old and young. Some were played by men only, and some played by children only. The writer has heard of no Yokuts athletic type game played exclusively by women. 526

Pioneers in the vicinity of Hanford and Lemoore have said that the Indians played a game upon these courts which resembled very much the white man's game of pitch-penny. Circular thin rocks were pitched at a line. The writer has been able to find no data concerning this game and is of the opinion that it was an imitation of the practice of soldiers and whites of pitching money at a line.

Another game consisted of rolling round rocks at a hole in the ground and resembled the "purgatory" game played with marbles by white boys.

A typical children's game was called *Mohoo* (Mo-ho'-o), meaning Bear game. The game began with one child, who was called Mohoo or bear, pursuing the rest of the players.

As soon as Mohoo was able to catch or touch one of the other players, that person also became a bear and helped to catch the rest. This was carried on until the last person was caught. This person became bear for the next game. It was considered an honor to be caught last and also to be the bear for the succeeding game. In playing this game the children ran about the rancheria, climbed upon houses, into trees, and even plunged across the river.

Another similar game was played entirely in the water, and called *Huwidwush* (Hoo-wid'-wush). It was really the bear game, engaged in while the youngsters were swimming, and was a game of water tag. Swimming races took place between the bear and his opponents. Diving, remaining under water, and other methods were used to elude the pursuing bear. [481]

It is unfortunate that a great deal of information concerning the Yokuts games will probably never be forth-coming, for the reason that those Indians were thoroughly disturbed by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk*. The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yahmah'-he tah'-meuk*. It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses
[222] and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
● 481] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

[text continues on p. 160]

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
481]

They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally
[353] hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[227] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspe had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilazas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [481] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco* [47] *Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

285 basket made of tules was called a´nas, while an openwork one for fish also was called čotot. A stiff willow basket for seed-beating was called čama´l. All these were twined. The informant J.A. said that both coiling and twining were done by Chunut, Telamni, and Wolasi, but the technique used depended largely on the materials available. Two typical Yokuts shapes, the shouldered or bottleneck basket and the large conical burden basket, were obtained mostly by trade. The shapes which she knew and named were as follows. The circular coiled winnowing tray (tsa´pːt) and a larger, flatter tray for gambling (tai´´iwan). Two small basket types have incurved tops, one (po´mːk) has a simple curved side, the other (tsot pomːk) a flared straight side which eventually curves inward at the neck. The bottleneck basket (o´sa) was known but seldom used. The large burden basket (anas) was bought from the foothill people. The seedbeater (ha´lai) was handled. The basket cap (pukiu´was) was known to have been used in the old days, but was not an addiction as it was with women of northern California.

[482] The tumpline (tsono´lhi) and carrying net (tsuno´lus) were known to J.A., but she did not know how to make them.

The Telamni informant, T.W., whose home had been among Telamni in contact with the Wukchumni and Gawia more than with the Chunut and Tachi, described Telamni baskets as follows. Coiled types were the coiled winnowing and gambling trays (kayo´to); a large, flat-bottomed, flaring-sided basket used for cooked mush and given as a gift basket (kotčao´); and the shouldered or bottleneck basket (osa). The twined baskets were the large conical burden basket (a´ñaš); the oval, handled seedbeater (ča´´aiči); and the large, somewhat globular, cooking basket decorated with bands of red (po´dano).

The tumpline she called šu´ñlːk, the soaproot brush ṭoho´ṭ.

Blanketmaking

286 The Tachi made blankets (woi´yon, the word used for mats) of strips of mudhen skins. Rabbits were scarce in the tular, consequently blankets of their skins were obtained only by trade. The chief source was the Wimilchi tribe living up Kings River out of the tular area.

Nevertheless, rabbitskin blankets were made by the Tachi, according to Jeff Mayfield. He describes the process as a kind of looping or netting, not weaving. Variations of the blanket were used as shawls, skirts, blankets, and baby covers.[47]

[text continues on p. 21a]

[47] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 33. It is possible that the lake people with whom Mayfield spent his time were Wimilchi and Nutunutu at the lake sloughs rather than the Tachi proper.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ǎa'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki´nsp) were worn, sometimes put over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki´ñuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2"x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau´wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the period of active mourning, when it was singed
[765] close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue. An ornamental headband (hoči´n) worn by women
292 was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

226 poisons: [illegible]ye nuts ground with earth, and
crushed nademe leaves.[184] As the large fish be-
278 came stupefied, men "gigged" them, while the
women secured the smaller fish in baskets.[185]

Diving for fish was an indulgence of an
226 able swimmer. Such a man (J.P. was said by all
481 who knew him to be an expert at this) would
swim down under water fifteen to twenty feet
and seize an unwary fish in his hand. If possi-
ble a handful of sand was taken along or
grabbed off the bottom to aid in holding the
slippery fish, but an expert thrust his thumb
under the gills. It took much practice to do
this, and the skill is better regarded as a
pleasurable stunt than as a fishing method.

FOODS, UTENSILS, MEDICINES

Meals and Foods

Three meals a day, breakfast (wa´ad),
264 lunch (ču´ka), and supper (do´ntau) were desig-
262 nated by M.L., but other informants (M. and
J.P., S.G., etc.) say there were only two.
Certainly two fit the general aboriginal
pattern better, as known here and elsewhere.
Breakfast consisted of hot acorn mush and a
little meat. Everyone of any character was up
before sunrise, the breakfast was eaten at
about that time. The evening meal was much
larger and had added to the staple mush and
meat such extras as the day provided--"greens,"
fish, pigeons, seed cakes, and so on. The
evening meal was taken just before sundown.
Both men and women had "snacks" during the day;
children ate as often as they pleased; this may
be a continuance of the unregulated nursing
pattern.

Generalizing about food habits, M.L. said
262 that the Tachi did not like deer meat, that the
Wukchumni did not eat larvae although "people
up north" (Hoshima) did, and that the Waksachi
all ate bear.[186] Coyote and fox were not eaten
but wildcat and raccoon were considered very
good, as were squirrels, woodrats, quail, doves,
and pigeons. Some persons, amongst those whose
totemic tabus permitted it, ate bear and cougar,
but most people looked askance at bear meat.
For instance, S.G., having no prohibitions to
prevent it, once ate bear meat which was cooked
rather rare. Directly he ate it, he felt
nauseated and vomited the food; he maintained
that this would never have happened with any
other kind of meat. As for cougar meat, chiefs
never touched it because this animal had been
a chief in the mythical prehuman era.

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[184] Handbook, 529.

[482] [185] Fish were never put in burden baskets as the moisture softened the soaproot stiffening.

[186] Deer meat was scarce for the lake people; other informants show that the Wukchumni did eat larvae; and certain Waksachi would have died rather than eat bear meat.

202 The mass of crushed fruit was placed in a sieve basket over a large watertight coiled basket
262 and water was slowly poured through. When sufficient liquor resulted, it was poured out of the under receptacle and again put through the berries; this might be repeated two or three times.[150] If kawa seeds were to be added, this was done after the liquor had been drained for the last time. The drink was greatly enjoyed, particularly as it was available during the hottest summer weather. Usually it soured in twelve hours; in colder weather it might keep up to forty-eight but, as M.P. said, this seldom happened, "people drank it up too fast." It was always made up fresh as the soured liquor was not considered fit to drink.

Firewood

313 Trees and limbs for firewood, as well as for house poles and ramadas, were felled and severed by firing. A hole was dug around the base of the selected tree and filled with dry grass and chips. Oak sticks were kindled as torches and applied to the base of the chosen tree while the fire surrounding it was burning. Several of these torches were used, and as the tree began to burn they were pushed and wedged into the burning trunk. The flames were beaten back from the upper trunk. Usually two men worked together, a man and his son often undertaking the job, one to rekindle the sticks as they went out, as they often did, the other to adjust those at the tree trunk and to knock away charred parts of the tree. The workers took care not to look up the tree; if they did, the fire would creep up the trunk. When the tree finally collapsed, the main branches were severed by the same means, as were other parts that could not be broken into portable lengths.

Felling or severing limbs by fire was best done on dead or already fallen trees, but since these were not always obtainable, live trees were attacked in winter when they were drier and there was less danger of brush and grass fire. Old trees were easier to fire than young ones. Both men and women packed wood, but only men did the firing.

The load of wood was held on the back by
313 means of a tumpline. This passed over the
482 upper forehead -- if a woman was the carrier, across the chest, if a man -- and extended down the back under the wood and out and back over the load, each end returning over each shoulder to be grasped in the hand (fig. 13, vignettes). Long poles were dragged home with ropes of willow fibre (ho') by men. Ordinarily each family provided its own firewood; a felled tree belonged to the men doing the work. At the time of a big gathering the messengers got wood in the same way.

[171]

[150] The Miwok used a similar method but evidently added no flavoring seeds (Barrett and Gifford, 161-162).

412 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soap-
322 root and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (ǒ·ne ǒ·l) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[192] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hair-
[302] brushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings
[314] of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[193] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their
[439] way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

285 The "set" of baskets comprised six types
482 essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ñaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

[192] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[193] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a [222] beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na) was invariably of twined weave, coarse and
415 close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n:ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´''iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´w:c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čitᵢk) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čitᵢk, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (wa´dak) and tumpline
283 (šu´ñdᵢč, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches; then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a]

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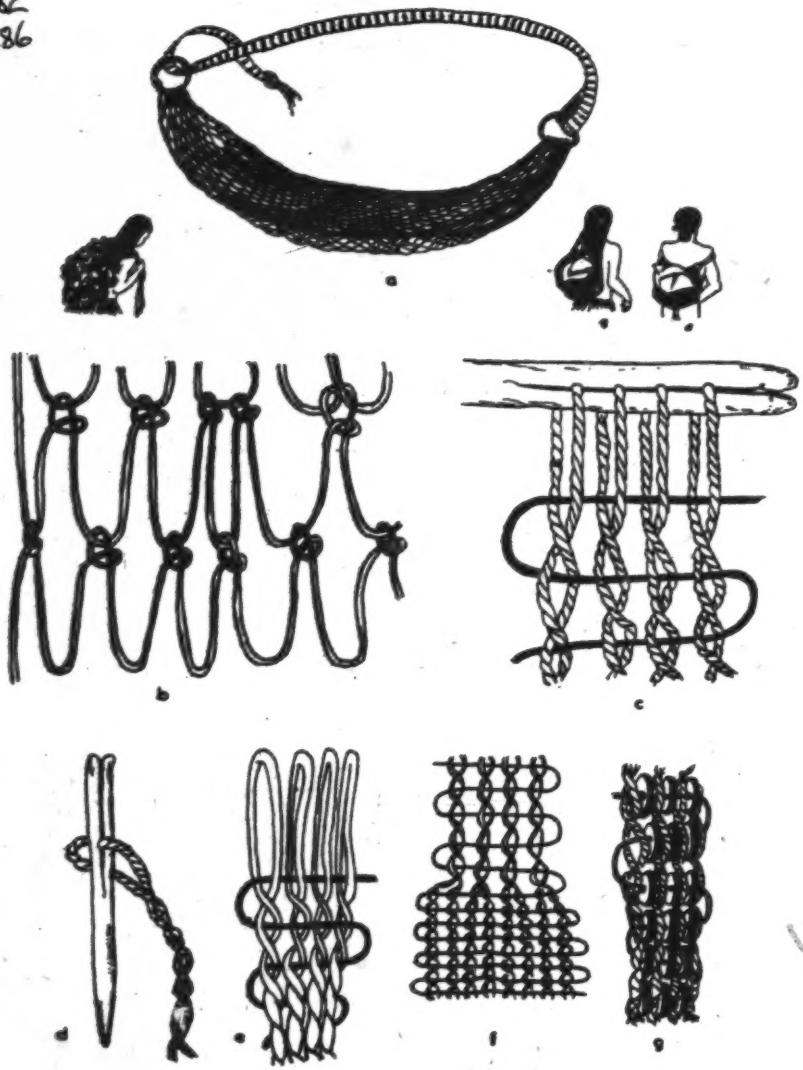

Fig. 13. Wukchumni netting and weaving techniques. a, carrying net and tumpline. b, enlargement of simple netting knot. c, enlargement of tumpline weaving. d, weaving needle. e, tumpline with warps and wefts expanded. f, change from 4 to 8 double-twisted warps. g, belt with shell discs inserted on weft between warps. Vignettes: manner of using tumpline.

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono čim) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonočim) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 767 All Wukchumni informants stated that it was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´'ɨs, who was cremated [766] by his two wives, Mawo´kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku´do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 286] The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tumpline and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinɨmniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the 767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

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302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men.
[304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a
307] bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema,
301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and
[868] creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small
501 tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons,
[502] usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the
[283] conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11]Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12]This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13]Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14]Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´m:s, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´p:s [262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´h:t (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by 482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·č:´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´y:n) at bedrock 412 mortars (tin:l), using a large pestle (če'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´n:m (ti´p:n, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´k:lao, pipe of cane [sik:ll]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´w:š) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cex:´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur- 484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´w:č (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

278 824 757 area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 482 A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt foxes. These followed the fox whenever they
224 smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

579 674 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up [492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 492 When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 674 Such raids were made occasionally in the summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 227 Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was [177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish [482] were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was [252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

226 four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

252 The fish were dried at the camp. The im-
251 plication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around
[482] so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

226 Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the
278 leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them.
[25] Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but
252 the majority were dried for later use.

251 In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a
252 meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then
251 pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

226 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth

226 over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[99]

Firewood, Firemaking

313 Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak, "any kind" of wood, was used for making fire, said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand to control and eventually to quench the flames. No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood, which was bundled up with string and then
313 ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was
● 482 laid on the back and held in place by the load, to protect against bruising. A person could carry about five logs, four feet and eight inches in diameter, or more if the logs were smaller, N.W. thought.

313 Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

372 Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[99] Powers, 376.

352 531 854 831 The top was bound with the water plant root. About four inches from the top was a horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 854 The first cradle had a band hoop extending forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight; [237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge [482] of the frame with milkweed string. Large cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo[1] (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

Cordage and Nets

W Y 281 [237] 283

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wišib) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

W Y 283

Milkweed string (wi´šibib wiši´bi; milkweed, wi´šibib, Wakasachi; če´, Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa´hip (the Yokuts ša´) was also made of willow bark by Wakasachi.

W Y 482

The carrying net (tapi´hᵃ) and tumpline (ta´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi´kuoš) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only [482] with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, [531] and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women employed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the [525] type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [501]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chek, wood-gathering creek; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at 184 one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne,* quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah,* one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi,* Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 104 not Processed]

CHAPTER VI

FOODSTUFFS

GATHERING AND STORING ACORNS

262 222 The acorn, which the Wukchumne Yokuts called *poo'-tus,* was the staple article of diet for most California Indians. It was stored, prepared, and eaten in large quantities and was the most common food consumed by them.

Indians living near the foothills preferred the mountain (Kellogg) acorns to those grown in the valley. The foothill scrub-oaks are smaller, and produce a smaller acorn, which contains a great deal of bitter tannin. The valley oaks bear a large acorn, often three inches in length and almost one inch in diameter. It is sweet, but according to the Indians, does not contain the nourishment found in those borne by the mountain oaks.

The process of gathering and preparing acorns entailed an immense amount of labor. The trees bearing the crop were often several miles distant from the rancheria. An Indian family would consume from one to two thousand pounds of [482] acorns a year. They were carried to the rancheria on the backs of the *mokes* (mo'-kees, women.) [462] The harvesting took place when the acorn crop had nearly all fallen from the tree. At this time, during the years of a good crop, the ground under the trees was almost completely covered with acorns.

[285] The Indian women used a flat-bottomed basket in gathering acorns. Stooping over, they slipped the basket along the ground and rapidly tossed the acorns into it. When the basket was full, it was taken to a burden basket and emptied. The burden basket was called *ahng'-ush* and was made of light, twined material in the shape of an inverted cone, being about twenty-four inches across the large, upper end and from two to three feet in height. The pointed end of this basket was often thrust into a squirrel hole to hold it upright while the acorns were being emptied into it, or the basket was leaned against a rock, or the trunk of a tree.

[482] When the ahngush was filled with acorns it was placed upon the back of one of the mokes. On top of the load she

[Text continues on p. 107]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wahmomhet demonstrating the use of ohng'-ush, the cone-shaped Yokuts carrying basket. When loaded it was balanced by means of the shoulders and hips. In her hand she holds kleta, the winnowing tray. The carrying strap is twisted so it will not slip from her head when she is walking.

85

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te.* A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots.* In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts.* Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h,* and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we.* The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

BLACKBERRY JAM

262 137 222 Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and [231] it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

262 222 The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

262 222 415 Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket [482] *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

262 222 In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. [412] The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries
[222 into the basket.
481]

They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 During the season when the baskets are not in use for
415 gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally
[353] hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush
[227] against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian
[482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched
up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung
from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah [539]
(sung five times) [533]
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y
W
317
323
[412]

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

Y
W
[237
482]

The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

323
[412]

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
574 visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
131 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
● 484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and [484] elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important Y village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was [361] called witi'tsolo´wɛn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of Y balsas. They had a relative there. On the [164] island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[*] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɛl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on [439] the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɛt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, [141] toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey 101 Flat "over back of Kern River." At another 131 time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɛn, where there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

[*] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

186 [197]

What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

619 423 [574]

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

574 484 [501] 574 502 484

[text continues on p. 145]

[3]Ibid.

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɩn, southerners. The term wa´kli´u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɩn (south); wakli´u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɩn (up); atɩ´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɩ´ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo´a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɩč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´m:s, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´p:s
[262] (lake trout), poi´yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´h:t (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´naš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·č:´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´y:n) at bedrock
252 mortars (tin:l), using a large pestle (če';
412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´n:m (ti´p:n, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gen. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´k:lao, pipe of cane [sik:l]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´w:š) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cex:´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
●484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´w:č (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

166 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they al-
222 ways feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about a month, camping along as they went. Enough [484] food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and [438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
242 Indians throughout this region set fire to the
351 brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, con-
184 sisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.-- A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

264 512 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat; cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 593 512 If the women of a household were off getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 512 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

512 When men went out on a long hunt they returned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

512 513 352 Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family, each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 [281] [302] Not much clothing was worn by the Chukchansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans."
674 About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure a herd of horses to bring back for food. On
492] the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262 Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484 traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 213 c] Western Mono NS25

Y M 101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y M 192 A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

Y 361 231 Y [487] The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

M Y [887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O´polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´' (Local Map E, no. 36). M Y [484] When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W [854]

Y W 423 S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tāveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation [101] Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, 131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these [484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and 22] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ¾; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1¼; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3⅝; Yuba, 3¼; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Yokuts made pilgrim-
ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settlement which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná.* Several different derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit,* an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah,* meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

"When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no.* He was born at an Indian village on Los

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
101 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
101 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
181 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
184 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish,* or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup,* the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start. 438 464 123

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials. [141]

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This, I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [324]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made [261]
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chin*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the
172 present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [185] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that mat-
501 ter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the
● 484 Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this annual pilgrimage to the lake shores will be appreciated. 501
We learn from pioneer white settlers that when it was possible 484
they, too, used to spend a portion of the summer at the valley lakes, Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista, and Kern.

One of the great experiences of the eighties was to be a member of an excursion about Tulare lake on the steamboat owned by Judge J. J. Atwell of Visalia. There would surely have been a marked contrast between the Atwell boat and the great tule rafts of the Yokuts, had they met upon the lake. At the sight of the smoke-belching Atwell boat the Yokuts occupants of a tule raft would probably have swum across Tulare Lake and hidden in the Coast Range Mountains.

The Yokuts raft is best described by T. J. Mayfield, whose 501
account in "Uncle Jeff's Story" is repeated here for the benefit 396
of those who have not read it. 484

"A great, long tule raft was built. The Indians used to build small tule rafts that would carry one or two persons for use on Kings river below the rancheria opposite Sycamore creek, but this raft for the lake trip was at least fifty feet long. It was made up of long bundles of tules, pointed at each end, and bound together with willow wythes.

"The bundles were made separately and then bound, or lashed together, making a sort of keeled boat with a depression along the center of the deck. The tules were lashed together in such a way that the raft, or boat, was pointed at the ends and resembled a great cigar, except that the pointed ends were turned up so that they were two or three feet above the deck.

"Along the center of this boat was piled their dunnage. 501
This dunnage consisted of supplies and camp equipment, and 484
included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, dried meat, skins for bedding and many other things. On the sides of the boat sat eight or ten Indians, generally one or two families.

"For us children this trip was an occasion of great excitement. We were all eyes and ears and could scarcely contain ourselves.

"The trip was made in the late spring when the flood from the melting snows in the mountains provided enough water in the river to float the raft over the sandbars.

"The whole rancheria did not make the trip. As I recollect, there were three rafts built the first year. They were built several miles below Sycamore creek, just how far I cannot say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 166 648

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

159 166 501 396

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

159 501

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

[354]

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

159 226 251 [501]

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

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When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

159 166 484 361

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

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166 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they
[223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
159 like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
166 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
484 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
501 did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

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Soon it was dark and we were all cold and wet. It was just as wet on the boat as if we were in the lake. We could all swim, but we were afraid all of the time, because the water was about seven feet deep and the rough water would drown us if we fell in it. So we stayed awake all night and shivered and held on to each other.

When it got daylight we could not see the land in any way. We could see the Kettleman Hills and the Sierra, but we were away out in the middle of the lake. The water was too deep to reach bottom with our poles. The wind was all gone, so we had to wait.

We stayed out there all day. It looked like we stood right still. I guess we did. There were lots of fish under the boat. My stepfather speared lots of nice ones. We could look down through kotlaum, the spearing hole, and see nothing but fish.

It was hot in the daytime, so we all got dry and warm. We made a fire and cooked fish, using the loose dry tules to burn. We were not hungry and we were not afraid any more, but we did not see how we were ever going to get to land. We stayed there all of that day and that night. It was a nice moonlight night and very pretty on the water. My mother told stories and sang for us almost all night and we had a good time.

When it came daylight again we could just see the tules on Chawlowin. But the tule boat looked like it was just standing still. My stepfather could just reach the bottom with our longest pole. We stayed out there all day again, and we got pretty tired of it. By dark my stepfather and my mother could use the poles on the bottom and they worked almost all night pushing the raft toward Chawlowin. By daylight we could see the land about a half mile away. Almost as soon as we could see, a heavy wind started up and in a few minutes the boat hit the bottom about one hundred yards from the tules.

Before we could get off the boat three or four men waded out to meet us. One of them was my mother's brother. We were very glad to see him. The men helped us to the shore and then they began to push the boat around to the west where they had a camp. It took all the rest of the day to get it around there.

We walked along the lake to the camp through a narrow trail in the high tules. Sometimes the water came up to our knees. The north wind was blowing hard again and that made the water come in on the land.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure. 181

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived. [161]

One of the common criticisms of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day. 181 515

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet." [484]

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into
221
484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

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221 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies
796 dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water
484 filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare
[501] Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared 262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco 224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tēss*). Ke'-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They 791
were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would 484
leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents [789]
apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting par- 411
ticulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but [237
by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian 322]
overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints [381]
of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its [283]
diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
● 494

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 587 not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [177] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
321 the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
324 and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 <u>Tobacco</u>.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 213 c] Western Mono NS25

Y
M
101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y
M
192 A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

M
Y
361 The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter
231 was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-
M
Y
[497] gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

M
Y
[887] The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fish-
M
Y
[484] ing site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati'' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sikетepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho
103 were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinchiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

361 It appears certain that both of these villages were between
172 the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

near Aukland. In an old cemetery on Grizzly Gulch, about on a line between the villages of Woody and White River, I found both yellow and red pigment in standard sized balls. 436 172

If the uniform size of the above findings is to be considered as more than purely coincidental they show a remarkable spread of standardization.

YOKUTS TRADE AND TRADE ROUTES

From widely scattered specimens of paint pigment, pipestone, and other objects easily identified as having come from specific localities, it is well known that the North American Indians had established extensive trade routes. From a grave near Dunlap in eastern Fresno County was taken a remarkable piece of pottery, a water jar of fired red clay, having on top a well modeled human head, and around the sides five openings. This jar was identified by Dr. F. W. Hodge, Director of the Southwest Museum, Pasadena, as probably being of *Mojave* manufacture. It was probably traded to the *Entimbits* Yokuts from the Mojaves. 487 439 [172]

In my own collection is a small decorated clay pitcher and a decorated clay pipe. The pitcher was excavated by a Tulare resident in an Indian burial ground at a locality known as Turnbull, west of Tipton. The clay pipe was collected from the cultivated surface of an Indian village site near Alpaugh. Both were identified by the late Dr. T. T. Waterman of Fresno State College as having come from northeastern Arizona, or southeastern New Mexico. In my collection are also an ancient rusted iron axe and the badly rusted pieces of what was probably once a sword. These were excavated from an old *Choinok* Yokuts cemetery, six miles east of Visalia. These were the only articles of white manufacture recovered from approximately six hundred burials excavated at that site and so must have been traded to that village soon after the Spanish first visited the coast of California. 487 439 172 [177]

Obsidian, or volcanic glass, from Mono and Inyo Counties, is found at Indian village sites along the California coast.

Coast seashells are found as far east as Arizona and New Mexico. Dozens of other evidences of Indian trade could be cited. But we have more than archaelogical evidence.

Yoimut, last survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe from the northeast shore of Tulare Lake, related to me that organized trade was carried on between her people and those on the coast. 487 439

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right
[361] where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

A few Yowlumne traders traveled to what is now Inyo County to trade for mineral salt, and for obsidian, the volcanic glass used in making arrow and spear points. They also traveled to the West Side to trade for asphaltum from the deposits near present Maricopa and McKittrick. Some venturesome traders traveled to the coast near Moro Bay to trade for abalone, Pismo clam, keyhole limpet, and periwinkle shells, from which some of their ornaments and money were made. 487 439

Many kinds of herbs, roots and seeds in addition to saltweed ashes and salt from salt grass, were traded, but to a limited extent, because the growth of most herbs and roots was wide-spread in the San Joaquin Valley. Dried wild blackberries were traded to the people who lived on the plains and lake shores away from the rivers, where those berries grew in abundance. [251]

Yowlumne traders traveled as far north as *Yokohl* Valley, northeast of present Lindsay, to trade for steatite, or soapstone, from which were made their cooking vessels and one variety of bead money. Chalcedony, jasper, agate, and any other stone which was easily chipped into arrow points was also valued very highly. Rare curios or oddities of any kind had a high trade value. Quartz crystals, star-fish, sea urchins, cowrie shells, the canine teeth of grizzly bears, and any other uncommon objects, were certain of a ready market by trade. [135]

To fully explain Yokuts trading and trade routes would require more space than is available for this entire article. But it is necessary to know at least something of this practice, which, because of the low mountain passes to both east and west, was probably more extensive among the Yowlumne than it was among most other Yokuts tribes.

According to old Yowlumne Indians, elk, deer and antelope skins, steatite and the salt from native salt grass were the local key articles of trade. They were scarce in much of the desert territory east of the Sierra.

Yowlumne traders would gather a pack of tanned skins, purchasing them with Yokuts money, and carry them to the desert, where there were deposits of obsidian, or volcanic glass. As there existed a set standard of values between deer skins and obsidian, it required only a short period of visiting, news exchange, and bartering before the Yowlumne trader was ready to return to his home on Kern River.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 It is difficult to obtain a set standard of Yokuts values that white people can understand. It has also been very diffi-
436 cult to obtain from the Yowlumne an easily understood explana-
487 tion of such values. Perhaps the simplest of these has been that between deer skins and obsidian, a bundle of fifty tanned deer skins bringing about fifty pounds of obsidian.

In Yowlumne territory obsidian could be traded for anything, and had a very high trade value. It could be taken to Yokohl Valley and traded for soapstone, or to the West Side and traded for asphaltum. Some traders carried obsidian to the sea coast to trade for the seashells named above.

A few definite things have been learned about the value of seashells, which were the basis of most Yokuts money. One of these is that the complete shells had little value compared to the beads that were made from them. From one periwinkle, or olivella shell, at most three beads could be made and this required much labor. One tanned deerskin was worth three such beads. Beads or ornaments made from abalone, keyhole limpet, or Pismo clam shells had more value than did those made from periwinkle shells. These ornaments, or beads, were much larger than those made from periwinkle shells. From these few facts can be determined the relative values of a number of Yokuts commodities.

When the first white settlers arrived in the San Joaquin Valley they paid the Indians as much as twenty-five cents for a large, tanned deerskin. Some were purchased for as little as five cents. This furnishes almost the only data available concerning the comparative values of Yokuts and white money.

436 In 1852 a Kaweah Indian boy was brought to trial at Vi-
salia for shooting an arrow into a work ox and seriously injur-
685 ing it. For this offense he was fined fifty buckskins. The fine was promptly paid by his people. From early records and the statements of pioneers we know that an ox was at that time worth from sixty to eighty dollars. If we knew what portion of the value of the ox the fine represented we would have a ready measurement of the value of buckskins. We are probably only justified in assuming that an uninjured ox was valued at more than fifty buckskins.

439 Wahumchah's grandfather and a brother of this grand-
father were two of the four Yowlumne Yokuts who swam with
487 Padre Garcés across Kern River at the Rio Bravo Rancho (present Olcese Ranch) in May of 1776. The great-uncle lived

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to tell Wahumchah of this experience, as well as about the old trade routes. When Wahumchah was a small boy his father herded sheep on Kern River for the Jewetts. From the hills beside Cottonwood Creek he pointed out to Wahumchah the old trails over which his father had traveled in trading to the coast and to the desert, east of the Sierra. In 1937, following the powerline road south of the mouth of Kern River Canyon, I drove Wahumchah to those same hills and had him point out to me the routes of the old trails his father and great uncle had pointed out to him, more than sixty years before. After he was a grown man, Wahumchah had worked at the Tejon Ranch and had traveled over several of the trails on horseback and had heard other old Yowlumne Yokuts relate the same stories his father had told about them. So the routes were well fixed in his mind.

Here is Wahumchah's statement, recorded in May, 1937, in his own words: "In them old days the Indians got no trail up Kern River. They go up Cottonwood Creek and around the mountain the way that old wagon road go to Whiskey Flat [Kernville]. Then the trail go over Walker's Pass or out Walker's Basin by Piute Mountain to desert. One trail go up to Tehachapi and out Oak Creek Pass to desert. Another trail to desert go up Tejon Canyon back Tejon Ranchos House. Next old trail go up Pastoria Creek across the mountain south to Quail Lake. I don't remember about one go up Grapevine Creek where highway is now. Maybe it did, but I don't remember it.

"Most important old trail go over mountain where them white men get oil long time ago [Old Sunset, southwest of pressent Maricopa]. It go by Paleta to Cuyama Valley. All trade from Santa Barbara, and Santa Maria go that way. 'Nother old trail go by Carrizo Plains to Coast. Then one more go by the same road you go now from Bakersfield to Paso Robles. I think that's 'bout last road I know to coast.

"But they got some trails in valley too. They got one trail on each side Kern River. One from Tejon cross Kern River where Padre Garcés cross. That's the one he come from Tejon. It run on to Tule River and Kaweah River. One trail go across *Trawlawin* (Traw-law'-win), San Joaquin Valley, north of Buena Vista Lake and one south of Kern Lake. Them old Yowlumne traders use them old trails all time. They go everywhere and nobody bother them. My grandpa and his

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 brother take big roll of tanned deer skins, maybe antelope skins, to desert, bring back maybe fifty pounds *kots* (obsidian). Then
487 he make good arrow points and sell 'em for good Yokuts money, maybe shell beads, maybe *kadis* (steatite) beads. He sell one good tanned deerskin for one good kadis bead, maybe three good seashell bead."

The preceding represents all the definite information I have been able to record concerning Yokuts trading and trade routes, but around the remainder of the rim of the San Joaquin Valley are easy mountain passes which show signs of Indian encampments and which were undoubtedly old Yokuts trade routes. The fact that early Spanish and American expeditions traveled these passes, often guided by Indians, makes it almost certain that they were so used. Some diaries kept by scribes accompanying these early expeditions actually record that they were following Indian trails.

Most prominent of these old routes through the Coast Range are the following: Coalinga to San Benito and King City; Big Panoche Valley; Los Baños Creek and via Saucelito and Quien Sabe Valleys; San Luis Creek and Pacheco Pass; Orestimba and De la Puerta Creeks; Hospitál Creek; Corral Hollow; Buenos Aires Creek; and Altamont Pass. Over most of these passes roads were established early in the settlement of the San Joaquin Valley. Old trails through them connected with others paralleling the Coast Range and Sierra foothills and the west bank of the San Joaquin River and the lakes to the south. Along these three last routes were established the first wagon roads to traverse the length of the San Joaquin Valley.

THE YOKUTS MONETARY SYSTEM

436 It will come as a surprise to many persons that the Yokuts, so often contemptuously described as "diggers" or "the lowest form of human life," were among the few Indians in North America who developed a medium of exchange worthy of being classified as a monetary system. This writer had gathered data from aged Yokuts for about twenty years before he became aware of the fact that when the Spanish arrived the Yokuts were advancing out of the more primitive trade and barter culture into that of a system of monetary exchange. True, their monetary system was very crude, but the necessary elements were there and the money could not be successfully counterfeited. A penniless Yokuts could kill deer, tan the skins, carry them

000 river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Ranchería of Chaneches, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tulares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recrossed?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Ranchería Caneche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various [361] sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

136 In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?, *mojarras*], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [*abujeros*] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

000 I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the [487] Chinecheс and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Chenechеs [copy of Nov. 19: Chanechеs] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherías to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said ranchería, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade. 101 175 619

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains. [439] [177]

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made." 142 262 342

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 101 175 619 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and 101 175 619 648 482 [491]

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262 Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484 traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go
492 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope (a ja´quima, presumably). But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory (near Friant) to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve

Gour on fur mew.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *zarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors,
648 had been quite troublesome of late.[17]

133 On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large [501] body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...

The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.

The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

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[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

226 The tribe I was with had an interesting way of catching fish on the lake shore. A weir of willow wicker work was built out at an angle from the shore for a distance of fifty or sixty yards. Then a large group of Indians would wade out beyond the weir and close the opening. This group would form a semicircle sometimes a mile long.

After the circle was completed they would close in, all splashing and yelling and driving the fish into the shallow water behind the weir. In this shallow water were two or three Indians wading about, each with one of the bottomless [sic] wicker baskets that they used up the river for catching fish in pools. When they felt a fish with their feet or saw a ripple made by a fish they would clap the basket down and catch it. It was not possible to see the fish as the shallow water soon became very muddy.[37]

Another type of weir, consisting of two long wings, was erected in shallow water. No drive was made; men waded in in the early morning and dipped up fish with hand nets (po´hač).

According to Mayfield a special raft for fishing and hunting was used by the Tachi at Tulare Lake.

[501] This raft was constructed in a different way.... It was wide and flat and would pass over very shallow water. It was pointed at the ends, but the points were not raised as they were in the raft used on the river.

In the center of the fishing raft was a large hole. Through this hole fish were gigged much as they were from the platform on the river above.

A few feet ahead of the hole was an earthen, or mud, hearth. On this hearth a fire was kindled, and the cooking was done.

He also describes a novel method of fishing in the tular.

Tules will float on the water, and the Indians make use of their buoyancy. On the lake, and sometimes in sloughs along the river, the tules used to float about loose. The wind would drift them into great mats near the shore. The fish used to collect under these mats and we used to walk over them and spear fish from them.[38]

227 The Tachi fishing implement, as described by M.G., was a single-pointed harpoon (to´´okoi). The hooked point, about two inches long was made of a pelican wing bone which was lashed to the detachable foreshaft with sinew. The foreshaft, about one foot long, was attached to the oak handle by means of a length of tule fibre cord.

226 Fish poison (yao´ha) was made from a white

[37] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 32-33.

[38] Ibid., 30,32.

Balsa Construction

● 501 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi in- [524] formant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

223 A floating hunting blind, described by
349 S.G., was used by Wukchumni and Gawia on quiet waters, particularly on Woodlake. Two logs about 6 feet long were tied together about a foot from each end with willow-root withes. Horizontally along each side, just at the center, was a long rod held in place by the same bindings. Into the long slot between the rod and the side of the log to which it was fastened, were inserted the butt ends of long round tules, about 4 to 6 feet tall, previously twined together at the butts. The tops of these were drawn together forming an apex over the narrow raft. If the shelter were well made, the tule tops would be sewed together with string (čit·k) on a wooden needle, but if poorly made the tops were tied together in small bunches (see fig. 11). This
[501] floating shelter was used chiefly for duck hunting with bow and arrows. It was poled about, usually by men who worked in pairs, one to pole, the other to shoot.

224 Small game.--S.G. described two traps for small animals. The first, intended for rodents, was merely one large flat rock propped above another by means of a small stick. The bottom of the stick rested on the bait -- usually a roasted acorn -- and gave way when the bait was nibbled. The second was a spring trap set up on the trails of quail, cottontail rabbits, ducks, or geese. A small supple limb was set in the earth if none grew naturally at the desired spot. To its tip was fastened a noose of string (čit·k), the cord of which was tied to a horizontal bar pegged about six inches off the ground. Any creature caught in the noose struggled sufficiently to release the horizontal bar, and animal and bowed limb flew upward.

[136] Of small animals the following were trapped: ground squirrels (po ˆhot), tree squirrels (sa ˆñsañwide ˝·t), gophers (hu ˆñhed) and chipmunk (aho ˝ˆõt).

Smoking out, with aid of the feather fire fan, was the most common method of catching ground squirrels (see Michahai-Wakachi, Pt. II).

A flexible stick with hooked end was used for pulling rodents from their burrows or hiding places. Ground squirrels were forced out or stupefied by smoking. Entries to their burrows were plugged with grass which was fired and kept burning by drafts from a feather fire fan. As the animals attempted to escape or get air at openings they were dragged out with the hook, seized, and their necks broken. A hooked stick of this type in the University of California collections (No. 1-4036) is 49 inches long, approximately 1/4 inch in diameter (fig. 10, a).

Fishing

226 The fishing harpoons were 7 to 12 feet
227 long; different lengths were used for different

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts N529

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western
Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore
Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves su-
186 perior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the
[192] valley, the upland Monachi were found to be
treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield fami-
ly. However, with characteristic fairness,
Mayfield said that this might be due to his
family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that,
had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the
Monachi, these Indians probably would have been
the friends and the Yokuts would have proved
equally inimical.[3]

What is clear throughout is this: that
619 utmost friendliness prevailed among all the
Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along
423 these waterways, particularly with regard to
fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt
the north bank of Kings River to be theirs,
between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toi-
hicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to
occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D)
during the spring salmon run. These neighbors
remained there while the fish dried, which they
then took home to store. Similarly there were
the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and
acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the
eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there
was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable
foods; probably for that very reason, nothing
[574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal
visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni,
Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined
on such occasions.

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual
574 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they
484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An ex-
cursion to the lake on tule balsas is described
[501] by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them
supplies and equipment for camping. The large
574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills,
502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the
484 river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3]Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 147 a] Choinimni

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302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. [304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had 307] pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, 301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and [868 creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small 501 tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, [502 usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the [263 conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called pičé´kamni, the handle, ti´m:s, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´p:s
[262] (lake trout), poi´yom (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´h:t (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·č:´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai´y:n) at bedrock
412 mortars (tin:l), using a large pestle (čé'; pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´n:m (ti´p:n, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gon. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´k:lao, pipe of cane [sik:l]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´w:š) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cex:´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer,
●501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´w:č (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the dance would, if possible, be moved into a large [742] dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who [439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of 276 tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

● 501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were 321 "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Supna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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 131 101 103 [423]

missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their settlements was Waitatshuiul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechabet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nututu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*woicul*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it. [501]

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the [223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder [237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity 285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the 531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is 171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however, 285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the 171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [501]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chek, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the valley lakes. They were also used as a covering for the 285
lake houses.

The lake houses are probably the most interesting part of 342
the lake culture. They resembled greatly a long, wedge shaped tent. Poles having a crotch at the top were set in the ground in a more or less straight line at intervals of about eight or ten feet. In these crotches were laid other straight poles which formed a ridge against which other light poles were leaned. Against this supporting frame-work were laid the tule mats, the fiber of the tules standing upright.

We know from many accounts, some of them given by persons yet living, that these lake houses often reached a length of three or four hundred feet and housed a dozen or more families. The openings at the ends afforded entrance to the end apartments, the intermediate apartments having entrances at the side somewhat similar to the flap of a tent.

Transportation upon the water was by means of bundles 501
of tules tied together in the form of rafts. From these, hunting and fishing took place. Upon a mud hearth in the forward [354]
end of these rafts, a fire was kindled and game was cooked. In this way, we are assured, parties of three or four Indians would be upon the lake for a week or ten days at a time.

To understand the reason for this difference between the 133
method of living and the construction of houses of the lake tribes and the river tribes, we must consider for a moment the nature of the lakes upon which they lived. The land surrounding these lakes, particularly Tulare Lake, was almost level. The rise or fall of one foot in the level of the water in a lake would move the shore line forward or backward a distance often as great as four miles. When the shore line moved, the Indian village moved.

Other and more frequent disturbances were the violent [132]
winds which from time to time swept across the lakes. Three days of heavy northwest wind could drive the waters toward the south and move both shore lines south a distance of several miles. Those Indians living on the south shore of the lake would be awakened in the night by the wind or, if they were not alert, by the water, which would flood their encampment. All members of the tribe would rush about, bundling up the temporary houses and piling them upon tule rafts. Gathering up baskets of acorns and dried fish and all manner of camp equipment, they would float to higher ground. Within a few days

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 172 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [86] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 484 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this annual pilgrimage to the lake shores will be appreciated. 501 484
We learn from pioneer white settlers that when it was possible they, too, used to spend a portion of the summer at the valley lakes, Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista, and Kern.

One of the great experiences of the eighties was to be a member of an excursion about Tulare lake on the steamboat owned by Judge J. J. Atwell of Visalia. There would surely have been a marked contrast between the Atwell boat and the great tule rafts of the Yokuts, had they met upon the lake. At the sight of the smoke-belching Atwell boat the Yokuts occupants of a tule raft would probably have swum across Tulare Lake and hidden in the Coast Range Mountains.

The Yokuts raft is best described by T. J. Mayfield, whose 501 396
account in "Uncle Jeff's Story" is repeated here for the benefit of those who have not read it.

"A great, long tule raft was built. The Indians used to 484
build small tule rafts that would carry one or two persons for use on Kings river below the rancheria opposite Sycamore creek, but this raft for the lake trip was at least fifty feet long. It was made up of long bundles of tules, pointed at each end, and bound together with willow wythes.

"The bundles were made separately and then bound, or lashed together, making a sort of keeled boat with a depression along the center of the deck. The tules were lashed together in such a way that the raft, or boat, was pointed at the ends and resembled a great cigar, except that the pointed ends were turned up so that they were two or three feet above the deck.

"Along the center of this boat was piled their dunnage. 501
This dunnage consisted of supplies and camp equipment, and 484
included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, dried meat, skins for bedding and many other things. On the sides of the boat sat eight or ten Indians, generally one or two families.

"For us children this trip was an occasion of great excitement. We were all eyes and ears and could scarcely contain ourselves.

"The trip was made in the late spring when the flood from the melting snows in the mountains provided enough water in the river to float the raft over the sandbars.

"The whole rancheria did not make the trip. As I recollect, there were three rafts built the first year. They were built several miles below Sycamore creek, just how far I cannot say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [136] [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"Sometimes the hunter would work an hour to get just ten feet closer to the deer. 224

"After men began to hunt with guns and could kill a deer at long range, stalking had to be discontinued, as several Indians were mistaken for deer and were shot. Such hunting was always dangerous, even when there were no guns in the country. [177]

"An old Monache Indian once told me of an experience he had had, which I think is interesting. He had stalked a deer for several hours and had finally approached close enough so that he was preparing to shoot.

"Just as he was about to draw the bow he saw something move. He glanced to his right and there on a big rock, as he said, 'There's one mountain lion, he's going to jump right on me. Fool 'em deer too good—fool 'em mountain lion.

" 'Deer go one way, horns go one way, bow and arrows go one way, Injun go one way. Injun no more fool 'em deer!' "

TULE FISHING RAFTS

Pioneers who were on Tulare Lake in the early days say that loose tules used to float on the surface of the water and were drifted by the wind along the lee shore of the lake into thick, floating mats. These mats were sometimes three feet or more in thickness, thirty to fifty feet across, and from fifty to more than one hundred yards in length. 501

When hogs were placed upon the lake shores to fatten, the tule mats caused a great deal of trouble. They were buoyant enough to support several hogs. Sows with young pigs liked to nest on these mats. During the night it was not unusual for the wind to change direction and drift the mats some distance from shore. Then it was necessary to wade, or row a boat into the lake and take the sow and pigs from the mat.

After the mats had accumulated windblown dust and sand and trash they became known as floating islands. At time of low water they would rest upon the ground, but at time of high water they would separate from the bottom of the lake and float away. It is believed that it was from these floating tule mats and tule islands that the Indians first learned to make fishing rafts, and also the rafts which were used on the rivers. The fishing raft varied in length from ten feet to probably twenty, and in width from six feet to eight feet. They were probably from two to three feet, or more, in thickness and were lashed

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 together with twisted hemp or tule rope, or with willow withes. They were pointed at the ends, which were higher than the middle.

In the center of the raft was left a fish spearing hole about [354] a foot in diameter. In front of this hole was placed a thick layer of mud and upon it was kindled a fire. Here game and fish were cooked as needed.

We are told that from two to four Indians would board one of these rafts and go onto the lakes hunting and fishing, to be away from shore for as much as a week or two. During this time they slept upon the raft, or upon the tule islands in the lakes, and fished and hunted and cooked the meat and fish at the fire place on the raft.

501 The Indians learned to make their tule rafts a very ef-
224 fective aid to their hunting and fishing. They threw loose tules over the raft and themselves as a blind, and poled the raft about the lake, thrusting the pole through the hole in the middle. [223] In this way they were enabled to approach within a few feet of ducks and geese and other water fowl. At places where antelope and elk watered at the lake, or in the streams where they entered the lake, the Indians were also able to approach those animals quite closely and to shoot them with bow and arrow.

501 It is probable that the hole in the middle of the raft was
226 first made for use in spearing fish. We are told that fish used to collect in great numbers under the natural tule mats. The mats were drifted by the wind and the Indians used to walk about over them and spear fish through holes which they cut in the mats. Under the mat there was no reflection from the sun and it was easy to see the fish as they passed underneath. It was also impossible for the fish to see the fishermen.

226 The lake trout, which were greatly prized as food by the
136 Indians, attained a great size. Mr. Fred Wells of Tulare, now past 96 years of age, who fished for the market on the shores of Tulare Lake, tells us that as late as 1880 he caught lake trout weighing more than twenty pounds and more than three feet in length.

Pioneers who came in the early '50's, when the stock of fish had not been depleted, tell us that the fish at that time traveled in great schools which in places almost entirely displaced the water. White fishermen of the 1870's and '80's caught in one haul of a horse-drawn seine as many as eight tons of fish. One of the fishermen who engaged in this work was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
166 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they
[223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
159 like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
166 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
484 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
501 did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies
796 dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were
484 regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare
[501] Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 [312] 361 [137] The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 [501] The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San 262 824 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass [423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by [428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other 439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 262 823 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 [224] In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. [439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told. 648

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one. [501]

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[7] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies). [361 262]

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No- [622]

[7] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; *cf.* W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

186 [197]

What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

619 423 [574]

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

574 484 [501] 574 502 484

[3]Ibid.

[text continues on p. 145]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1459] Choinimni

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.

103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 147 a] Choinimni

Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer when the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
727 some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-
chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

291 used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

293 For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi
304 women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

252 Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the
[481] proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

[512] Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and everyone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to
25 the drying rocks. When all were dried they
252 were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the

[85] Ibid.

[412] [86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

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252 of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They [264] ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

This work took all day. Meanwhile some of 262 the men had been hunting and had brought home ●512 some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. 224 Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the [252] meat, the men would cook it.* The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

When acorns were plentiful a family could 251 get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. [222] White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes 252 made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and

*Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

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343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water 515 was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

539 773 The sweat house.--The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[244]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[245]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[244] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[245] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

513 states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were 562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was 515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

343 A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be 515 built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; [622] then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

M
103 Wobonuch sites:
131 14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dow:n: suinawe junction or fork
361 16. paha´wet": meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewet": Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wet": fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
342 Dwellings.--A house was called tomo´'h:š, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´w:ts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual [352 hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The 513] doorway of the house was called ti´š:č, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an [352 underground house or cellar." The floor was 513] covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. [252] otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in [533 it, though a man might dance or a flutist play 524] if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´:ša) was played there.

343 Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses 251 (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

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Clothing and Ornament

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chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
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Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

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[84] Handbook, 519.

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342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a´mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

35f The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their
● [513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

W Y 342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to W Y [574] sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked W Y just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined [361] location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Wakasachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W at the ridgepole between the last rows of Y thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [352] Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [522] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] [513] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

W Y 343 515 clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513] Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533 No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kič) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´tač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y 291 [439] Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley
353 pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

354 "In the center of the single room, directly under the small circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

352 "The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

"In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into
352 the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules,
● 513 the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

251 "With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored
353 inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 line of Indians and escape, but a great many, probably two hundred, would be killed in a forenoon drive.

281 237 [513] "The rabbit skins were made into fine blankets. These were used as a covering for sleeping much as is an ordinary blanket. They were the warmest and most comfortable bed covering I have ever used.

"The skins were taken from the rabbits without being split and, while green, were cut into a long strip about three-quarters of an inch wide.

"As this strip dried it naturally curled up with the flesh side inside and the fur on the outside. This made a sort of fur boa about an inch and a half in diameter.

"In making the blanket, two of the strings were twisted together for a distance of about six feet. Then the ends were doubled back and looped through the twists of the first portion.

"Working back and forth across the blanket in this way it was woven into a square about six feet on each side.

[291 294] "Smaller blankets were used as a sort of cape, or shawl, in extremely cold weather, or to wrap the babies in before they were strapped on the cradle. The mokes also made their skirts in this way."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call-
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with 513
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159 513
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 237
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. [430]
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] [161]
Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 [312] 361 [137] The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 [501] The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San Joaquin Valley. 262 824 Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass [423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by [428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other 439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 262 823 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorata*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 [224] In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. [439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two T Y [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they T Y 515 were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y 517 to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tem (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wes, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y 323 Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y 436 Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y 286 Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y 805 Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y 301 Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y [237] Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´men) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y 534 Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kose specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

539 773 The sweat house.--The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

513

states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were 562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was 515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

343 A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be 515 built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; [622] then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Fages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were prybably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do this in the morning if they had no immediate
515 work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of
754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings un[illegible] large bunch had collected, then took this to a [illegible]ing of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every-
539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

[164]

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collan-
262 der, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house,
[533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were
[184] bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

412 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the
322 handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head,
515 baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was
[262 roasted, it was "Just like roasting potatoes."
252] [The inference is that some varieties of soap-
171] root were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral
322 [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 Cooking stones were made of soapstone,
324 said M.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used
[412 for cooking larvae and worms.[110]
322] Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were
411 made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of
[237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

W
Y
343 high was set up, and in a squared position
251 about it were erected four shorter forked posts. Four tie beams connected the corners, and across these was laid a flooring of small logs. Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

W
Y
343 <u>Sweat house</u>.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an averaged-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

W
Y
343 Two "brush" fires were built, one on each side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires' heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted
515 to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of ex-

W Y 343 515

clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513]

Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 533

No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kıč) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y 291 [439]

Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

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343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water 515 was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

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lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343 515
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very [illegible] ical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians alm[illegible] versally [578] came to regard it as sacred.

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things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure. 181

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived. 161

One of the common criticisms of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day. 181 515

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet." 484

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

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181 515 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, [609] and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 648 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 515 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing them- [291] selves every little while; they take great care of their hair and 302 do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels [291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 657 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

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101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

Balsa Construction

50 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´w:n ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi in- [524] formant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de- 302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain 825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´h:l) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´m:k) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

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[P. 64 c] Wukchumni

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Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

281 long, was kept in a hank of folds about four
286 inches long held in the right or left hand as need be. Work commenced at the top right. The weft was passed through the adjacent twists as described above. When the bottom was reached the loose ends of the warp were tied together. The loops at the top were slipped off the pole, were given a couple of twists, and were sewed across as elsewhere in the blanket.

The frames were set up outdoors, and blankets were made when there was no danger of rain (April to November). There was no rule or belief that they should not be made at other seasons, the matter was controlled entirely by the prospects of the weather. M.S. insisted that only men made blankets. It is conceivable that this was so in her father's time, but that Mission influence led to women's weaving.

A third method of weaving rabbitskin blankets was described by the elderly blind Wukchumni informant, M.L. She stated that the double twisted ropes of rabbitskin were tied together to form a long continuous rope. This was wrapped round and round a two-pole upright frame. The lower pole was held down by pegs which were loosened as the blanket grew more taut. The weft of string was "sewed" across through parallel twists as above. Back and front warps, caused by the breadth of the frame poles, were pulled into a flat position beside each other.

Tule Mats

285 The word ṭ·ñi was used for any sort of mat; if one of tule were meant specifically, it was called su´´iu ṭ·ñi. Those for houses were made of the large triangular tule (pumuk). These reeds were laid out closely side by side on the ground, with stem ends alternating, in an amount needed for a mat. The worker started at the left-hand corner nearest her and, placing her right foot across the first three or four reeds and kneeling on her left knee, ran a thread of čiṭk string in a deer-bone needle through each successive stem. This meant that the needle was held in the left hand while the right hand forced the tules onto it (M.L.). (Unlike European sewing, the needle was a passive instrument when used in this manner.) The sewer moved onto the tules as she progressed, and started back from the opposite end for the next row of stitching. The rows were about a foot apart.

Sleeping mats and floor mats were made of
[516] the smaller round tules (šu´yu). The worker sat in a favorite Yokuts woman's position, with left leg forward and knee slightly raised, the right leg doubled sharply at the knee, the foot under the left thigh.[198] A pair of tules was

[198] The posture when working at the bedrock mortar (see fig. 6, herein), or at leisure (the normal posture of M.S. and M.L., who always sat on the ground); cf. Holmes, pl. 30.

285 taken up and tied in four places with long strands of string which were to be the twining wefts. The tules were added in pairs. Twining progressed over some six to ten tules in the first row before the string was tied in a single knot; then twining was commenced on the second, third, and fourth rows and continued in the same manner. The manipulation is shown in figure 12. While the first finger of the left hand held down one string which was turned back over the last pair of tules, the second and third fingers held the pair just being inserted by the right hand. The next move was to bring the loose string up over the latter pair, and have it replace the taut string which was released to become the next binding element. A well-finished mat would have a three-ply braid of fine tules sewed on all around the edge.

[516]

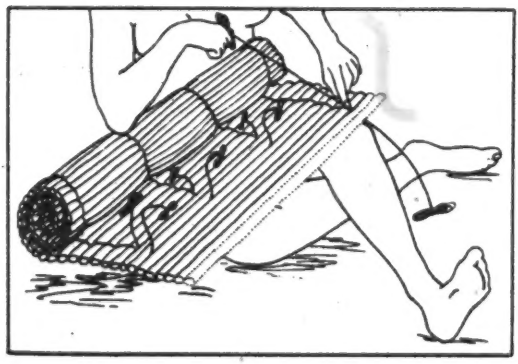

Fig. 12. Wukchumni method of twining small mats. Left hand about to press down on tightened wrapping, freeing right hand which will place next two tules (dotted in position) and pull under string up over them.

The same technique was used for all household mats, babies' mattresses, casings for feather ornaments, etc. Women invariably sat on mats when working outdoors in front of their homes (M.L.).

Flat tule (kots, "cattails") were little used.

Cordage and Nets

283 The strongest cord or rope (ho'), which was employed for all heavy purposes, was made from the inner bark of the button willow. Trees were ringed by means of an obsidian blade at intervals of three to five feet, depending on whether one or two sections could be gotten. The ringing and stripping were done in the fall. The inside bark peeled off readily after it was removed from the tree. It was laid out on flat

525 Informants and recorders disagree on scoring, and it may well be that there were local or even individual terms agreed upon at the time of play. They range as follows.

According to M.L.: two face up, 1; five face up, 1; all up, 4; all down, 4.

According to Powers: two face up, 1; five face up, 1.

According to Kroeber (Yaudanchi): two face up, 1; five face up, 2.

The score was kept by a woman who took no part in the game. The scorekeeper for any game was called ho'o´po'ːč. She held the scoring sticks, peeled willow rods about 1/4-inch in diameter and 6 inches long, and the stakes offered, and was "paid a little" for her part. The Wukchumni, Michahai, and Chukaimina used 18 counters; according to Kroeber the Yaudanchi used 12. A special manner of holding the sticks, in groups of threes between the fingers, as they were taken from the pile was in vogue with the Wukchumni. Different stages in scoring were designated: mulu´lǎima, when all the counters are taken from the pile; čamǎu´ma, when one side has all the counters; kayuǎu´ma, when each side gets all the counters alternately; tu´ǎi, the winning score, which is having possession of all the counters twice in succession, i.e., 2 čamǎuma.

Women gambled as heartily as men. The stakes rarely ran over an equivalent of $2.50, and might comprise bead money, baskets, or some object which an opponent specifically desired.

Menstruating and pregnant women played, but a pregnant woman would pick up a little stick and thrust it in her belt or sit on it, "to bring good luck." No explanation could be offered for this by informants.

Hand game.--The game (hi'u´tniwːč) was played only at night, usually outside by the assembly fire. The rationalization given for this practice was merely "that it didn't look pretty in the daytime" (M. and J.P.). The method of play for the Yaudanchi is vividly reported by Kroeber in an account too long for reprinting here.[516] As with the Wukchumni, the marked piece was guessed for. Wukchumni of both sexes enjoyed the game and often played in opposing groups. Women hid the bones under a blanket; men held them behind their backs. The sexes sang and sat differently: women sat cross-legged, men knelt and thumped the rhythm of the singing with one knee. The singing was started by the women and followed by a phrase from the men so an alternating progression of song was made. The following lines were given by M.P.; the first phrase in each line was repeated three times.

[516] Handbook, 539.

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[in the Bear Dance. -Anm 1/5/]

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [790] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by 184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

● 516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [209] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

304 obsidian. Chukchansi face patterns are shown in Figures 45 *h–l*, 46 *m–o*.

516 Men frequently squatted rather than sat. For longer periods they sat on their heels, with toes turned together and hands on knees. The cross-legged position, the most common of all the world over, was not used, except perhaps on special occasions like gambling. Women stretched one leg out and folded the other back; or, at rest,

[304 531]

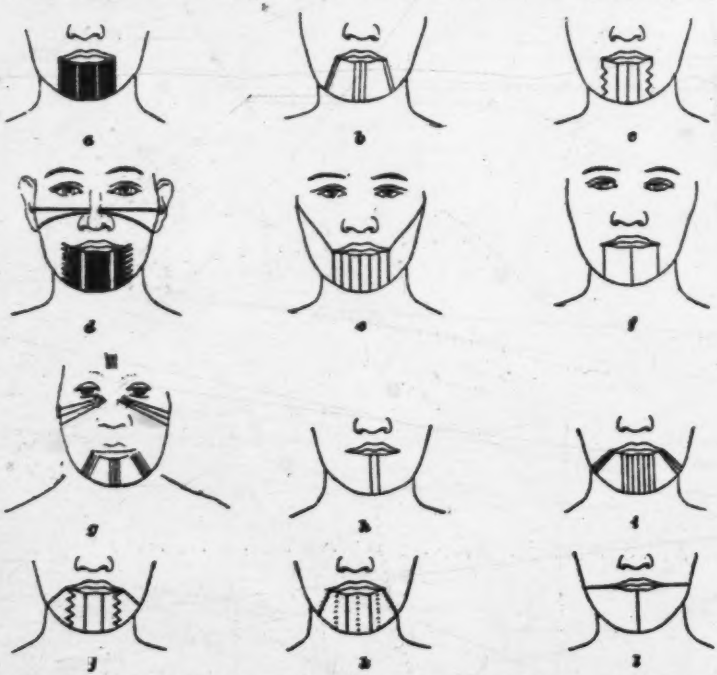

FIG. 45.—Women's tattoo. *a*, Yurok and northwestern tribes; *b*, *c*, San Francisco, probably Costanoan; *d*, Sinkyone; *e*, northwestern valley Maidu; *f*, northeastern and southern Maidu; *g*, Yuki; *h–l*, Chukchansi Yokuts. Compare the Wailaki, Yuki, Huchnom, and northern Pomo tattoos shown in Powers, Tribes of California, pages 116, 130, 140, 142, 144, 158.

drew the knees up and joined the hands in front of them. The Plains Indian woman's attitude, with both legs to one side, was not adopted. The habits of all the California Indians in these interesting matters are little known, but it is clear that custom and not inherited nature is the chief determinant. As at so many other points, nature seems at once to have furnished us a structure that permits a surprising variety of sustained positions, and to have deprived us of instincts favoring one rather than the other; so that culture has a clear opportunity to evolve the most diverse habits.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

436
804
516

Yokuts bead money and three types of measurement used by various Yokuts tribes to denote one Chok, or unit of money. At the left is shown the measurement extending around the hand. At the center is the measurement extending from wrist to fingertips. At the right is the measurement around the hand foreward of the thumb. The Indian woman at the left is wearing strings of bead money around her neck and in her hair.

Between the Wukchumne, *Pahdwishi* and *Kaweah*, the *Chok*, or unit of measurement of bead money—in other words, the Yokuts dollar—was the distance around the hand, measuring just outside of the thumb. Among the *Telumne* (Tay'-lumne), distant only twenty miles from the Wukchumne, it was the distance from the tip of the longest finger to the first wrinkle in the wrist. Incidentally, these two distances are almost equal. Some of the Yokuts tribes measured the chok around the rim of the hand. Ichow explained that in such cases the hand was placed flat on the ground and the beads measured around the hand from the last joint of the thumb to the last joint of the little finger.

436
804
184

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

142
252
412
415
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A Chukuimiss woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) NS29 Yokuts NS29

 252 415 142 301 302 415 516

Weh-puk'-is showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine 252
material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it.

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[142
285
302
516]

Wahaomhat, full-blood **Wukchumne** Yokuts from the Kaweah River east of Visalia. She is working in the old salt grass field near Guernsey, Kings County, where the Yokuts tribes have harvested salt from salt grass from time immemorial. On the ground is **tuh'-menk**, generally made of cottonwood twigs and put to innumerable uses. This is a good illustration of features, posture, and the way the salt grass is pulled. The fingers of her right hand are bandaged in order to prevent the grass from cutting them.

mixing them with the refined product. The method by which this is done is extremely interesting, and has several times been witnessed and photographed by the writer.

The most desirable location in the vicinity of Tulare Lake was an area about four miles northeast of Guernsey. This area has been utilized as a harvest field for salt grass for at least one hundred and fifty years, and probably much longer.

Harvesting is done during the later part of July, or the first of August. At about ten or eleven o'clock the globules of salt are partly dried, too dry to be smeared in picking, and too

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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142
302
291
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"Old Brin," an aged, blind Wukchumna, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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302
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756
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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such **doctoring**. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by **Jesse G. Pattee**.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
[775] What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
769

342
361
417
● 516

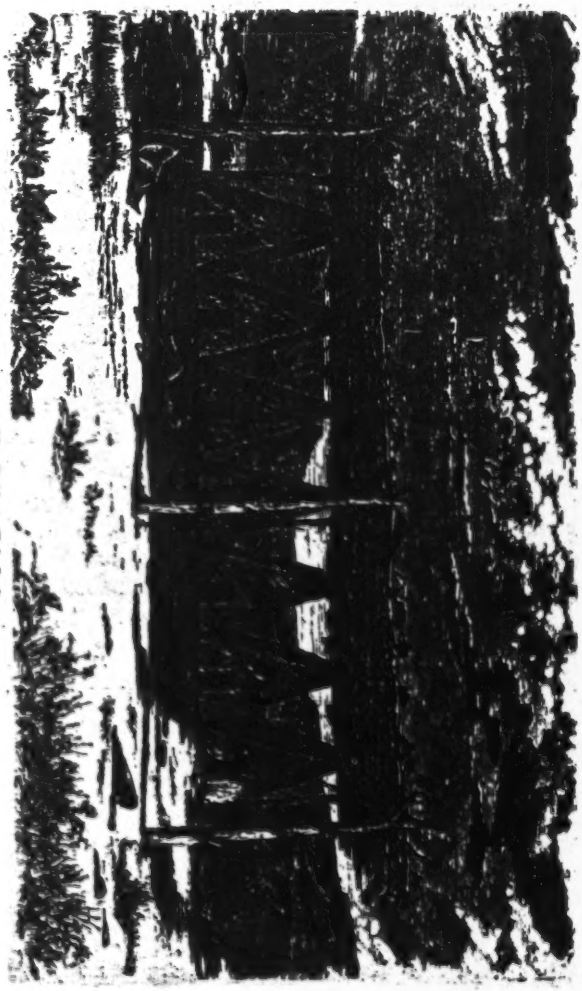

Figure 80.—Yo'-kuts Tule Lodges.

[facing p. 370]

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´ŏot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (ṭuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwes). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...

At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[765] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic,
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

h [i.e., pleasure dancers. - Anal/yst]

[P. 51b] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they T Y were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for 515 a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T to entertain others or to practice, a man would Y● dance the ha´tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For ● 517 such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wɨs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the 323 coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. 436 A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of 286 rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month 805 roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A 301 single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned [237] one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends T Y hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´''i) 534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogon) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [759] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´wıš) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'upıč. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dkıd) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

[P. 186 a] Chuckchansi

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand
[524] game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex-
[533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

[P.225a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani´'iwa'ü´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

W Y [783] Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535] Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302a 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517] During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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525 apathetic, as is the wont. It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the supplest of muscular responses are matched; and only rarely are the faculties of a Caucasian left sufficiently undulled in adult age to compete other than disastrously against the Indian practiced in his specialty. Seen in this light, the contortions, gesticulations, [152] noises, and excitement of the native are not the mere uncontrolledness of an overgrown child, but the outward reflexes of a powerfully surcharged intensity, and devices that at once stimulate the contestant's energy still further and aid him in dazzling and confusing his opponent. There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities.

The Yaudanchi shuffled under a blanket instead of behind the back or in bunches of hay. Among the Chukchansi only women used the blanket.

Chomwosh is the guessing or matching of hidden fingers. It is too little described to allow of a decision between the possibilities of native and Mediterranean origin.

Dice was the woman's game. There were two forms. *Huchuwish* was played with 8 *huech*, half shells of nut filled with pitch or asphalt and bits of sea shell, thrown from both hands on a basketry tray, *t'aiwan*. The far-away Chemehuevi play this much like the southern Yokuts, though with 6 instead of 8 pieces; it appears to be a game of Shoshonean origin. The Chukchansi keep the name, but use 6 split acorn kernels. Beyond them, the course of the game becomes uncertain. For the Miwok nothing is known, and the Maidu seem to lack all dice. The Yaudanchi played for 12 counters, and the scoring ran: 5 of 8 flat surfaces up, 2 counters; 2 up, 1; any other number, none. The Chukchansi won by taking 10 counters, and considered only the possible combinations of falls, irrespective of side. Six to none counted 4 points; 4 to 2 or 3 to 3, 1; 5 to 1, nothing. Such variations seem to occur in all Californian games, even between adjacent areas.

The second dice game, *tachhuwish*, was played with 6 (or 8) split sticks, *dalak*, of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin.

There was a generic word, *goyuwinich*, for gambler. *Gwiunaushid mak*, "let us gamble," the Yaudanchi would say.

AESTHETICS.

517 Apart from basket patterns, there was no trace of activity of graphic or plastic art in Yokuts life. The images in the mourning ceremony were symbols of the rudest kind. Anything like the trac-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint. 517

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts. 517 171

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints. 517 538

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

rectangles construct an amusingly accurate fly, and resemble a head-on view of an airplane. Five small rectangles create an unforgettable water-skater. Small wavy or straight lines are caterpillars. Small groups, or long, winding strings of small squares represent ants. 285 531

In the selection of her materials, in the dyeing, preparation, and assembling of them, in the accurate weaving of myths and historical events into the designs on her baskets, it can truly be stated that the Yokuts Indian woman was one of the most versatile artists in the world. She was mythologist, craftsman, weaver, designer, historian, mineralogist, botanist, mathematician, and poet. 285 517 531

YOKUTS ART

The mere mention of Yokuts Indian art seems a challenge to most persons. The thing farthest from their thought is that a Yokuts Indian could have developed anything which in any way could be termed true art. This is not the case. It is true that many of the old forms of Yokuts art are gone, perhaps never to be known, but it is due only to our destructive powers that there is not today more evidence of several forms of their art. 517 531

The Yokuts were developing to a point where art was appearing in their manufacture of pottery. True, this had advanced only to the stage where simple ornamental forms were being attempted and where borders and designs were being applied with the thumb nail or a sharp stick. But the beginning was there and there have been found within Yokuts territory several pieces of pottery which were banded with interesting designs and which probably were not traded into this territory. Border designs were also cut into the large steatite cooking vessels around the opening in the top.

Indian art was applied to many articles. The small apron on the front of the breech clout was sometimes painted with designs symbolic of the local tribe, or clan. The colors and pigments used were the same as those used in rock painting, being earth colors mixed with the juices of plants, most commonly chilicote oil, mixed with the juice of the tall milkweed, the fiber of which was used for making string.

Of all the art common to the many Yokuts tribes, that which has made famous the Yokuts *moke* (mo'-ke, woman) throughout the world, has been applied to their several forms of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Indian. Here again natural colors, often earth colors, were used and the paint was applied in thick coats, not only to the face but often to the arms, legs and bodies. Different designs were used in connection with different ceremonies. These varied somewhat among the numerous Yokuts tribes. In this way a great variety was worked out. 302 531

How common was painting on buckskin will probably never be known. In several graves where bodies had been cremated, I have found fragments of charred buckskin which showed quite plainly a painted design using at least two colors. How much of this sort of evidence has been destroyed by careless "digging" will never be known, but I am of the opinion that such art was at one time quite extensive. 531 517

Another form of art was developed in connection with the handles of soap root brushes, dice, wooden utensils, knives, ceremonial equipment and stone mortars. This consisted of coating the articles with asphaltum, or pitch, into which were pressed beads and bits of abalone shell. The beads used were generally of white sea shell and contrasted quite nicely with the black asphaltum. The writer has seen many examples of the above art, although almost all of them were in an advanced state of decomposition. The rims of mortars were sometimes coated with asphaltum and covered with beads and abalone shell and must have presented a rather pleasing appearance.

Due to the perishable nature of much of the old Yokuts equipment, a considerable amount of their art will probably never be known. How many other pieces of paraphernalia and peculiar but artistic creations have not been recorded can only be imagined. However, enough is known about their art and painting and applied designs to be certain that at least upon occasion the Yokuts Indian was able to dress himself up quite colorfully and was not the sombre, drab person that we perhaps imagine.

YOKUTS PAINTINGS

When white settlers first came to the San Joaquin Valley, one of the things which attracted their attention was the many Indian paintings which were common upon the walls of the rock shelters and caves along the Sierra foothills and at some places in the Coast Range. These paintings have been the subject of much speculation and some investigation, and a ready topic for many writers. From time to time various persons have claim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy
517 and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

[824 The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the
386] sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While
317 driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the
386 purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick. 531 317 386

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted. 531 517

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These Wukchumne Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 symmetrical mortars and pestles for grinding Indian tobacco,
517 or costumes for tribal ceremonies, were often concealed near these paintings.

The idea furnished was that the paintings added prestige to the spot and served to awe the lesser characters of the tribe and instill in them a respect for the equipment concealed there. The Wukchumne stated that such places were *Trip'-ne* (supernatural). Among the Wukchumne, paintings in general are called *Copch'-ke*. Red paintings, such as are common at Hospital Rock, were called *Haw'-you*. Paintings using mixed colors were called *Hoo'-cha-ing-utch*.

This writer is very skeptical about interpretations of Indian paintings, at least about those found bordering the San Joaquin Valley. His opinion is that the only person who could interpret those paintings is the man who painted them.

The above opinion is based upon two facts. The first and most important is that there is no common character which appears with any degree of regularity throughout the territory in which the paintings occur. Second, with the knowledge which the Indians have concerning the paintings, there should appear an interpretation of some sort, which would be more or less consistent among the various tribes.

The Indians readily recognize the characters which represent animals, but they offer no other explanation for the geometrical designs and line drawings than to give the Indian name for circle, triangle, square or other common figures. In exception to this they do identify drawings of the sun, moon and *Chapet* (Chah'-peet—the Indian doctor's magic tray), and a few mythological characters.

531 In each tribe there were probably one or more persons who
517 amused themselves by placing paintings upon the rocks and other objects surrounding the camp site. These parties prob-
463 ably developed skill beyond the average, and it is undoubtedly their work which we see today, placed there for the amusement of the painter, for the awe of the other members of the tribe, and for the interest and speculation of white invaders.

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

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The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

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W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

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MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

226 depths of water. The handle (hoiš) was of
227 elderwood. According to one informant (J.P.) the handle [more probably a part of the handle] could be detached entirely if one was working under bushes, but this does not agree with other information. Two hollow shafts of deer tibia (to´koi) were lashed on one end, and into
[237] these were fitted bone points (pi´čе tu´h'na) about 2 inches long. A cord with about 2 feet of "play" leashed the point to the main handle. The point was essentially a toggle when freed from its housing, the attaching cord usually being fastened to it by wrapping and sealing with pitch or asphalt.[182]

A separate harpoon point in the University
[321] of California Museum of Anthropology (1-10422) has a cord 28 inches long, is of bone, and is 3-3/4 inches in length. Another (no. 1-3954)
[325] is a one-piece togglehead, slightly over 3 inches long (79 mm.) of iron or steel; is perhaps a tine from a rake. A 2-ply cord is laid against the middle of this and probably lashed around several times and then is fastened to the metal by a dark substance which may be asphalt or pitch. It has in it grains of some mineral substance which looks like feldspar from decomposed granite. (These might be a by-product from the melting of the gum.) The length of the free string is about 21 inches.[183] Both specimens are from the Chukchansi Yokuts.

Weirs of willow were set across rivers or
226 streams at suitable places. The willows used were about finger thickness and 3 feet long. They were interwoven with willowbark rope. Into the weir and facing upstream were set cylindrical baskets 6 to 10 feet long and 12 to 18 inches in diameter; as many as three of these might be used. If fish were needed in a hurry, men, women, and children would wade downstream driving fish ahead of them into the basket traps. Ordinarily the baskets were left overnight, when sufficient fish would have accumulated in them by morning.

A favorite method of catching fish in
226 pools was by stupefaction. Two plants were
278 used. One, ta´dad, was a plant which grew near streams. It was mashed fine, put in sifting baskets, and shaken out over the surface of the water. This "made the fish crazy"; as they jumped about near the surface they were grabbed in the hands and scooped up in large openwork baskets. The other plant, ya´oha, "grows on the mountains." It was soaked in
[522] water and mashed with a stick, and the mass put in the fishing hole. The person who performed this service was facetiously referred to as a doctor (añṭu). Kroeber mentions two other

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[182] One informant claimed the point was drilled and the cord tied through the hole. This seems unlikely as no such attachment is reported from any other Yokuts or neighboring tribe.

[183] Description, kindness of Dr. A.L. Kroeber.

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The [683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer to accompany him and a winatum to assist him.

755 It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

755 [522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lɨmɨk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. 845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainičč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an underwater person who was adverse to strangers 823] swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was 789 clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
● 522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
[302] his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was not the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would
522 pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
[786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Wakachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[527 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs,
[237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'haiıč, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
● 522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back,
[302] with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body
[786] "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 216 9] NS25

W Y 342 W Y [574] W Y [361]

frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but were down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

W Y [352] [237] [439] [522] [513]

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ʔɨn, maiya ʔɨn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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[522a]

Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobomuch account (p. 285).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.249 a Western Mono NS25

W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

W Y [831]

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahum ile´h:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the 616
head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity 622
of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, 624
the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. [361]
When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would [651]
gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. 624
One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, 522
Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The 838
tongochim or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they pos- 767
sessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled 624
corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally 648
to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, 727
this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after [773]
a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152] 522 [48]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [161] [618]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 796 756

Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live.

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on down-feathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) [522] singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

Balsa Construction

501 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi informant said children would have crude little [524] balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de-
302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain
825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (to´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of
[249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the
[757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever
[757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly de-
616 scribed several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwıca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ıš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwıč) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

526 The pole and stick game (aiki´wič) was for
616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wič)
[184] was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyit and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

Matching lines was a game played by two
[765] men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wič as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

●524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Dayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called w:kči w:s and made the sides y:t ka y:t (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´os:l. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("m:m tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu mun:n").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hat:m) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oto´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not t:pni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´len:n. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identi-
[616] fy them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

524 Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
525 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women only, was played with dice of small shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

526 The tossed hoop and pole game he describes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

202 Signals.--Pages states that during all-night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[128]

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they T Y were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for 515 a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T to entertain others or to practice, a man would Y dance the ha´t·m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For 517 such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

524 Games.---Women played b[illegible]´w·s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the da[illegible] only.

T Y Pottery.---Pottery was [illegible]t Sototlo by women. The pounding of th[illegible] paste, the 323 coiling process were the o[illegible]tails remembered.

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells T was measured by doubling a strand and then Y slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. 436 A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of 286 rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months T based on moons was used in the old days. The Y only name he remembers was that for the month 805 roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A 301 single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mon) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned [237] one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends T hanging down the back.

Y Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) 534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Koso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

525 Women:

oi yo no´ ma na — ho we ha´ na·

Men:

hoi lo wi´ le — hoi yo ho´ wi le·

Women:

me´ wal he yo´ — ha we hɨn nɨm

Men:

mɨn lo we´ ta pi — soi lɨ´l hɨn nɨm

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mɨ soi yo — ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he'ne´'wia. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[219]

524 Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as dalak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[220]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

[177] Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

[177] [219] Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[220] Ibid., 540.

533 539 5. aiyama´tːn na pa´nːn
worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yːn do´mto panːn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yːn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 787 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[256] The first (bi´'ič) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lič) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[194] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[257] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču ža). The pieces used

[256] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[257] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič:´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, 825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´h:l: eagle
ö´lö´i: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ṭuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wih:´ö:t: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahö´'ö: bear (bi´ow:ši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother, 826 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

M
103
131
361

Wobonuch sites:
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɪn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Y
342

Dwellings.--A house was called tomo´ʔhɪš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wɪts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šɪč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[352 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

[252]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ɪša) was played there.

[533 524]

343
251

Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6] Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).---This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we [533] know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often [524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.---Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was [263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander,
262 made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. [412] The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač·n w·natum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father [611] in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

526 other, and returned. Both sexes played. Pairs of men with two balls often played against each other.

524 Walnut dice game.--While this (huču´ša) was primarily a woman's game, men occasionally played. It was tabu at night. As usual, the eight nutshell dice (ho´wač) were tossed on a broad coiled tray (ča´pıt). The dice are nutshell halves, filled with pitch. In the old days a round root called ka´uhai, which grew in the mountains, was cut in a hemispherical shape and painted.

The count as given by E.M. was: two face up or down, 1; three face up or down, 1; all up or all down, 4.

Twelve counters were used and were handled by a scorekeeper (wiče´lıtı).

Stick dice game.--This too was a woman's game (da´lag) which men occasionally played. There was no limitation on the hour of play. There were eight stick dice of split elderwood (wise´ta). The flat face was unornamented; the back was decorated with streaks of red paint. All the sticks were bunched in one hand and thrown down on a deerskin (in later years on a blanket). The motion was an under- or backhand one: the sticks were not dashed directly downward. The count was the same as in hučuša (above).

Hand game.--Both sexes played this game (we·hela´oča), either apart or mixed. As many as wished played on each side. Each side had its own pair of bones. These were about two inches long. The one to be guessed for was wrapped at its center with a few strands of a black root (the one used for black pattern in basketry).

As the guessing progressed, singing was kept up constantly. Men hid the bones behind their backs, women under a skin or blanket on their knees. The bones were passed to one's neighbor only after continual losses on the hider's part (i.e., winning by the opposing guesser), but no accurate explanation of how this operated in practice could be made by E.M.

The counters, kept by a scorekeeper, numbered twenty.

String figures.--E.M. claimed she had never seen these, but a Chukchansi (Dolly) who was listening volunteered the statement that her people used them to predict the sex of an unborn child.[35] The trial was made by the sister of the prospective father. Dolly did not know how to make the figures.

Cup and ball.--E.M. had never heard of this game.

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[35]See the figures "baby girl" and "baby boy"(Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, pl. LXIX, figs. 5-8), which probably are similar to those meant. It was not clear, however, in what the element of prediction consisted.

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.---The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[300] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve
343 men sitting or lying close together. Very old
515 and very young men did not use it. Some men
517 slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused
[524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex-
[533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.---The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in-
[184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't
[171] come through."[301] About four horizontal withes

[300] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. — A.H.G.

[301] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 199 b] Chukchansi

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. [177] The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi´kwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´'i (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

W Y 526

ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.--Two men would play this game (ho'o´tuš, Michahai; na'a´ñapai'šɛt, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki´no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.--This game (nahai´witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both parthers' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.--This game (ai´kaš, Michahai; nahai´wɛtho·pima, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

W Y ● 524 [765]

Dice game.--This was a woman's game (hutču´ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.--This game (hana´ošiko, Michahai; nai'a´nwɛt, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
EP 250 a Western Mono N529

W Y 769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W Y 767 783 574

W 769 574

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču ´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao ´šiko).

W Y 769 184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu'buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 they would each hold one of the opposite side. This would leave one or two of their players to make a goal unhindered. Sometimes, when the ball was near the goal, both sides would crowd close, like a band of milling sheep. Then the ball might come rolling out between the many feet and some one would pass it to the other goal before the mass could break up and stop the play."

THE WOMEN'S DICE GAME

524 Among the common Yokuts games was the dice game, called *Huuchuish* (Hoo'-utch-oo'-ish), and played by women only. The game varied slightly among the San Joaquin tribes but was practically the same throughout that territory. It was played by four women, two pairs of partners.

The players were seated upon the ground, partners side by side and their opponents opposite. Between them was placed a large flat tray made of basketry material and having slightly upturned edges. This tray was called *ti'-won*. The dice, called *hoo'-utch*, were thrown upon the tray.

In some localities we were told that the dice were made of acorn caps, but in most instances they were made from nuts of the native black walnut. The nut was split in half, the kernel removed, and the hollow filled with pitch or asphaltum. Into the pitch were pressed small bits of abalone shell or white shell beads. In this way the dice were numbered from one to eight; in some instances to as many as twelve.

Considerable work was expended to make the dice accurate and attractive. The walnut shells were very smooth on the outside. I have seen these dice, after they have been used for years in gaming, when the edges have been worn round from continued shuffling.

As was the case with many Indian games, score was kept by means of small sticks, or *weched* (we'-ched). Twelve sticks were sometimes used in the dice game. The dice were gathered from the mat between the two hands and sometimes rolled together. They were then thrown upon the mat.

Four combinations were recognized in scoring. Three flat sides remaining up counted one point and one of the twelve sticks was awarded to the partners making the point. Two flat sides up counted one point. All flat sides up or all flat sides down counted five points each and awarded five of the counting sticks. When only one dice lay upon the tray with the flat side

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

524 [285 531]

Wahaemhot, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huuhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-clm'-ss*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[124] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black. and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
524 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 called the stone *Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah* [thunder and light-
526 ning stone].

The Winatun rolled the stone on the village game place. He called out like he did for the start of the other games.

The players stood at one side like they did in the ring and arrow game. But they counted the points different. They had a point when the arrow went through the hole. Only the good hunters played this game. It was a gambling game.

The boys played another game with the same round stone. They set it on some loose dirt and shot arrows through it. They counted it the same as when they rolled it. I do not remember what they called this game.

159 The Chunut men had a long game to guess which hand they had *Ahlewus* (Ah-le'-wus), the bone, in. They called the game
524 Ahlewus, too. That was what the Wowol called it. The Chunut called it *Wa-luh'-wus.* I do not know the guessing game very well. Only men played it. The Wowol used only one bone to guess for. Some tribes used two bones, a white one and a black one. The men sat on the ground facing each other with a deer skin or a blanket on the ground between them. They put their hands behind them to hide the bone. Then they brought it in front, hidden in their hands.

The man on the other side tried to guess which hand the bone was in. If he guessed it was in the left hand one finger was pointed at the left hand. If he changed his mind quick he could point two fingers on the same hand. That meant the bone was in the other hand, in the one he was not pointing at. They kept count with small sticks, ten, I think. They sang a song with it, but I do not remember it. I only played that game once. We did not think it was nice for women to play that game.

Both the Wowol and Chunut women played a game with dice. They played it on a big tray made like a basket, called *ti'-won.* The game was called *Huchuish* (Hoo-choo'-ish). Four women played at one tiwon. They threw dice on the tiwon. The dice were made of walnut shells filled with pitch. They were numbered from one to eight by fastening beads or pieces of abalone shell into the pitch. Sometimes they were made of big acorn caps. The dice were called *hoo'-wawts.*

The Chunut used thirteen *we'-chet* [scoring sticks] to keep the count. When two women won all of the sticks twice in succession they won the game. The dice were gathered in the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, "*Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,*" meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Yokuts NS29

T 524 525 Play began with right-hand man on one row, who held stick in hands behind back; his 3 partners had no sticks, "just sang" (SM). False call on part of guesser, the left-hand man on opposite side, made by pointing from one to other side of person holding stick, at same time watching individual closely; true call made by clapping and pointing with hand. At true call player with stick opened hands, held them in front of him; if guesser had missed, his side forfeited counter and same side again hid stick, but if guess correct counter (?) and stick given up to guessers and right-hand man on winning side hid stick. When he lost, player next to end man on opposite side hid stick, which passed to each man in turn. Men who were watching stakes joined in singing for one or other side; often wives of players sang for husbands' side also. Each side played for counters until pile exhausted, then 2 sides played until one had won all counters; winners then took stakes and game started afresh.

T Y ● 524 525 Fingermark game (ša·hil) played by Yokuts at Tejon, but not by Tübatulabal, described by SM. This game played by men only, with 2 sides of 4 players each. Each side held basketry sifter (wa·t); 2 men, one on each side, held sifters in front of their right hands and with 3 middle fingers of right hand they simultaneously made one of 6 combinations of marks (fig. 12) on ground in front of them, behind the trays; then

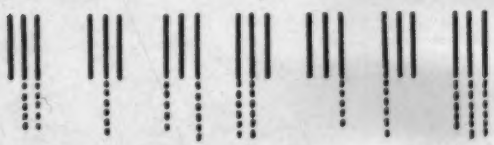

Fig. 12. Combination of marks for fingermark game. Solid lines, marks always made; broken lines, optional marks.

simultaneously they held up trays and showed what marks they had made. If guessing side failed to duplicate opponents' marks latter side took money (counters?). When player tired of making marks he passed tray on to his left-hand neighbor.

T 524 No guessing of hidden fingers (Kroeber, Handbook, 540).

Women's basket dice game (wi·ša·išt) played by 8 women with large flat tray and 8 (SM), 6 (FP), dice (wi·ša·išt) consisting of half walnut shell filled with greasewood pitch in which were set varying number of bits of white shell (Kroeber, Handbook, 598, fig. 54; Culin, 168, fig. 208). Betting was on number thrown face up; if all blanks thrown, turn passed to next player. No songs accompanied this game.

Women's stick game (kuča·ništ) played on ground; 8 (SM), 6 (FP), small pieces cane colored red on one side thrown; no songs.

T 526 Hoop-and-pole game (howi·l) played with buckskin-wrapped hoop (tu·gu·lišt), 15 in. in diameter with hole in center 4 in. in diameter. Poles

[p. 48(a)]

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Fages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Fages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he de-
526 scribes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Fages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[124]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.

821 ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)

192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɛš), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɛč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɛš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɛt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɛšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

[525]

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 919]

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

525 Dice game.--This game (huču´wač) was played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216] [177]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wí-a-tak, or ko-mai-eh, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´was) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Pages (p. 75) mentions dice of small shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

525 Informants and recorders disagree on scoring, and it may well be that there were local or even individual terms agreed upon at the time of play. They range as follows.

According to M.L.: two face up, 1; five face up, 1; all up, 4; all down, 4.

According to Powers: two face up, 1; five face up, 1.

According to Kroeber (Yaudanchi): two face up, 1; five face up, 2.

The score was kept by a woman who took no part in the game. The scorekeeper for any game was called ho'o'po'ič. She held the scoring sticks, peeled willow rods about 1/4-inch in diameter and 6 inches long, and the stakes offered, and was "paid a little" for her part. The Wukchumni, Michahai, and Chukchamina used 18 counters; according to Kroeber the Yaudanchi used 12. A special manner of holding the sticks, in groups of threes between the fingers, as they were taken from the pile was in vogue with the Wukchumni. Different stages in scoring were designated: mulu'lšima, when all the counters are taken from the pile; čamšu'ma, when one side has all the counters; kayušu'ma, when each side gets all the counters alternately; tu'ši, the winning score, which is having possession of all the counters twice in succession, i.e., 2 čamšuma.

Women gambled as heartily as men. The stakes rarely ran over an equivalent of $2.50, and might comprise bead money, baskets, or some object which an opponent specifically desired.

Menstruating and pregnant women played, but a pregnant woman would pick up a little stick and thrust it in her belt or sit on it, "to bring good luck." No explanation could be offered for this by informants.

Hand game.--The game (hi'u'tniwič) was played only at night, usually outside by the assembly fire. The rationalization given for this practice was merely "that it didn't look pretty in the daytime" (M. and J.P.). The method of play for the Yaudanchi is vividly reported by Kroeber in an account too long for reprinting here.[516] As with the Wukchumni, the marked piece was guessed for. Wukchumni of both sexes enjoyed the game and often played in opposing groups. Women hid the bones under a blanket; men held them behind their backs. The [516] sexes sang and sat differently: women sat cross-legged, men knelt and thumped the rhythm of the singing with one knee. The singing was started by the women and followed by a phrase from the men so an alternating progression of song was made. The following lines were given by M.P.; the first phrase in each line was repeated three times.

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[516] Handbook, 539.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

525 Women:

oi yo no´ ma na — ho we ha´ na·

Men:

hoi lo wi´ le — hoi yo ho´ wi le·

Women:

me´ wal he yo´ — ha we hɨn nɨm

Men:

mɨn lo we´ ta pi — soi lɨ´l hɨn nɨm

These phrases were meaningless to the informant who claimed they were "just a song," although the last lines have marked Yokuts attributes. The "ho we ha na" appears in many Yokuts songs and is analogous to the European "tra la la." When a guess was incorrect, the opponents sang jeeringly:

ko we mɨ soi yo — ho we ha·´na

When the person hiding the bones was ready, he shouted, "kača´ta!" a kind of challenge meaning, "You can't get me!"

The Wukchumni informant, M.L., gave the name of the hand game as he´ne´´wia. Four or five persons played on each side. The guessers folded their hands over their eyes and sang while the hiders manipulated the bones (or sticks) under a cover, such as a deer skin. The guess was for the marked stick. The counters were kept by a scorekeeper.

Another Wukchumni informant, J.B., stated that this game was not "old time" but had "come from somewhere," which is consonant with Kroeber's statement that it is of less importance in south central California than in the northern part of the state.[239]

524 Various games.--Kroeber mentions the dice game of split sticks but does not attribute it to any specific Yokuts groups. He gives the name as tachnuwish, the sticks, of which there were 6 or 8, as dalak, "of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin."[240]

The cup and ball game, cat's cradles, and matching drawings were all known as pastimes but could not be adequately described by any of the Wukchumni informants. Arrows were shot at marks on trees, or over a certain treetop.

[177] Dolls of stuffed rabbitskins were sometimes made for little girls, but I suspect this is of post-Spanish origin. D. said that girls sometimes cut hair off each other's heads for these dolls, particularly that they would cut it from "some little girl that didn't know any better."

[177] [239] Ibid., 538. It is possible that this game was introduced with the Ghost Dance. At the time of my field work I was not aware of the peculiar association of these two "culture elements."

[240] Ibid., 540.

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
161 walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I
[361] counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
● 525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
177 mony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 9] Chuckchansi

343 251 J.R. described a granary covered with pine needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack [171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna-- mentation (toward upper right, second from top); [272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand- 352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938). 854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered [324] with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) 284 binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 201 b] Chukchansi

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers wit-
293 nessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were made and carried at mourning ceremonies in abo-
[171] riginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 9] chukchansi

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

[824] [139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´´iwa´ü´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] This was the only means of instruction.

During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

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[439]

were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

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All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

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Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

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The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

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This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[p. 294] western Mono NS25

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Explanation of Plate 2

Yokuts and Western Mono Specimens, Göteborg Museum

a, Wobonuch winnowing tray, burden basket; b, Wobonuch rock-lifter, mushbasket, cradle; c, Wobonuch fish basket, sieve, individual eating basket; d, Wobonuch pestle for bedrock mortar, handstone, arrow straightener; Wukchumni tobacco mortar and pestle; e, Waksachi fire fan, Wobonuch soaproot brush and "treasure" basket; f, Wukchumni gambling tray, dice, counters.

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W
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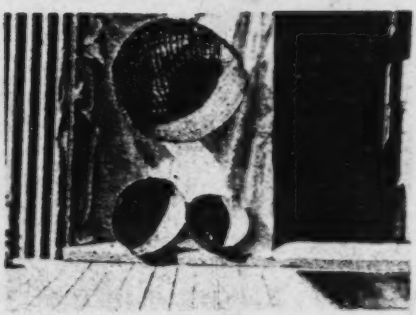
[413]



Y
[525]

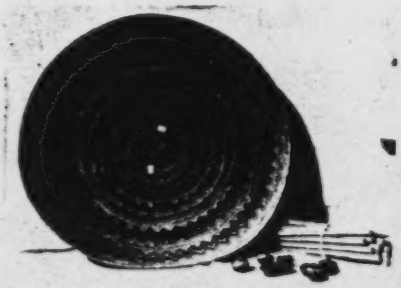


PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women employed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service. [525]

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in [177]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with one ball, but rather a form of the ball or stick race of the Southwest, each party propelling its knob of white oak with sticks instead of feet. The course, however, was short, within a definite field, the *katadwishchu;* and among the Chukchansi the ball had to be holed to win. 526

Chukchansi women played the same game with straighter sticks, and threw a hoop in place of striking the ball.

Another variant, though for men, was lacrosse, *ch'ityuish*, named after the racket, *ch'itei*. The "net" was nothing but a loop that half fitted the ball. This game was secondary to the *katdwish*.

In hoop and pole the throwing stick was called *payas*, the rolling buckskin-wound ring *tokoin*, and the carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house, *i'n*. The game itself, *hochuwish*, was substantially that of the Mohave; it extended as far north as the Chukchansi.

In the *aikuich* the pole was thrown at a sliding billet, *t'ich*. The same name is now applied to the Spanish "nine men's morris": the men are *aiek*.

A third form was the *haduwush*, in which darts were thrown at a mark hidden by a fence of brush.

There is no record of any Yokuts cup and ball game.

The guessing game was called *wehlawash* by the Chukchansi, *a'liwash* by the Yauelmani, *hi'uniwich* by the Yaudanchi. The former, like the northern Californians, used wooden pieces, or in a good set, bones; the latter, bits of cane slipped, as in southern California, over an endless string to prevent the deceit of interchange after the guess. The marked piece was called "man" and guessed for; the plain one was the "woman." The Yaudanchi shot out one finger if he meant the hand at which he pointed, but two to indicate the ignored side as containing the "man." When there were two pairs of players confronting each other, a single finger signified a guess at the hand indicated and at the partner's opposite hand; two fingers, the same hand of both players. These complications look like arbitrary elaborations; but like most such Californian devices, they spring from an intensive development of the spirit of the game. A gesture begun with one finger can be finished with two if the instant suffices for recognition of a trace of satisfaction in the opponent's countenance as he realizes an impending false guess. These attempts to provoke betrayal imply instantaneous shiftings of features and fingers and lightninglike decisions and reactions; and it is impossible to have seen a Californian Indian warmed to his work in this game when played for stakes—provided its aim and method are understood—and any longer justly to designate him mentally sluggish and emotionally 525

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 apathetic, as is the wont. It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the supplest of muscular responses are matched; and only rarely are the faculties of a Caucasian left sufficiently undulled in adult age to compete other than disastrously against the Indian practiced in his specialty. Seen in this light, the contortions, gesticulations, [152] noises, and excitement of the native are not the mere uncontrolledness of an overgrown child, but the outward reflexes of a powerfully surcharged intensity, and devices that at once stimulate the contestant's energy still further and aid him in dazzling and confusing his opponent. There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities.

The Yaudanchi shuffled under a blanket instead of behind the back or in bunches of hay. Among the Chukchansi only women used the blanket.

Chomwosh is the guessing or matching of hidden fingers. It is too little described to allow of a decision between the possibilities of native and Mediterranean origin.

Dice was the woman's game. There were two forms. *Huchuwish* was played with 8 *huech*, half shells of nut filled with pitch or asphalt and bits of sea shell, thrown from both hands on a basketry tray, *t'aiwan*. The far-away Chemehuevi play this much like the southern Yokuts, though with 6 instead of 8 pieces; it appears to be a game of Shoshonean origin. The Chukchansi keep the name, but use 6 split acorn kernels. Beyond them, the course of the game becomes uncertain. For the Miwok nothing is known, and the Maidu seem to lack all dice. The Yaudanchi played for 12 counters, and the scoring ran: 5 of 8 flat surfaces up, 2 counters; 2 up, 1; any other number, none. The Chukchansi won by taking 10 counters, and considered only the possible combinations of falls, irrespective of side. Six to none counted 4 points; 4 to 2 or 3 to 3, 1; 5 to 1, nothing. Such variations seem to occur in all Californian games, even between adjacent areas.

The second dice game, *tachnuwish*, was played with 6 (or 8) split sticks, *dalak*, of elderwood in the north, of cane in the south, burned with a pattern on the convex side and thrown on end on a skin.

There was a generic word, *goyuwinich*, for gambler. *Gwiunaushid mak*, "let us gamble," the Yaudanchi would say.

AESTHETICS.

517 Apart from basket patterns, there was no trace of activity of graphic or plastic art in Yokuts life. The images in the mourning ceremony were symbols of the rudest kind. Anything like the trac-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

524 [285 531]

Wokneokot, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huubchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-clm'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 tions of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up. The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims, *yet'-ni* (equivalent to one-y), or *wi-atak,* or *kimai-eh,* which are simply a kind of sing-song chant."

GUESSING GAMES

Almost the only vice possessed by present-day Indians which was not brought to them by the white man is that of gambling. We are assured from many sources that the Indians, almost without exception, were inveterate gamblers. A game might continue for days and nights and at the end of this time an Indian might have gambled away all of the food and clothing he possessed, and, possibly, as is maintained by some authorities, even his family.

One of the most characteristic Indian gambling games is the guessing game. This type of game is the most common [171] of all primitive games. Various forms of the guessing game are reported from the Aleutian Islands to Cape Horn. There is probably less variation between them than there is between most other games. The Yokuts game was sometimes played by a group of as many as eight, composing two sets of four partners each. The opponents sat facing each other, with a blanket on the ground between them. The main object of the game was to guess in which hand the opponent held a marked stick, or a piece of bone or shell. However simple this game may seem, we are assured by persons who have played it, that one uninitiated to its many possibilities, could not win one time out of ten. Surely, if this is true, the Yokuts Indians were able to realize to a remarkable degree the possibilities of a comparatively simple contest.

During the game a constant sing-song was kept up by any or all present. The two sticks, or dice, one black and one white, or one marked and one unmarked, were shuffled from one hand to another, or were placed behind the back, and then the two hands were brought to the front. After considerable manipulating, the opponents were allowed to guess in which hand the blackened, or marked stick, was held.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
YAWA NS28

Yo

Guessing was done by pointing at the hand, and although it was possible that the black stick had been seen in that hand the fraction of a second before, it was quite likely to be found in the other hand when the guess was made. As the Indian guessed, he yelled *"Tah-chah'-min"* (It is in your left hand), or, *"Pah-dah'-min"* (It is in your right hand). 525

When the hands were presented, and before the guess was made, they were often moved about in a circle near each other in such a way that the marker could be shifted from one hand to the other. By means of this, and other sleight of hand, the marker was made to appear in the hand where it was soon found not to be. If the guess was correct, the dice passed to the opponents and the shuffling continued. One of the counting sticks, sometimes twelve in number, and common to many Indian games, was awarded to the successful guesser.

In this manner the guessing continued until all sticks were on one side. This often did not occur for many hours, but when it did the prizes were then awarded and a new game started.

The variation in this game consisted principally in the manner of concealing the markers and the method of shuffling them. We are told by some of the Indians that it was not uncommon for an opponent to introduce two blank markers, and that great care had to be exercised, or this would be done. To prevent this, in some instances, the markers were strung on a string and the opponents allowed to hold the string. In some cases the markers were wrapped in grass and laid on the ground in front of the players. This eliminated a great many of the possibilities of making the game "interesting."

One record states that the players are forced to hold a deer skin in their teeth and stretched tightly between them. The markers were shuffled below the skin and then brought above, where the guessing was done. In this way it was made certain that no one saw how the markers were being shuffled, but it must certainly have eliminated the vocal portion of the game. YA

The passion for this game among the Indians was so strong as to be almost entirely unappreciated by white persons. Possibly an incident mentioned by Dr. Saxon Pope of the University of California, who worked for several years gathering data from *Ishi*, will be of interest. Ishi was a wild last survivor of the Mill Creek Indians. He was found about 1911 by white 526 115

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 526 When they played for fun they did not keep the score. If they gambled they played ten or twenty points. The Winatun kept the score by marking on the ground with his toe.

[525] [802] The ring was made of tules. It was about twelve inches across. It had a hole about the size of my fist in the middle. It was wound tightly with tules. We make a point when an arrow hit the ring and stuck in it, not when it went through the hole in the center.

The Tulare Lake Indians had a football game, too. They called it *tahl'-wats*. For a football they used a burl from an ash tree. It was about as big as a baseball. We called the ball *aw'-lul tah-ow'-chit*.

Some Indians used a rock for a football. I heard that the Nutunutu did that. I never saw it. The wooden ball was heavy enough. We did not kick the ball. We caught our toes under it and threw it with our feet.

Two people played at once. They took the ball around a tree or a stake about two hundred yards from where they started. They called the goal *sick'-aht*. The players carried the ball around the outpost and back to the goal as fast as they could.

They went around the post in opposite directions. *Hipaets* (Hih-pa'-eets) the referee, ran along with them to see that they went around the outpost and that they did not touch the other person's ball. We kept the score with small sticks, which we called *we'-chet*. [802]

The *Chunut* (Choo-noot) had a shinny game, too. We called that *Kats-le'-wits*. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) had another kind called *Kawm'-wats*. A lot of people played in that game. I saw all of the Tokelewits at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-e) play against all the Nutuwits at one time in the Wowol game. I think there must be two hundred people in that game. My side, the Tokelewits, won.

In both shinny games we used a club made from the ash tree. The crooked part was made from the root. They made them nice and smooth and dried them in the fire. That made them good and strong. We called the shinny club *kah'-tahl*.

In the Chunut game we put the outpost about two hundred yards away from the goal stick. The goal stick we called *sick'-it*. The outpost we called *kaw-naw'-um wa'-uh* [the turning place]. It was a race between two teams. Each team had a ball. There were three or four players on each side. The

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

referee started them and kept the score. The game was over when one side was three turns ahead of the other. 159

Shinny was a rough game. Lots of people got hurt at it. 526 They would get in front of the other ball and try to stop it and would get hit by it. The same ball was used for shinny that we used in football.

The players on each side did not all run together. One started the ball. He knocked it to a man about fifty yards away. That man knocked it to another. The farthest player took the ball around the post and knocked it back to the others. They knocked it back to the start. Good players did not have to run very much.

The Wowol played a different kind of shinny. I saw them play it. They called it *Kawm'-wats*. They had two goals about two hundred yards apart. One was to the west. It was called *too-qhell* and the Tokelewits took their ball to that side. The one at the east was called *naws'-to*. The Nutuwits took their ball to that side. The goals were two stakes, about two feet apart. To make a point the ball had to pass between the stakes. [525] That made a game, unless they were gambling. Then they played three points ahead.

The Wowol started halfway between the goals. They buried the ball in loose dirt. They called the starting place *lo-kaw'-lah-tun*. Two men started the game. When the Hipaets called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," the two starters began to dig the ball out of the dirt with their clubs.

The Tokelewits got between the starters and the Nutuwits' goal. The Nutuwits got on the other side. As soon as the ball started, everyone ran after the ball and hit at it with their clubs. We had lots of fun at this game.

At the village play-ground the children and young men played another game called *I-ke'-wits*. They threw a long stick at a bundle of tules. The stick was about as high as your head. It had a sharp wooden point and feathers on the other end like an arrow.

The tules were tied tight into a bundle and one end buried in the ground. About one foot was out of the ground. It was a little bigger than your arm. We made a point when we stuck the stick in the tule bundle. We called the stick *i'-yuk*. We threw it about fifty feet. A game was twenty hits.

We played another game called *Cuh-moom'-wits*. We used the stone that is round and has a hole in it like a doughnut. We

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, *"Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,"* meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802
192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 25, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' čo'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[663] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

1: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1938

NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

Yokuts NS29

T 524 525 Play began with right-hand man on one row, who held stick in hands behind back; his 3 partners had no sticks, "just sang" (SM). False call on part of guesser, the left-hand man on opposite side, made by pointing from one to other side of person holding stick, at same time watching individual closely; true call made by clapping and pointing with hand. At true call player with stick opened hands, held them in front of him; if guesser had missed, his side forfeited counter and same side again hid stick, but if guess correct counter (?) and stick given up to guessers and right-hand man on winning side hid stick. When he lost, player next to end man on opposite side hid stick, which passed to each man in turn. Men who were watching stakes joined in singing for one or other side; often wives of players sang for husbands' side also. Each side played for counters until pile exhausted, then 2 sides played until one had won all counters; winners then took stakes and game started afresh.

T Y 524 525 Fingermark game (ša·hil) played by Yokuts at Tejon, but not by Tübatulabal, described by SM. This game played by men only, with 2 sides of 4 players each. Each side held basketry sifter (wa·t); 2 men, one on each side, held sifters in front of their right hands and with 3 middle fingers of right hand they simultaneously made one of 6 combinations of marks (fig. 12) on ground in front of them, behind the trays; then

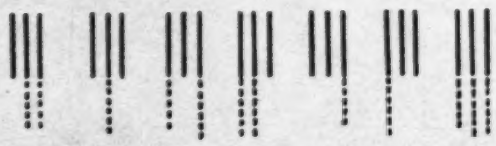


Fig. 12. Combination of marks for fingermark game. Solid lines, marks always made; broken lines, optional marks.

simultaneously they held up trays and showed what marks they had made. If guessing side failed to duplicate opponents' marks latter side took money (counters?). When player tired of making marks he passed tray on to his left-hand neighbor.

T 524 No guessing of hidden fingers (Kroeber, Handbook, 540).

Women's basket dice game (wi·ša·išt) played by 8 women with large flat tray and 8 (SM), 6 (FP), dice (wi·ša·išt) consisting of half walnut shell filled with greasewood pitch in which were set varying number of bits of white shell (Kroeber, Handbook, 598, fig. 54; Culin, 168, fig. 208). Betting was on number thrown face up; if all blanks thrown, turn passed to next player. No songs accompanied this game.

Women's stick game (kuča·ništ) played on ground; 8 (SM), 6 (FP), small pieces cane colored red on one side thrown; no songs.

T 526 Hoop-and-pole game (howi·l) played with buckskin-wrapped hoop (tu·gu·lišt), 15 in. in diameter with hole in center 4 in. in diameter. Poles

[p. 48(a)]

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of [249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever [757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly de-
616 scribed several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwıca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ıš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

● 526 Shinny (ko´nwıč) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

526 616 The pole and stick game (aiki´w:č) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[184] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´w:č) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telwey:t and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[30] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´w:č as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´''iwan) or another straight willow (sala´''am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´''al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[31] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 221 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[30] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[31] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he de-
526 scribes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[128]

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.

821 ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)

192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɛš), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɛč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɛš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɛt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɛšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

[525]

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

526 would not run if his companion made poor strokes.

A variant of the game, in which only one ball was used, necessitated opponents' fighting for it all around the course. J.P. said this form of the game was generally condemned as "too rough" and 'no fun because there was more fighting than running."

In the foothill region, where there were no moiety divisions, the composition of opposing sides followed the will of the players -- friends, co-villagers, or relatives might join together or be opposed. In any case, the opposing side was called gu´'i, as were the complementary sides in mourning ceremonies. Women played as well as men, and occasionally even opposed them. There was no seasonal discrimination against the game save that brought about by excessive rain or disbanding for summer camping. Even during the week of the great mourning ceremony the game might be played, provided it was taken some distance from the scene of mourning and the shouting was not excessive. (J.P., S.G.)

When a hoop was used instead of a ball, the field was marked with a stake at each end. The hoop, about 18 inches in diameter, was of peeled willow bound with leather strips. The stick, about 4 feet long, was bent at one end. The bent end of the stick was hooked under the hoop which was tossed through the air to a partner. If the partner, holding up his stick, could succeed in catching it on the fly, he could run with it to the turning stake, where he would toss it by means of his stick to a third partner, or to the first man if but two were playing. A hoop which fell to the ground had to be tossed from this point with the stick. To be the first to return to the starting stake counted as one in tallying (J.P., S.G.).

Wukchumni and Yaudanchi women played this form of the game just as they did the one with the ball; Kroeber implies that this was exclusively a woman's game with the Chukchansi.[213]

Hoop and pole.--This game (wuku´w:č), which consisted of casting a straight pole at a rolling hoop, was a favorite masculine pastime. The aim was not to pierce the hoop with the pole, but to cause the hoop to fall atop the pole as it came to rest. This counted one (J.P.). Kroeber gives the name of the game as hochuwish, the pole, payas, the "buckskin-bound ring," tokoin, and the "carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house" as i´n. "The game ... extended as far north as the Chukchansi."[214]

Chip and pole.--The object of this game (ai´ku':č) was to shove a small block of wood toward a stake by means of a pole cast with a long underhand motion at the block. The block or "chip" (ai´y:š), about 2 inches in diameter and 3 to 4 inches long, was of peeled willow.

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[213] Handbook, 539.

[214] Ibid.

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

525 Dice game.--This game (huču´wač) was played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut shells and asphalt are products of Chumash territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216]

[177]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wí-a-tak, or ko-mai-ch, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´wan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Fages (p. 75) mentions dice of small shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´w:š).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiw:š; the clay pipe was šekmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´š:n, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´t:l) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called š:´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 148b] Choinimni

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač:n w:natum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and [611] official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

386 822 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi te´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi teyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi teyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi teyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam.	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi'op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

● 526 Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on [616] each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts [237] were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

526 other, and returned. Both sexes played. Pairs of men with two balls often played against each other.

524 Walnut dice game.--While this (hučuˆša) was primarily a woman's game, men occasionally played. It was tabu at night. As usual, the eight nutshell dice (hoˊwač) were tossed on a broad coiled tray (čaˊpɩt). The dice are nutshell halves, filled with pitch. In the old days a round root called kaˊuhai, which grew in the mountains, was cut in a hemispherical shape and painted.

The count as given by E.M. was: two face up or down, 1; three face up or down, 1; all up or all down, 4.

Twelve counters were used and were handled by a scorekeeper (wičeˊlɩtɩ).

Stick dice game.--This too was a woman's game (daˊlag) which men occasionally played. There was no limitation on the hour of play. There were eight stick dice of split elderwood (wiseˊta). The flat face was unornamented; the back was decorated with streaks of red paint. All the sticks were bunched in one hand and thrown down on a deerskin (in later years on a blanket). The motion was an under- or backhand one: the sticks were not dashed directly downward. The count was the same as in hučuša (above).

Hand game.--Both sexes played this game (weˊhelaˊoča), either apart or mixed. As many as wished played on each side. Each side had its own pair of bones. These were about two inches long. The one to be guessed for was wrapped at its center with a few strands of a black root (the one used for black pattern in basketry).

As the guessing progressed, singing was kept up constantly. Men hid the bones behind their backs, women under a skin or blanket on their knees. The bones were passed to one's neighbor only after continual losses on the hider's part (i.e., winning by the opposing guesser), but no accurate explanation of how this operated in practice could be made by E.M.

The counters, kept by a scorekeeper, numbered twenty.

String figures.--E.M. claimed she had never seen these, but a Chukchansi (Dolly) who was listening volunteered the statement that her people used them to predict the sex of an unborn child.[35] The trial was made by the sister of the prospective father. Dolly did not know how to make the figures.

Cup and ball.--E.M. had never heard of this game.

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[35] See the figures "baby girl" and "baby boy" (Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, pl. LXIX, figs. 5-8), which probably are similar to those meant. It was not clear, however, in what the element of prediction consisted.

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
535 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers wit-
293 nessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were
[171] made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

[134]Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135]Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136]Powers, 388.

[137]Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138]Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 9] Chukchansi

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

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[824] [139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were [171] played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Ahwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as [177] of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´žnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´žiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

W
Y
526

ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.--Two men would play this game (ho'o'tuš, Michahai; na'a'ñapai'šɨt, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki'no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.--This game (nahai'witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both parthers' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.--This game (ai'kaš, Michahai; nahai'wɨtho·pima, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

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Dice game.--This was a woman's game (hutču'ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.--This game (hana'oši̇ko, Michahai; nai'a'nwɨt, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or [illegible] can hardly be [174] avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi 171 and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katawish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with one ball, but rather a form of the ball or stick race of the Southwest, each party propelling its knob of white oak with sticks instead of feet. The course, however, was short, within a definite field, the *katadwishchu;* and among the Chukchansi the ball had to be holed to win. 526

Chukchansi women played the same game with straighter sticks, and threw a hoop in place of striking the ball.

Another variant, though for men, was lacrosse, *ch'ityuish*, named after the racket, *ch'itei*. The "net" was nothing but a loop that half fitted the ball. This game was secondary to the *katdwish*.

In hoop and pole the throwing stick was called *payas*, the rolling buckskin-wound ring *tokoin*, and the carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house, *i'n*. The game itself, *hochuwish*, was substantially that of the Mohave; it extended as far north as the Chukchansi.

In the *aikuich* the pole was thrown at a sliding billet, *t'ich*. The same name is now applied to the Spanish "nine men's morris": the men are *aiek*.

A third form was the *hadwwush*, in which darts were thrown at a mark hidden by a fence of brush.

There is no record of any Yokuts cup and ball game.

The guessing game was called *wehlawash* by the Chukchansi, *a'liwash* by the Yauelmani, *hi'uniwich* by the Yaudanchi. The former, like the northern Californians, used wooden pieces, or in a good set, bones; the latter, bits of cane slipped, as in southern California, over an endless string to prevent the deceit of interchange after the guess. The marked piece was called "man" and guessed for; the plain one was the "woman." The Yaudanchi shot out one finger if he meant the hand at which he pointed, but two to indicate the ignored side as containing the "man." When there were two pairs of players confronting each other, a single finger signified a guess at the hand indicated and at the partner's opposite hand; two fingers, the same hand of both players. These complications look like arbitrary elaborations; but like most such Californian devices, they spring from an intensive development of the spirit of the game. A gesture begun with one finger can be finished with two if the instant suffices for recognition of a trace of satisfaction in the opponent's countenance as he realizes an impending false guess. These attempts to provoke betrayal imply instantaneous shiftings of features and fingers and lightninglike decisions and reactions; and it is impossible to have seen a Californian Indian warmed to his work in this game when played for stakes—provided its aim and method are understood—and any longer justly to designate him mentally sluggish and emotionally 525

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Site of the old Indian village of Kawlparwpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'kawn Tultuh*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 124 not Processed]

CHAPTER VII

GAMES

SHINNY

526 It comes as a surprise to many persons to find that a number of the games played by pioneer white children were well known to the Indians. One of the most characteristic of these is Shinny. Shinny was probably the most wide-spread of any of the athletic-type games, and is said to have been common over the greater portion of North America. "Shinny on your own side" is not a new expression in the San Joaquin Valley. The game was called *Kah-dah-doo'-itch* by the Wukchumne Yokuts.

The shinny game was an extremely rough game among the Indians. We know this to be true of the game played by white boys, but we are assured that it was much rougher as played by young Indians. They would yell, push and shove, and strike each other on the shins with their clubs. They entered into the game in the most aggressive sort of way. In spite of all this, we are told by pioneers that they never saw a fight or quarrel in connection with an Indian game. This conforms very [157] well with what we know of Indian characteristics, as, except when under the influence of liquor, they possessed far more self-control than most white persons.

We are told by native Indians that several highly prized shinny clubs were included in the equipment of every well-regulated household. A great deal of labor was often expended in preparing the club, and it was very carefully preserved. Indians yet living say that when they were children they hunted along the banks of the streams for small saplings having a curved root exposed. The roots and lower portions of the saplings were carefully cut away and taken to the rancheria. They were then carefully whittled and scraped to shape, seasoned and hardened in the fire. The result was a smooth, nicely balanced club, resembling the hockey club now in use by white people.

A wooden ball, generally made from an oak burl, was used. It was about the size of a baseball, and was called *hupduish* (hoop-do'-ish). Two Indians started the play about as boys do

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• 526 in a shinny game, often placing the ball on a small mound of earth resembling a golf tee. We are told that in some instances the ball was buried in the earth and that the two who started the play were required to dig it from the ground with their clubs before striking it.

I remember well that when I was a boy in the San Joaquin Valley I visited relatives who used this last method of starting the play in shinny. It was with great surprise that I afterward learned that the Indians had used the same method many years before, and that we had probably obtained it from them. Many pioneers have been surprised to find primitive Indians playing shinny. Few of them ever realized that it was originally an Indian game and that the whites first learned it from the Indians. [177]

On May 2, 1943, I for the last time interviewed the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of Bakersfield. He told me of playing shinny with the Yowlumne Indian boys who lived in a village located in Bakersfield between where the Santa Fe passenger station and Mercy Hospital are now located. It is typical of the pioneer accounts of Yokuts shinny: "I remember that I used to play shinny with the Indian children. They used a block of wood about the size of a tennis ball, and almost any old stick they could find for a club. They were surely hard to beat at shinny, and were as rough as could be in their play. I have always been amazed that the Indians learned to play shinny so well so soon after the white people came here."

In playing the game most like ours, which was called *Daht'-k'hoo Nun-coo'-ish*, the goals were established about four hundred yards apart and consisted of two holes in the ground. The play was begun in the middle of the field, equally distant from each goal. Sides were chosen and the play began. One side attempted to take the ball to one of the goals and the other side tried to take it to the opposite goal. The game might continue for four hours and was ended as soon as the ball was goaled by one side.

The game most commonly played and called *Kahdahdwitch* (Kah-dah-doo'-itch), was in the form of a race, and was elaborately staged and carefully managed. A paid umpire was necessary in conducting this game. He was dressed in Indian finery, consisting of feather headdress and feather skirt. Compared with one of our present day football officials, he would have been a striking figure. [292]

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Kahdahduitch was played by two contesting teams of from three to seven men. Each team had a ball. A single goal, consisting of a hole in the ground, was established on a long starting line. The balls were placed on the starting line and the umpire yelled, *"He'-am tahn'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Each team then struck its ball and the game was on. The balls were taken around an outpost, a tree, rock, or stake, about two hundred yards distant, and then returned to the goal. During the play the umpire followed the teams close enough to the outpost to be sure that the ball passed outside of it and then ran back to the finish to supervise the goaling. During the whole time he kept an eye open for any interference of one team with the other, which was not allowable. Throughout the contest his warning cry of *Low'-ill, Low'-ill, Low'-ill* was constantly repeated. 526

When both arrived at the goal at about the same time, the umpire watched the goaling and decided which team had precedence. His decision was final and indisputable.

The play was continuous, an immediate teeing off being made, until one team had goaled the ball the third time. When the third goal was made, the goaler held up his club and yelled a long drawn out *Co-coooooo*. This indicated that the game was over. If the play of his team had been fair, the umpire awarded the game and with it the prize of buck-skins, beads, or like treasure.

THE FOOTBALL GAME

As among the white people who now occupy the San Joaquin valley and compete for athletic honors, often on the very gaming grounds of the Yokuts, the most strenuous athletic game of the primitive Yokuts was football. Most persons are surprised to hear that the Indians were great gamesters and that there were generally games of all sorts going on at the rancheria at all hours of the day and evening. We are assured by old Indians, that foot racing was carried on long before the white people entered the valley, and that when a man was established as champion of a rancheria he was sent to neighboring rancherias and distant tribes to race the best men at those places.

The game of football varied slightly from tribe to tribe. We are assured that some tribes used a large wooden ball, *odud* (oh'-dud), about five inches in diameter, much larger than the

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526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, *"He'-am tan'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

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The game was a race between the two teams. The ball was taken to the stakes, set about 400 yards away from the goal. It was passed between the stakes and then back to goal. 526

The field umpires saw that there was no unfair interference upon the field. To count a goal the ball had to pass between the posts in the direction in which it was brought to the goal. It could not cross the starting line except between the goal posts.

As soon as the ball was goaled, it was immediately replaced on the starting line and the whole performance repeated. The umpire announced the goal and saw that the scorekeepers moved over one counting stick.

The game went to the team which took the football around the distant post and brought it back to the goal three times ahead of their opponents. The scorekeeper, called *Cu-puh'-utch*, used three short sticks, called *weched* (we'-ched), for each team. The game was not won until one side had won at least three straight goals, and had three weched to their opponents' none. In this way the game might continue with slight favor to either side until one team began to weaken. Their opponents could then run three straight goals quite easily.

The writer has received descriptions of other variations of the game from several persons who settled in the San Joaquin Valley during the fifties. In addition, he has talked with a number of old Indians concerning the game. But the most interesting account, although different from the Wukchumne game, was given by T. J. Mayfield, who as a boy, and later as a young man on upper Kings River, often took part in it. His account is given herewith:

"One of the most amusing games played by the Indians was a sort of football game. A round stone about two or two and one-half inches in diameter was used. This stone was often very round and nicely polished. The stone was not kicked, but was thrown. The toes were caught under and it was pushed, or thrown forward. Sides were chosen and goals arranged. Sometimes two trees about two hundred yards apart would be used for goals, or sticks might be planted for goals. Everyone played, and they surely made a rough house of it. One person started the ball. A point was scored when the stone was brought in contact with the goal of the opponents. They used to push, shove, hold, trip and wrestle. Sometimes one side would find that they had one or two more players than the other. Then

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526 they would each hold one of the opposite side. This would leave one or two of their players to make a goal unhindered. Sometimes, when the ball was near the goal, both sides would crowd close, like a band of milling sheep. Then the ball might come rolling out between the many feet and some one would pass it to the other goal before the mass could break up and stop the play."

THE WOMEN'S DICE GAME

524 Among the common Yokuts games was the dice game, called *Hauchuish* (Hoo'-utch-oo'-ish), and played by women only. The game varied slightly among the San Joaquin tribes but was practically the same throughout that territory. It was played by four women, two pairs of partners.

The players were seated upon the ground, partners side by side and their opponents opposite. Between them was placed a large flat tray made of basketry material and having slightly upturned edges. This tray was called *ti'-won*. The dice, called *hoo'-utch*, were thrown upon the tray.

In some localities we were told that the dice were made of acorn caps, but in most instances they were made from nuts of the native black walnut. The nut was split in half, the kernel removed, and the hollow filled with pitch or asphaltum. Into the pitch were pressed small bits of abalone shell or white shell beads. In this way the dice were numbered from one to eight; in some instances to as many as twelve.

Considerable work was expended to make the dice accurate and attractive. The walnut shells were very smooth on the outside. I have seen these dice, after they have been used for years in gaming, when the edges have been worn round from continued shuffling.

As was the case with many Indian games, score was kept by means of small sticks, or *weched* (we'-ched). Twelve sticks were sometimes used in the dice game. The dice were gathered from the mat between the two hands and sometimes rolled together. They were then thrown upon the mat.

Four combinations were recognized in scoring. Three flat sides remaining up counted one point and one of the twelve sticks was awarded to the partners making the point. Two flat sides up counted one point. All flat sides up or all flat sides down counted five points each and awarded five of the counting sticks. When only one dice lay upon the tray with the flat side

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persons. The incident will serve to illustrate quite forcibly the Indian addiction to gambling.

Ishi was taken to the University of California and saw for the first time all of the wonderful inventions of our civilization, telephone, telegraph, motion picture, street cars, railroad trains and steamboats. Dr. Pope said that Ishi was only mildly interested in all of these things; that there was only one thing that impressed him and in which his interest continued. This consisted of several little sleight of hand tricks which the Doctor himself was able to perform.

Ishi would watch these tricks for hours and have them repeated again and again, trying to imitate them himself. These alone, of all the wonders about him, Ishi would have been able to realize upon in his primitive state. If he could have performed one of these miracles whenever he desired and produced a blank marker whenever he wanted it, he could have owned all of the deer skins and beads and other Indian finery on Mill Creek.

THE POLE AND HOOP GAME

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There were two games played by men and young boys upon the gaming court. One of them is known to white settlers as a pole and hoop game and the other as an arrow game. The best description of the pole and hoop game is furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choi-nim'-ne* Yokuts on upper Kings River. Mayfield's account of both the gaming court and the game itself follows:

"Each rancheria had a gaming court at, or near, its center. This court was made by smoothing the earth and tamping it solid. It was then covered with fine sand, and many games were played upon it.

"Here was always an excited, shouting, yelling, laughing group, generally including men, women and children, all intent upon their game and as carefree and happy as it is possible for human beings to be.

"The game I remember best was played with a hoop and a pole about ten feet long. The pole was about the same size as one of their fish spears. The hoop was made of bark coiled into a flat disc and held together with slender willow shoots.

"The disc was about one and one-half feet in diameter and had a hole in the center about two or three inches in diameter. Any, and everyone played this game.

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"Sides were chosen and one person selected from each side to roll the disc. These two persons stood about twenty or thirty yards apart and at each end of the game court. They rolled the disc back and forth between them. 526

"The game was to throw a pole through the disc as it rolled by. For each pole thrown through the disc two points were awarded to the side having the lucky, or accurate player.

"If the pole passed only partly through and knocked the disc over, it counted only one point. The players lined up on each side of the course where the disc was rolled. They laughed and yelled and made a great deal of noise at this game and did all they could to rattle the opposing players when they were about to throw a pole.

"This was a great deal more exciting game than you might think just from reading about it. When the disc was rolled across the court as many as thirty or forty poles would go flying through the air and the biggest problem in the game was to dodge the poles that came from the other side.

"They kept the score by calling it aloud much as we keep score in a game of horseshoes."

Like many other Yokuts games, the arrow game varied slightly from tribe to tribe. The *Wukchumne* on the Kaweah River played the game with wooden pointed arrows and a disc similar to that described by Mayfield for the pole and hoop game, but somewhat smaller. They described the disc as being about a foot in diameter and having a hole in the center approximately two inches in diameter. This disc was rolled back and forth between two men, one at each end of the gaming court. The players lined up on opposite sides and shot arrows at it. [184]

The disc was rolled six times, one point being awarded for each hit, a hit consisting of striking the disc with the arrow. The contestants who obtained the most hits in the six rolls won the game. The Yowlumne called the game *Taw-poi'-un* and the hoop *Taw'-poi*. The game court was called *In*. The scorekeeper was called *Trih-pa'-itch*.

Mayfield described a similar game as played by the Choinimne. This one used instead of the willow-bark disc a perforated stone about the size and shape of an ordinary doughnut. His account of this game follows:

"For another game a small perforated stone was rolled instead of the disc. This stone was about three or four inches in

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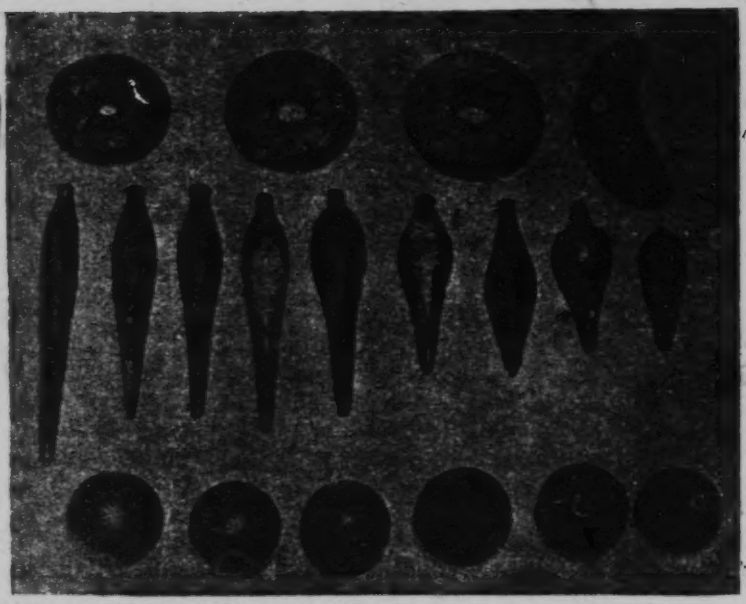

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers
526 who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

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a gaming court was maintained at each village site. As has already been described, this court generally consisted of a smooth, level place, free from rocks and generally covered with a thin layer of fine sand. From numerous remains over the valley it is known that the court was longer than it was wide. Remains of such courts have been found which were fifteen to thirty feet in width and from twenty to sixty yards in length. 526 361

Upon these courts a number of games were played. Some of the games were participated in by old and young. Some were played by men only, and some played by children only. The writer has heard of no Yokuts athletic type game played exclusively by women. 526

Pioneers in the vicinity of Hanford and Lemoore have said that the Indians played a game upon these courts which resembled very much the white man's game of pitch-penny. Circular thin rocks were pitched at a line. The writer has been able to find no data concerning this game and is of the opinion that it was an imitation of the practice of soldiers and whites of pitching money at a line.

Another game consisted of rolling round rocks at a hole in the ground and resembled the "purgatory" game played with marbles by white boys.

A typical children's game was called *Mohoo* (Mo-ho'-o), meaning Bear game. The game began with one child, who was called Mohoo or bear, pursuing the rest of the players.

As soon as Mohoo was able to catch or touch one of the other players, that person also became a bear and helped to catch the rest. This was carried on until the last person was caught. This person became bear for the next game. It was considered an honor to be caught last and also to be the bear for the succeeding game. In playing this game the children ran about the rancheria, climbed upon houses, into trees, and even plunged across the river.

Another similar game was played entirely in the water, and called *Huwidwush* (Hoo-wid'-wush). It was really the bear game, engaged in while the youngsters were swimming, and was a game of water tag. Swimming races took place between the bear and his opponents. Diving, remaining under water, and other methods were used to elude the pursuing bear. [481]

It is unfortunate that a great deal of information concerning the Yokuts games will probably never be forth-coming, for the reason that those Indians were thoroughly disturbed by the

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526 white settlers before such data was gathered. When such work was begun, gaming had almost passed out of existence, and as a result, rules, names and other details had been forgotton. However, it can easily be seen from the amount of information presented upon these pages that the Yokuts were not the sullen, undemonstrative people we imagine them, but were, instead, a laughing, carefree, gaming race.

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

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159 When they played for fun they did not keep the score. If
526 they gambled they played ten or twenty points. The Winatun kept the score by marking on the ground with his toe.

[525] The ring was made of tules. It was about twelve inches
[802] across. It had a hole about the size of my fist in the middle. It was wound tightly with tules. We make a point when an arrow hit the ring and stuck in it, not when it went through the hole in the center.

The Tulare Lake Indians had a football game, too. They called it *tahl'-wats*. For a football they used a burl from an ash tree. It was about as big as a baseball. We called the ball *aw'-lul tah-ow'-chit*.

Some Indians used a rock for a football. I heard that the Nutunutu did that. I never saw it. The wooden ball was heavy enough. We did not kick the ball. We caught our toes under it and threw it with our feet.

Two people played at once. They took the ball around a tree or a stake about two hundred yards from where they started. They called the goal *sick'-aht*. The players carried the ball around the outpost and back to the goal as fast as they could.

They went around the post in opposite directions. *Hipaets* (Hih-pa'-eets) the referee, ran along with them to see that they went around the outpost and that they did not touch the
[802] other person's ball. We kept the score with small sticks, which we called *we'-chet*.

The *Chunut* (Choo-noot) had a shinny game, too. We called that *Kats-le'-wits*. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) had another kind called *Kawm'-wats*. A lot of people played in that game. I saw all of the Tokelewits at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-e) play against all the Nutuwits at one time in the Wowol game. I think there must be two hundred people in that game. My side, the Tokelewits, won.

In both shinny games we used a club made from the ash tree. The crooked part was made from the root. They made them nice and smooth and dried them in the fire. That made them good and strong. We called the shinny club *kah'-tahl*.

In the Chunut game we put the outpost about two hundred yards away from the goal stick. The goal stick we called *sick'-it*. The outpost we called *kaw-naw'-um wa'-uh* [the turning place]. It was a race between two teams. Each team had a ball. There were three or four players on each side. The

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referee started them and kept the score. The game was over when one side was three turns ahead of the other. 159

Shinny was a rough game. Lots of people got hurt at it. They would get in front of the other ball and try to stop it and would get hit by it. The same ball was used for shinny that we used in football. 526

The players on each side did not all run together. One started the ball. He knocked it to a man about fifty yards away. That man knocked it to another. The farthest player took the ball around the post and knocked it back to the others. They knocked it back to the start. Good players did not have to run very much.

The Wowol played a different kind of shinny. I saw them play it. They called it *Kawm'-wats*. They had two goals about two hundred yards apart. One was to the west. It was called *too-qhell* and the Tokelewits took their ball to that side. The one at the east was called *naws'-to*. The Nutuwits took their ball to that side. The goals were two stakes, about two feet apart. To make a point the ball had to pass between the stakes. [525] That made a game, unless they were gambling. Then they played three points ahead.

The Wowol started halfway between the goals. They buried the ball in loose dirt. They called the starting place *lo-kaw'-lah-tun*. Two men started the game. When the Hipaets called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," the two starters began to dig the ball out of the dirt with their clubs.

The Tokelewits got between the starters and the Nutuwits' goal. The Nutuwits got on the other side. As soon as the ball started, everyone ran after the ball and hit at it with their clubs. We had lots of fun at this game.

At the village play-ground the children and young men played another game called *I-ke'-wits*. They threw a long stick at a bundle of tules. The stick was about as high as your head. It had a sharp wooden point and feathers on the other end like an arrow.

The tules were tied tight into a bundle and one end buried in the ground. About one foot was out of the ground. It was a little bigger than your arm. We made a point when we stuck the stick in the tule bundle. We called the stick *i'-yuk*. We threw it about fifty feet. A game was twenty hits.

We played another game called *Cuh-moom'-wits*. We used the stone that is round and has a hole in it like a doughnut. We

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159 called the stone *Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah* [thunder and light-
526 ning stone].

The Winatun rolled the stone on the village game place. He called out like he did for the start of the other games.

The players stood at one side like they did in the ring and arrow game. But they counted the points different. They had a point when the arrow went through the hole. Only the good hunters played this game. It was a gambling game.

The boys played another game with the same round stone. They set it on some loose dirt and shot arrows through it. They counted it the same as when they rolled it. I do not remember what they called this game.

159 The Chunut men had a long game to guess which hand they
524 had *Ahlewus* (Ah-le'-wus), the bone, in. They called the game Ahlewus, too. That was what the Wowol called it. The Chunut called it *Wa-luh'-wus*. I do not know the guessing game very well. Only men played it. The Wowol used only one bone to guess for. Some tribes used two bones, a white one and a black one. The men sat on the ground facing each other with a deer skin or a blanket on the ground between them. They put their hands behind them to hide the bone. Then they brought it in front, hidden in their hands.

The man on the other side tried to guess which hand the bone was in. If he guessed it was in the left hand one finger was pointed at the left hand. If he changed his mind quick he could point two fingers on the same hand. That meant the bone was in the other hand, in the one he was not pointing at. They kept count with small sticks, ten, I think. They sang a song with it, but I do not remember it. I only played that game once. We did not think it was nice for women to play that game.

Both the Wowol and Chunut women played a game with dice. They played it on a big tray made like a basket, called *ti'-won*. The game was called *Huchuish* (Hoo-choo'-ish). Four women played at one tiwon. They threw dice on the tiwon. The dice were made of walnut shells filled with pitch. They were numbered from one to eight by fastening beads or pieces of abalone shell into the pitch. Sometimes they were made of big acorn caps. The dice were called *hoo'-wawts*.

The Chunut used thirteen *we'-chet* [scoring sticks] to keep the count. When two women won all of the sticks twice in succession they won the game. The dice were gathered in the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, *"Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,"* meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and oc-
[276] casional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[883] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 163 b] Kechayi

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set
● 527 time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[614] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[36] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

---

[36] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
536 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have thus to recognize either a local development or an influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

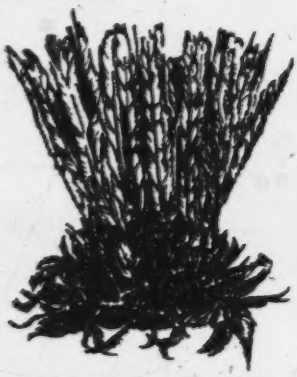

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachan*
237 and the *notanat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into
221
484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nop), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hič). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, [237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which 285 is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used ex- 335 clusively in this region. The tule mattress, which has been thought of as a separated [184] cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:ṛni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. The rocks were [531] usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.140] Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25

Y
M
W
285
531

Explanation of Plate 1

Yokuts Specimens in Case 76, Room 15, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Miwok specimens to left of verticals, Western Mono specimens to right of verticals. (Photograph by courtesy of Peabody Museum, 1939.)

Top: large ceremonial basket flanked by other baskets of gift or ceremonial type. Across center: twined ware -- left, sieve with stripes; center, fish basket; right, seedbeater over coiled ware circular winnowing tray (perhaps a shaman's), flanked by small bottleneck or "treasure" baskets. Three fine bottleneck baskets with quail plume ornament. Bottom: gambling trays, mush basket type, small mush baskets. On floor, right: stave dice, arrow straightener, pair of hiding bones; center, bone awls and cane arrows; right verticals, looped rocklifters, plain bow, digging stick, and shaman's staff (black).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 141] Miwok NS 16
Western Mono NS 25
Y
M
W
285
531

PLATE 1. YOKUTS SPECIMENS, PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
831 the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
[237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge of the frame with milkweed string. Large
[482] cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

304 obsidian. Chukchansi face patterns are shown in Figures 45 *h–l*, 46 *m–o*.

516 Men frequently squatted rather than sat. For longer periods they sat on their heels, with toes turned together and hands on knees. The cross-legged position, the most common of all the world over, was not used, except perhaps on special occasions like gambling. Women stretched one leg out and folded the other back; or, at rest,

[304 531]

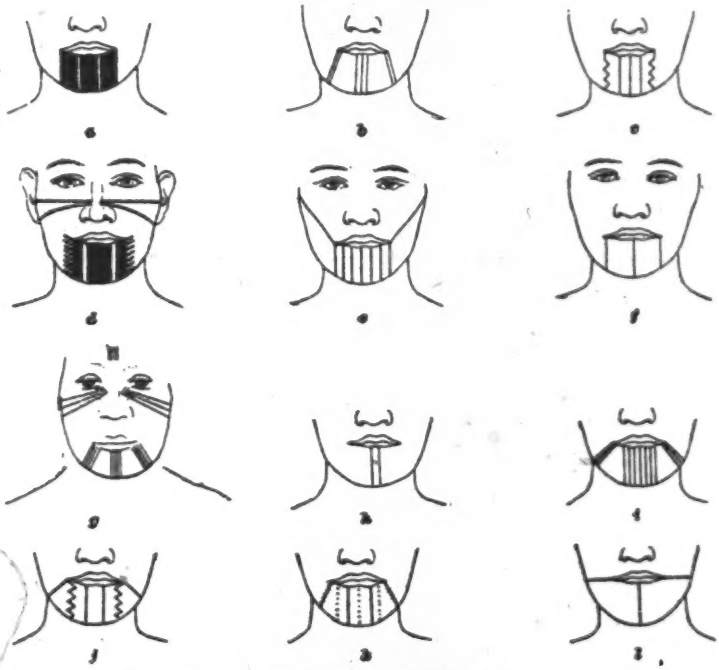

FIG. 45.—Women's tattoo. *a*, Yurok and northwestern tribes; *b*, *c*, San Francisco, probably Costanoan; *d*, Sinkyone; *e*, northwestern valley Maidu; *f*, northeastern and southern Maidu; *g*, Yuki; *h–l*, Chukchansi Yokuts. Compare the Wailaki, Yuki, Huchnom, and northern Pomo tattoos shown in Powers, Tribes of California, pages 116, 130, 140, 142, 144, 158.

drew the knees up and joined the hands in front of them. The Plains Indian woman's attitude, with both legs to one side, was not adopted. The habits of all the California Indians in these interesting matters are little known, but it is clear that custom and not inherited nature is the chief determinant. As at so many other points, nature seems at once to have furnished us a structure that permits a surprising variety of sustained positions, and to have deprived us of instincts favoring one rather than the other; so that culture has a clear opportunity to evolve the most diverse habits.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings. 342

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its [362] own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule [592] mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [304 531]

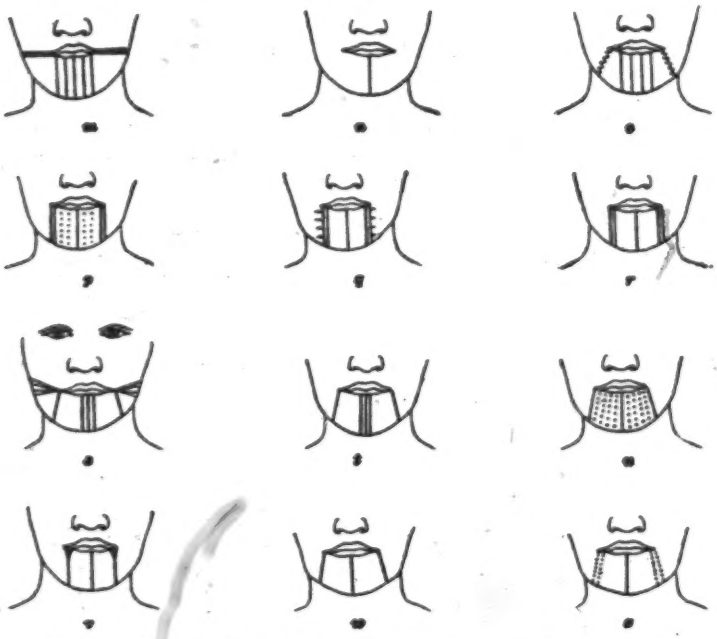

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: m–o, Chukchansi Yokuts; p–s, Mohave. Men: t–z, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle [412] and string of tule fiber.

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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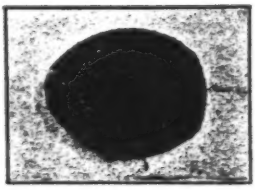
a



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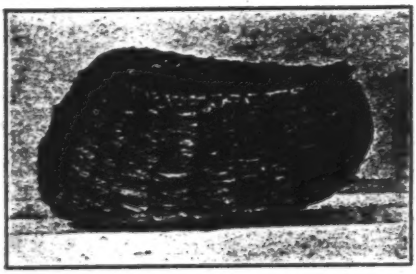

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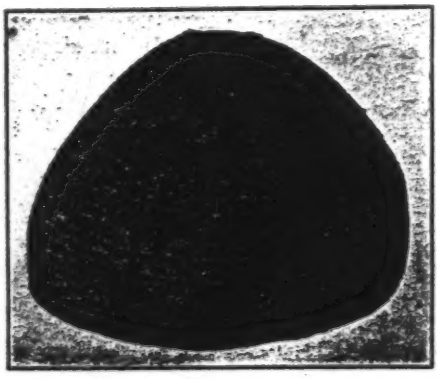

e

YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered baskets with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for suspension; c, soft basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

411 The sling was used only by boys, but the hill tribes report the Mono to have employed it in war. In the high Sierra it might often be more effective than an arrow.

BOATS.

501 Boats of bundled tule must have been in use among nearly all the valley tribes. On the tumbling streams in the hills these heavy rafts would have been utterly unmanageable. The northernmost Yokuts, below the Miwok of the hills, must have employed these craft constantly in their broad, sluggish streams and multitudinous still sloughs. They remained longest in service on Tulare Lake. Reconstructed models reveal only a cigar-shaped aggregation of bundles of rush, but the best specimens of old days may have approximated real boats in having raised edges. It can scarcely be presumed that the tule stalks could be bundled or beaten together so tight as to exclude the water; rather their lightness raised the whole mass so high that even the bottom of the hollow was above the water line, the gunwales serving only the convenience of preventing wave wash from entering and load or killed game from slipping overboard. Some of these lake boats carried three or four men in comfort, and could bear a small fire on an earth hearth. In maneuvering among the
[223] tules the entire vessel and occupants were often covered over with tules, forming a movable blind for the pursuit of waterfowl.

TEXTILES.

285 Yokuts baskets are distinguished by one special type, a coiled jar-
● 531 like vessel with flat shoulder and constricted though sometimes re-flaring neck. The pattern is one or more bands in red and black, either diamonds or hexagons or alternate trapezoids. The shoulder
[237] was often ornamented with a horizontally projecting fringe of quail crests (Pl. 50), for which red worsted is a modern substitute. These "Tulare bottlenecks," as they have come to be known in the curiosity
285 and antique trade, as well as the quail plume decoration, are not found among the Miwok on one side of the Yokuts nor among the
531 true southern Californians on the other. The two-color pattern is
171 also rare if not lacking among the tribes to the north and south, except among the Chumash. The western Mono, Tübatulabal, Koso, Kawaiisu, and Kitanemuk worked according to Yokuts type, but as they form a fringe of Shoshoneans they have probably derived the art from their lowland neighbors. Kawaiisu technique is, however,
285 as fine as Yokuts. The Chumash also did beautiful work, but the
171 shapes which they gave to their incurved baskets are perhaps less specialized. At least they lack the sharp shoulder and distinct neck which the Yokuts fancied; but their baskets are very small-mouthed.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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285 171 Chemehuevi forms are rounder, while the farthest traceable affinity is the small spherical basket of the Luiseño and Cahuilla. It is therefore possible to set the focus of the constricted neck forms among the southern Yokuts or the Chumash. As between these two groups, general grade of culture favors the Chumash, while the Yokuts are more central in the distribution of the type. The northern Yokuts, on and near the San Joaquin, do a much poorer grade of work than their southerly kinsmen, as do the Mono. But the Tübatulabal approximate the Tulare-drainage Yokuts in fineness of execution.

292 285 [482] The woman's basket cap was probably Yokuts. At least the southern Yokuts seem to have shared it with their southern and eastern Shoshonean neighbors. This hat was, however, worn only with a load on the back, not habitually. It is curious that the range of the southern California cap coincides with that of the carrying net; of the northern form, with the technique of exclusive twining.

285 [53] The pattern scheme of Yokuts baskets varies from the prevailing horizontal banding of southern California to the diagonal, vertical, and broken effects of Miwok basketry—largely according to locality. Materials and technique are also intermediate. The sewing is close, as in the north; in the Shoshonean area to the south, wider spaced. The foundation is a bundle of *Epicampes* grass, as in southern California; the wrapping, however, is not *Juncus*, as there, but more woody materials: root fibers of sedge (*Carex* or *Cladium?*) for the ground color, *Pteridium* fern root for black, bark of *Cercis* or redbud for red.

Very flat trays were made in coiling. The banded decoration of these brings them nearer Cahuilla and Luiseño ware than Maidu, where radiating designs prevail in flat work. Miwok coiled trays have gone out of use, if they were ever made. Yokuts women em- [525] ployed the finest of their trays for dice throwing; but of course the type was also put to more lowly and daily service.

Twined baskets were more poorly made, but filled a greater variety of needs and perhaps outnumbered coiled pieces in the normal household. The carrying basket was loose enough in texture to be describable as openwork. The interstices were filled with a mucilaginous smear. The commonest of all receptacles is an oval or ovate tray, with a rounding bottom. The term "winnower" describes only one of its manifold uses. The seed beater was but such a tray, one end of which was continued to a handle. Another form of tray was rounded triangular, nearly flat, and wholly or partly in [177] diagonal twining. This has almost certainly been borrowed by the Yokuts from the Shoshoneans on their east. The Tulare Lake tribes must once have possessed a considerable array of special ware in

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tule, both coiled and twined; but as it made no decorative endeavor it has passed away with the disintegration of the culture of these tribes almost without preservation. (Pl. 50.) 285

The Yaudanchi affirm that they knew the pitched water bottle of the desert and southern California; but no specimens have survived.

Large baskets were used by the men to ferry women and children across rivers, as by the Yuki. The Mohave employed pots for the same purpose. [501]

Basket patterns had more or less aptly descriptive names, but these were ordinarily without symbolic or religious reference. Some of the names were adjectival, like "zigzag" and "crooked"; others denoted parts of animals, whole small animals, or familiar objects. The significance might be in the pattern as a whole or in the design element. (Fig. 47.) The number of names was not over a few dozen. 285 531

FIG. 47.—Yokuts basket designs. Yaudanchi: 1, 2, flies; 3, 4, deer foot; 5, arrow points; 6, 7, crooked; 8, 9, rattlesnake markings; 10, king snake markings; 11, water snake; 12, chek, wood-gathering crook; 13, tied in the middle. Chukchansi: 14, arrow point; 15, crooked; 16, millipede; 17, king snake markings; 18, rattlesnake markings.

The pattern designations of the Yokuts, like most of the patterns, are generally confined to themselves or their immediate neighbors; but their range, character, and limitation of meaning are typical for all the California Indians, whatever their varieties of techniques, materials, and forms of basketry. Where the matter has been most fully inquired into, as among the Pomo, it is found that design names are often combined, or modified by standardized epithets, which allow of the accurate description of even a complex pattern. It is not unlikely that the Yokuts may prove to have followed a similar system.

The carrying net, *chutia*, into which either a conical basket or a less shapely load could be set, reappears with the Yokuts. It seems to have been of southern California type, light and with detachable supporting band or rope. Pack straps of braided string were also slung around the load and forehead. 286 482

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f* is found without a hood as well as with it.

352 Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the
285 same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
352 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
285 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*).
531 Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

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They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.-Analyst]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 tailed hawk. Into the hair at the back of the head and under [237] the string might be thrust several feathers. These feathers might be in natural colors, or white goose feathers dyed red, [301] yellow, or blue. Beads of periwinkle shell, or of steatite, were hung around the neck, or fastened into the coils of hair.

304 Sometimes the ears were pierced, this practice being carried to such an extreme that in some instances, we are told, the rim would be almost separated from the rest of the ear and [301] stretched so that it hung almost to the shoulder. As much as a pound of ornaments might be suspended from these rings of flesh. At least upon the occasions of ceremonies, the face and 302 other parts of the body were painted.

The only article commonly worn by men, which could be 291 considered as clothing, was a breech clout (*nong-itch'-un*), supported by a gee string (*wuh-suk'-un*). This apparel was worn much in the same manner as was that of the Great Plains Indians. The breech clout was generally cut from a deer skin. It was about four feet or more in length. Both gee string and breech clout were placed behind the wearer and the two ends of the gee string brought to the front, where they were held by one hand, while with the other, the loose end of the breech clout was brought between the legs to the front. While the end of the breech clout was held under the chin, the gee string was tied around the waist over it. Then the end of the breech clout was allowed to fall downward, forming a small apron. This apron might be painted several colors, a design [531] peculiar to the tribe or family of the individual, or it might be left plain.

During extremely cold weather the skin of a mountain lion, deer, or wild cat might be thrown about the shoulders and pinned in place. But this would only be during a period of actual storm or cold and was not a common procedure. No other apparel of any sort was deemed necessary. Several tribes say that there is in their language no word for foot covering of any sort. The *Wukchumne* word for such was *Wong-kud'-uh*, and their elk-skin moccasin had a loose, boot-like leg which was tied just below the knee.

[137] We are told by Indian as well as white pioneers that in the early days no foot covering was necessary, for the San Joaquin Valley floor was covered with grass as soft and com- [177] fortable to the foot as a velvet carpet. We are told that all of the plants of today which would in any way make barefoot

[text continues on p.78]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-in chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

524 [285 531]

Wohnomkot, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huuhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahs'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854 352 285

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections.

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.

352 285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

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CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is 285 the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the pre- 531 historic designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake 531 was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winat-* 531 *un*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of 825 the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were 776 not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

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285 531 825 773 [776] Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant had the most painful sting of anything about them. The story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 531 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

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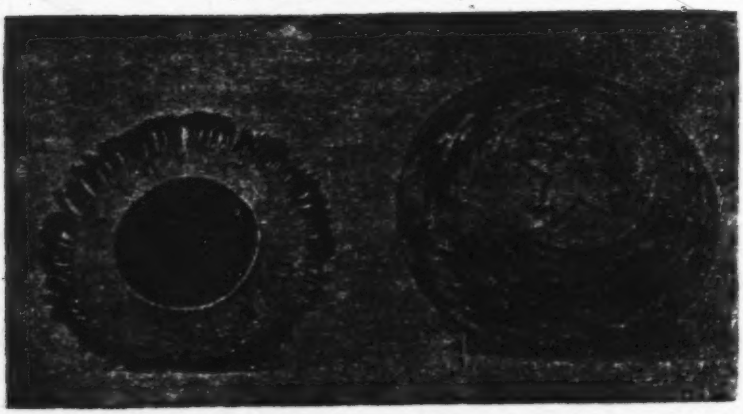

[773]

Left: Top view of a **Wukchumne** creation basket with quail top-knot feathers as decorations around the edge. It was made to be burned at the periodic pageant which reenacted the creation of world. The stitches are very fine, some almost fifty to the inch. In the bottom is **Choitus**, the morning star. The world was finished just as the morning star was beginning to fade. Around the side is a design taken from the pattern on rattlesnake's back. Rattlesnake was the agent of **Tihpiknits**, Yokuts St. Peter. It was his business to crawl about spying on bad people whose names should be sent in to Tihpiknits. Around the rim are the bow and arrows, sent to the earth by the sun when he went to live in the sky. To the right is the new moon. The world was created during the new moon. Next is **Yahk**, the watersnake, first water dweller. Next is **Sahwahit**, the turtle, who brought up from the bottom of the universal water the mud from which the world was made. Next is **Wyases**, the first man, swimming up from the water. Next is bow and arrow, repeated. Then is **Tsah-tah**, the oak tree, first tree in the Yokuts world. Next is turtle repeated. Last is **mah-mia** (blackberry), the first fruit. Right: On the bottom is **Choitus**, the morning star. This is another creation basket, one of the most difficult patterns the author has seen. It shows Eagle, the Yokuts Creator, in white, with a red border, which creates another eagle, the white spaces between the four eagles making another eagle. It is an all over pattern which dovetails so as to allow of no waste space. The stitches are fine, about thirty-two to the inch.

among the old baskets a representation of either the bow or arrow in a form resembling their true shape.

Houses are often shown by a small low triangle which makes no attempt to show either the smoke opening in the top, or the door-way. Houses may be shown in any color.

Among the many traditions about basketry designs which are, according to the experience of this writer, clearly in need of correction is the one which states that purposely none of

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285 the old Indian basketry designs were made complete, or without imperfections. Old basket makers say that there is no
531 foundation whatever for the above statement. They say that broken places in the design or places where parts of the design do not match exactly are simply the result of a lack of skill or forethought on the part of the basket maker. When, over a period of weeks and often months, one has watched the developing of the basketry design while the tedious work has been in progress, he can readily appreciate the above explanation.

The Indian woman begins her design at the base of the basket. As coil after coil is added and the circumference of the rim of the basket where the design is being worked out becomes larger, no small amount of ingenuity and mathematics is necessary to make that portion of the design near the top of the basket conform to that which already has been worked out on the smaller portion near the bottom.

In all of this work no pattern is used. The upper portions of the design are left entirely to the imagination and it is often quite difficult to bring them into proper position upon the flaring side of the basket. This whole matter would be comparatively simple if the basket were the same size at top and bottom, but new stitches must be added every few inches as each coil is added, and this not only increases the surface area upon which the design is placed, but also makes necessary with each coil a new count and division of stitches.

In the solving of this whole problem an Indian woman will display a truly amazing amount of ability, not only in placing the design itself, but in the mere mathematics of dividing the various portions of the basket into equal parts.

The writer has in his possession a small basket, illustrated in this chapter, which is about eight inches in diameter and two and one-half inches deep. This basket is of very close weave, having certainly more than 30,000 stitches, spaced about thirty to the inch. Upon its flaring sides are reproduced four conventional eagle designs, about which is quite elaborately worked out a wide border in two colors. The borders about the eagles make more similar eagles which dovetail so that the design covers the basket completely, and there is on the entire side of the basket no space not involved in representing an eagle. The entire design is worked out from start to finish without a single flaw and shows perfect uniformity, not only

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh,* of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

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285 517 It is a statement of bare fact to record that the baskets made by the Yokuts Indian women are the very finest known to have been made by machine or by hand by any people of any race in the history of the world. The Pomo Indians of Lake [171] County made a basket covered with colored feathers, and probably made more kinds of baskets, but they were no finer in workmanship than those made by the Yokuts on Kings, Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers, and probably, in prewhite days, throughout the San Joaquin. Not only are the stitches in some baskets as fine as sixty to the inch, but color combination, texture, shape and design are completely fascinating and present some of the finest conventionalized designs known to the art world.

285 531 A Yokuts Indian woman of primeval days, seated on a deerskin or tule mat under a spreading valley oak, would have been as little expected to turn out a beautiful work of art as any known primitive person. One is both privileged and amazed who has seen them at work amongst the litter of an Indian camp. Their persons and clothing were often ragged and soiled, their homes and furniture were of the most meager, primitive kind. There was little in the immediate surroundings to suggest anything used in designing a Yokuts basket.

But the Yokuts woman saw far beyond her camp. Without a drawing or pattern of any kind she placed upon her basket the most pleasing and delightful representations of mountains, birds, butterflies, deer, quail, streams, lightning and the heroes of her tribal myths and stories. This was all done, remember, [412] with a crude chipped-stone knife and a bone awl, not another tool of any kind.

Beginning at the bottom of a curved, flaring basket, the Yokuts woman placed the first colored stitches of a design, complicated and involved beyond the imagination and memory of most white persons. She carried this design through to completion without a pattern or drawing.

One must also appreciate that for pictorial purposes stitched basketry has the limitations of the mosaic, the cross-stitch, or the loop used in hooking rugs. It was not possible to reproduce most objects in their true shape and form. They were conventionalized. A triangle could represent a deer's track, an arrow point, or a flame. A realistic reproduction of a quail topknot stood for quail: the shape that the inch-worm assumed in traveling represented it. Butterfly was sometimes represented by a wavy line suggestive of its flight. Four small

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rectangles construct an amusingly accurate fly, and resemble a head-on view of an airplane. Five small rectangles create an unforgettable water-skater. Small wavy or straight lines are caterpillars. Small groups, or long, winding strings of small squares represent ants. 285 531

In the selection of her materials, in the dyeing, preparation, and assembling of them, in the accurate weaving of myths and historical events into the designs on her baskets, it can truly be stated that the Yokuts Indian woman was one of the most versatile artists in the world. She was mythologist, craftsman, weaver, designer, historian, mineralogist, botanist, mathematician, and poet. 285 517 531

YOKUTS ART

The mere mention of Yokuts Indian art seems a challenge to most persons. The thing farthest from their thought is that a Yokuts Indian could have developed anything which in any way could be termed true art. This is not the case. It is true that many of the old forms of Yokuts art are gone, perhaps never to be known, but it is due only to our destructive powers that there is not today more evidence of several forms of their art. 517 531

The Yokuts were developing to a point where art was appearing in their manufacture of pottery. True, this had advanced only to the stage where simple ornamental forms were being attempted and where borders and designs were being applied with the thumb nail or a sharp stick. But the beginning was there and there have been found within Yokuts territory several pieces of pottery which were banded with interesting designs and which probably were not traded into this territory. Border designs were also cut into the large steatite cooking vessels around the opening in the top.

Indian art was applied to many articles. The small apron on the front of the breech clout was sometimes painted with designs symbolic of the local tribe, or clan. The colors and pigments used were the same as those used in rock painting, being earth colors mixed with the juices of plants, most commonly chilicote oil, mixed with the juice of the tall milkweed, the fiber of which was used for making string.

Of all the art common to the many Yokuts tribes, that which has made famous the Yokuts *moke* (mo'-ke, woman) throughout the world, has been applied to their several forms of

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517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
463 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled
285 primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
517 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, ani-
531 mals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The
[386] colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were genrally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

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Indian. Here again natural colors, often earth colors, were used and the paint was applied in thick coats, not only to the face but often to the arms, legs and bodies. Different designs were used in connection with different ceremonies. These varied somewhat among the numerous Yokuts tribes. In this way a great variety was worked out. 302 531

How common was painting on buckskin will probably never be known. In several graves where bodies had been cremated, I have found fragments of charred buckskin which showed quite plainly a painted design using at least two colors. How much of this sort of evidence has been destroyed by careless "digging" will never be known, but I am of the opinion that such art was at one time quite extensive. 531 517

Another form of art was developed in connection with the handles of soap root brushes, dice, wooden utensils, knives, ceremonial equipment and stone mortars. This consisted of coating the articles with asphaltum, or pitch, into which were pressed beads and bits of abalone shell. The beads used were generally of white sea shell and contrasted quite nicely with the black asphaltum. The writer has seen many examples of the above art, although almost all of them were in an advanced state of decomposition. The rims of mortars were sometimes coated with asphaltum and covered with beads and abalone shell and must have presented a rather pleasing appearance.

Due to the perishable nature of much of the old Yokuts equipment, a considerable amount of their art will probably never be known. How many other pieces of paraphernalia and peculiar but artistic creations have not been recorded can only be imagined. However, enough is known about their art and painting and applied designs to be certain that at least upon occasion the Yokuts Indian was able to dress himself up quite colorfully and was not the sombre, drab person that we perhaps imagine.

YOKUTS PAINTINGS

When white settlers first came to the San Joaquin Valley, one of the things which attracted their attention was the many Indian paintings which were common upon the walls of the rock shelters and caves along the Sierra foothills and at some places in the Coast Range. These paintings have been the subject of much speculation and some investigation, and a ready topic for many writers. From time to time various persons have claim-

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531 517 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

[824 386] The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 317 386 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

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The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick. 531 317 386

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted. 531 517

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These Wukchumne Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

531 symmetrical mortars and pestles for grinding Indian tobacco,
517 or costumes for tribal ceremonies, were often concealed near these paintings.

The idea furnished was that the paintings added prestige to the spot and served to awe the lesser characters of the tribe and instill in them a respect for the equipment concealed there. The Wukchumne stated that such places were *Trip'-ne* (supernatural). Among the Wukchumne, paintings in general are called *Copch'-ke.* Red paintings, such as are common at Hospital Rock, were called *Haw'-you.* Paintings using mixed colors were called *Hoo'-cha-ing-utch.*

This writer is very skeptical about interpretations of Indian paintings, at least about those found bordering the San Joaquin Valley. His opinion is that the only person who could interpret those paintings is the man who painted them.

The above opinion is based upon two facts. The first and most important is that there is no common character which appears with any degree of regularity throughout the territory in which the paintings occur. Second, with the knowledge which the Indians have concerning the paintings, there should appear an interpretation of some sort, which would be more or less consistent among the various tribes.

The Indians readily recognize the characters which represent animals, but they offer no other explanation for the geometrical designs and line drawings than to give the Indian name for circle, triangle, square or other common figures. In exception to this they do identify drawings of the sun, moon and *Chapet* (Chah'-peet—the Indian doctor's magic tray), and a few mythological characters.

531 In each tribe there were probably one or more persons who
517 amused themselves by placing paintings upon the rocks and other objects surrounding the camp site. These parties prob-
463 ably developed skill beyond the average, and it is undoubtedly their work which we see today, placed there for the amusement of the painter, for the awe of the other members of the tribe, and for the interest and speculation of white invaders.

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796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind 796 when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to 825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary 776 of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more 825 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest [285 rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On 53] some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water [237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 592
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call- 513
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats.
That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the 281
blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the
other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same
way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 513
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. 237
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove. [438]

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the
old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After
that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth
for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in
two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one
behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at
the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was
generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule.
Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen
skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was
made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
159 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
159 red, white, and black. and some other color they got from
●531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
159 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 323 [531]

decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

Y W 323 415

There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wic (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wic (wina'bi).

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[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys
825 following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285]
[415]
[531]

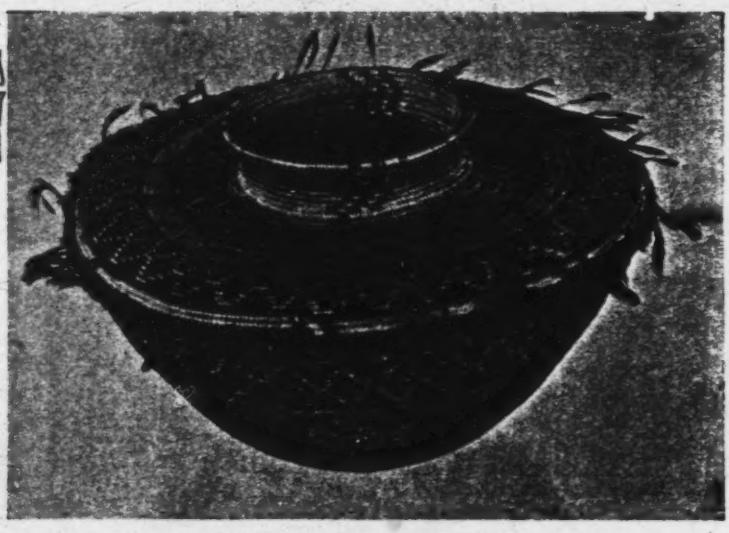

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be-
[789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
161 walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I
[361] counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
177 mony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

769 767 152 Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the tonoč·m, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[379]

769 532 Effigy-making.--The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[379] Ibid., 73.

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate´ǰ) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (ɛpla´oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgiss were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 103 131 361 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There was once a village there having the same name. Between the forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hochew* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tiktih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

[776 532] *Soksouh* (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kowlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

KOYETI

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539
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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756 Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´č·n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551] Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

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[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kam or do conventional dance steps.

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face black, the other side white. Both men had [302] their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were al- 765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be [756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment 534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or 765 four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the 541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become 535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and
756 for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance
[534] could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[302] down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 Usually there were four or five men and
302 four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭu'hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

533 two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other four were Wukchumni.

533 1. ta´wɛt ṭɛ´nima tawataw:l [repeat 4 times]
539 dead maybe motion of hand feathers in dancer's hands

soisoi ma´y:n taw:t ṭ:nima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša taw:t ṭ:nima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi may:n
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´t:n ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is speaking]

hu´nai hiwait:n ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo n:m
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´m:t na ṭ:pni ṭum:t na ṭ:pni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hɛt na· na´hɛt
[nonsense line]

kate´ wah:ṇ na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʼõ o´mtɛ na ma hane´nwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭepa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

[267] Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

533 539 5. aiyama´tːn na pa´nːn
worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yːn do´mto panːn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yːn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 787 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
276 time they were expected to awake several women would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
● 533 mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe·	lula´lhe·
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
755 person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
276 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
787 her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins
237 fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers
[534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their
533 songs follow:

539 1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-
[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!"

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ:pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
catfish, catfish, catfish

e´b:se, e´b:se, e´b:se
trout, trout, trout

796
539
533

koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 M.P.'s description differs from this some-
[756] what, and it may be that shamans differed in
the staging of their displays. She said that
[184] the "fish doctor" performed in his own house,
but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for
this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropri-
796 ately than the correct but abstract name "wish-
ing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His
756 description of the rite is as follows:

...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui ´nawe
15. suina ´weta mapa ´dow:n: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha ´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini ´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi ´wetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi ´we by D.S.
19. wiya ´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

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Dwellings.---A house was called tomo ´´h:š, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu ´w:ts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai ´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti ´š:č, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[352 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

[252]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao ´:ša) was played there.

[533 524]

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Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wiči ´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6]Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central
515 Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was *welcome to make use of the sweat house. There* was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we
[533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns,
252 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or colland-
262 er, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported gener-
[412] ally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kuluŝao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wuŝinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by
[198] Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

●533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaŝ.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wen) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sa´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´osaho) is called by the name because it starts in
[343] the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n ṭ:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[P. 186 9] Chuckchansi

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

343 515 517 The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old and very young men did not use it. Some men slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

[533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused [524] themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house, [533] C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were [184] bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't come through."[101] About four horizontal withes [171]

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 a] Chukchansi

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

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[824] [139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

W Y clusiveness. Women "never went near the place"
343 (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the
515 late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man in-
[513] variably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tuŝao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y No dancing was done in the sweat house,
515 but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kₑč) would lead in singing songs used out-
533 doors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y <u>Footgear</u>.--Normally people went barefoot.
291 Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not re-
[439] called) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

[P. 242 Weston Wendo NS 25

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "Mičkit [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ainič (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine!"

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 242 b] [redacted] NS25

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

W
Y
[539]

hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw·´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [·niša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo´ni; ·nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

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Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

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During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´mil:t. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u'narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me. 533

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

[276 The shaman's rattle was the usu[illegible] alifornia one, but was a little 754] thing with but one or two cocoo[illegible]g. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tie[illegible] a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for th[illegible]ctor to sing softly to himself [533] before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 754 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. 756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [251] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the sur- 224 825
round. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the [533] Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or profes- 769]
sional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual ceremony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224
methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-
124 blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 533]

Toke'-un lih'-nuh	*Wa-tin-hin*	*nah*	*Yo'*
(west side)	(straight path)	(me)	(to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne	*Ah-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village)	(this is I)	(charm stone)	(over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down. 159 756 796

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit." 159 755 796

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds a few details which are related below: 159 756 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too. [302]

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 756 796 198 [533 192]

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769
[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang [533] together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. [302] They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach.

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was 159 made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It 769 fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was 292 out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a 237 horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die.

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. 159 About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. 769 The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little 293 bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together.

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They took the stuffed clothes back into the house this fourth night. They did not burn them. Then some of the people sang and cried and danced until the next night. 159 769

The fifth night about midnight they brought out the same stuffed clothes and marched around and around the fire singing the same song. But this time they threw everything in the fire.

Just before they burned everything the Winatun threw small dry oak limbs on the fire to make a big blaze. Then the chief called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and they threw everything in the fire, almost all at once. The fire was almost covered up with stuffed clothes, baskets, and things that had belonged to the dead people.

The Ahanich (professional singers) had the right to catch anything they could as it was thrown on the fire. If they caught it, or could grab it out of the fire before it was burned, it belonged to them. Sometimes they got a whole suit of clothes, sometimes they got good baskets. [533]

It was all right for the Ahanich to keep the clothes and wear them. But they had to get them to their camp before the person who threw them in could catch hold of them. If the Ahanich was caught, he had to give the things back to the person who had thrown them in and then that person could keep them and use them, or wear them. They did not need to be burned if the Ahanich caught them or took them out of the fire.

When the things were first thrown on the fire there was a good chance to take some out without getting burned. But in just a few seconds everything was on fire. We stood back and tried to throw the things over the Ahanich's heads into the middle of the fire.

I remember that one Ahanich caught a fine basket, one like they made just to burn. He ran for his camp. The lady who had thrown it in caught him, but he pulled loose and ran on. They quarreled about it and the Teah took the basket and threw it back in the fire.

By daylight everything was burned up and only a few people were singing and crying around their own fires. They kept that up all day.

My mother worked hard to get the money to buy the clothes to burn in the fire for my father. She washed for the Blankenships and for Mrs. "Fish" Rice. But you white people do the same thing. You save money and dress dead people in good clothes. You spend lots of money for coffin.

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

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159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in
304 their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their
[302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].
438 Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used red, white, and black. and some other color they got from
531 berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The
372 other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
524 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all
533 the time. They had lots of fun.

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hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, "*Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,*" meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

539 finch. One of the birds would sit on *pahn*, the ground. He was "it" like in hide-and-go-seek. The others would peck at him.

A'-nis, my Grandfather, used to say that the Tawtawkits birds were playing an old game that was played by the old-time bird and animal *Yo'-kuts* [people] before the Indians came to California. One bird would sit on the ground and close its eyes. The rest would fly close to it. Then *Weutoi* (We'-oo-toi), the bird on the ground, would peck at them. If it pulled out *te-pit'-pil* [feathers], that bird must sit on pahn, the ground, beside it until all the rest of Weutoi, the birds, were caught. Then the game began all over.

Once, in the old days, the Tawtawkits were playing their game and *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, came along. He said, "What are you people doing?"

The birds answered, "We are playing Hihsuh Naes."

"Let me play that game," said Kiyu.

Kiyu was *he-ow'-trah* [mean] and the birds were afraid to come near him. He shut his eyes only part way and said, "Come close to me. Come close to my nose. Do not be afraid. I will not hurt you. Come on." Soon Tawtawkits began fluttering about Kiyu's nose. Soon he snapped one from the air and swallowed it. Then he called again to the birds to come closer still.

Again Kiyu caught and ate a Tawtawkits. After the third bird had been eaten, the birds began to talk among themselves. They said, "Where did those other birds go? They are not on the ground beside Kiyu. Kiyu is heowtrah. He must have eaten them." So Tawtawkits would not play with Kiyu any more.

Kiyu still wanted to play, but finally he went on along a trail until he came to *lah'-pah*, the cotton tree. He sat down under lahpah to rest. He saw *top'-top*, the leaf, come fluttering down. Then two more came whirling down. "I can do that," said Kiyu. He climbed up high in the tree and jumped to the ground. He fell on his face and was killed, *Kiyu tow'-it-se* [coyote is dead].

159 My people had lots of songs. Once I knew almost all of
533 them. My mother used to sing them. Now I remember only a few. The one I remember best was called *Wih-la'-litch We'-peh*, the lizard song. The little white-grey lizard of *Chaw-law'-win*, the plains, sang this song. *Wihlalitch* was an *Ahn'-troo* Doctor, but he wanted to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural].

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

When I was about ten years old my mother married again. 159 Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa 103 Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and 361 at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay 587 at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white 159 people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had 361 two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of [578] *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of 159 us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, 166 my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at 361 Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the [103] name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched
up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung
from side to side, singing:

[539]
[533]

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah
(sung five times)
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 539] when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yaudanchi

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533
192

1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxāle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yōuyahè
wīāhè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yōuyahè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wīāhè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükehamni.

wita	t'ōpīk	yo	nahaate	
said	beaver	and	other	
wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me
ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
then	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	golońkil	t·ōōd
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake
am-nan	piteiu[1]
not me	touch
a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do
dok'on	teixae
belly-full	(He)
doxmadhin	t·ōōd
(rush-pile)	rattlesnake
am-nan	piteiu
not me	touch
wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said:	not you	anything	can-do
tiñelhan	ma	t·ōōd
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake

[1] Handle, catch, take, stop.

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Yaudanchi

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dok'on teixac-ma
belly-full (lie) you

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

ma ti-nan haudihi
you (what) me can-do!

yapkanhin t·ōōd
many-trees rattlesnake

te'ineu teixac
shade (lie)

a-ma haa hawad'i
not you anything can-do

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

te'odwonhin t·ōōd
plains rattlesnake

te'ododin ma enea
white you eye

opodnid min
sun-shines-on your

am-nan piteiu
not me touch

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. 193
Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative 539
from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

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539 6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

533 192

wèhè yōhō
wehe yoho

na kiitcau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagawiw
(invisible)

widāta not'
east

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ĕwe
who brave!

yèha
yeha

xomòt-i māy-a tān-iyo
south we go

yèha
yeha

pinèt'iux na teay-e
oak I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kè na
(sound!) (sound!) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipni
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nāyu
nayu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
weho yoho

nan-a go ma ha wiihin
me you (do not mind)

ìkak tcan-a witebpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ika, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not 539
witeep but witep. Tean-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of te for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that 533
his father said to him: 539
756
142

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (persons)

pīwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (persons)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form bīwacā and Tulamni blawaa. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'ai dupit·
whose this shoot fish!

wi xi min ta wateam ahādad
well, this your that feather-hand-ornament is-panting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònon
(name of meteorking)

teuynak ma ha tala taaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (raise)

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

533 539 192 14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

yileyalè
earthquake

silika nim teieau
see my emergence-at

walăliu teoxil-a mâyu
at-open-place eagle

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam wiliteyau muyukun
you (in-front-of) whirl

yèhă
yeha

uyayet ke teèkèya mâyin p'aanin
(mourn-for) that string over world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na kaiu
I coyote

naan kaiu
we coyotes

ama p'an widji taeki
then earth told these

ama p'an widji
then earth told

a-ma-nan-hi k'uyak'tad
not you me will scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiu-na yawud
coyote I (do-thus)

ama na t-ipinit lòlènas
then I from-above (twirled)

kaiu-na yaud
coyote-I (do-thus)

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu wita
coyote said

hanham-na kaiiu-na
what-am I? coyote I

wi idkau-un na
well, water-in I

hanham-na
what-am I?

kaiiu-na
coyote I

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu nan t'ui eik'an-nim
here me shoot side-in my

kaiyuwin mam ta t'uyoe
coyote's you that arrow

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a nan
who me

t'uyon
shoots!

t·ipinit
from-above

t'uyon
shoots!

yèiteai
once

t'uyon
shoots!

wèhèn
when

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyiu naan
return we

nòtu naan xuyiu
east we return

tahitelpau
to-Tehachapi

p'nannin
land's

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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22. Mountain-sheep song.

	'hiyeu-na	ukunumū
or:	hideu-na	ukun
	where I	drink-will

wa	na	dōnto	ukun
far	I	mountain-at	drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama	wateimji	oteote	t·ipin
Then	swung-in-his-hand	magpie	high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin	oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand	magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu	nan	he
oyuy	nan	xe
road-runner	me	here

linini	mai
dawit-sa	mak
let-run	us-two

hiam-ā	na	teokonit
hiam	na	teokit
now	I	am-hit

teokunau	nim
teoxhau	nim
feather-belt-in	my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait·	hābi	dawit	yaudau
otter	(said):	"run	in-brush!"

dahaad-na	yaudau	dawit
hear I:	"in-brush	run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yokol dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-na	taxin	
again	do you	come!	
wa	ha.	mai	kitewin
far	something	we	will-go
wa	na	kitiu	
far	I	go	
todomit	na	idkin	
do-n.t-find	I	water's	

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)
hāini	hamāna	
(fly	what-we?)	
mòxumxai		
(Pleiades)		

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan	
return	to-me! (we!)	
xoiyu	nan	
return	did	
ama	nim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling
t·awe	nan	
beat	me	
dokoi-nim		
game my		

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
nanmtayo	
lanīyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t·awat·e	beat

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 30. Another.

539 yahī lulumai
192 yahīmai lulūmai
sawawa kanama
tanīyo
yapīwipīwimai
tawana tainiyo
hilalīkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tā	you
hayāwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsīmi	cold
hòsīwimīne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanā-na-ma	hear
hòsīmi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a
788 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
786 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitauriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

silkawil	nan
782	
192 silka-nan	töweiut
539 silka-nan	bamäeiut
silka-nan	yoxäxait
silka-nan	etebpat

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 756 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [554] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merrian and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo paʔa seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

533 Therefore the compression occurs after the third repeat of the first phrase, after the second repeat of the second phrase, and so on.

Almost all the songs were sung by both males and females with no apparent
533 difference or "parts" such as found on the northwest California coast. One
462 of the exceptions to this statement is the single work song recorded -- the Acorn Grinding Song. This song was sung only by the women, who did the acorn grinding, while the males did not, or pretended not, to know it. It is true that the males knew more songs than the women; no reason was given why the women could not sing them if they wanted to. The one example of harmony, which occurs in the Sopas Song, is certainly accidental.

533 The tempos ranged from andantino to vivace, from 63 beats to 138 beats per minute, with the bulk of the songs falling at the latter end of the scale. In some of the songs there was considerable rhythmic variation. This was for two reasons: the first was that some of the songs, like the Deer Song mentioned above, were supposed to be sung without a fixed beat. The second reason for variation stemmed from the fact that individual singers, when singing alone, could and would vary rhythm and melody much more than when the group sang together. The combination of the group's clapsticks and singing would carry the song to its conclusion with a minimum of discontinuity.

The spread of the melodic contour was rarely over eight or ten semitones, with the largest group falling between six and seven semitones. This is in contrast with the northwest California coast, where an octave and one-half are extremely common, especially in the Brush Dance and White Deerskin Dance Songs. This again contrasts with the limited spread which is found among
[171] the Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, and other north central and northeastern groups. Among these groups melodic spreads of three or four semitones are not uncommon, and there is one grass game song, recorded by Dr. Kroeber, characterized by a two semi-tone spread.

The scale was predominantly pentatonic, although the limited spread of some of the songs made it difficult to evaluate. Some, but not all, of the songs showed a definable rise. The rise in Tachi music can best be described as a low-pitch low-contrast section alternating with a rise of a fourth or a fifth and a descending lyrical passage back to the low-pitch low-contrast section. The Tawanic or Morning Song shows a rise beginning in the 5th measure, and again in the 18th. The Lizard Handgame Song #4 begins with a rise.

Another feature of the songs was the sparseness of lyrics. Most of the songs averaged no more than two or three phrases totaling 10-12 syllables. Common repetition patterns for lines were:

1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2; 1,1,1,2,2,2,1,1,2,2,3,1,1;

and so forth. The repetition of the Lizard Handgame Song showed some variation:

1,1,1,1,2,1,1,1,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,1,2.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. 533
In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75).

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This 538
song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area.

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he	palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw	palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa		where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, 539
Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater en- 756
trance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake [789]
(kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma [825]
and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by.

Other songs of this sort are the Weli Weli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sepagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choynimni and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] 178 533 songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

[171] Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

[176] Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

[171] All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

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[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

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[276]

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

[171]

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

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[883]

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

● [533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in 534 the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

796 J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

796 The singer accompanists wore their usual
668 ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and
skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole
instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw:l).
[534] J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni
na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam
(going around or circling dance) and also
668 hi´´th:´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by
the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progres-
535 sion. When, each night, the dance was being
performed for the last time, the participants
circled once to the right and then to the left
(clockwise) three times. Some people joined
hands, but women who were carrying cradles held
their hands behind their backs to steady the
basket and infant occupant.

796 The dance ended at break of day. Then
everyone went swimming. They ran to the water
668 as fast as possible, men and women together.
[413] On the way back they picked up wood for their
breakfast fires. There were no food tabus.
Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Čo'opo] sold
steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

On the last day of the Ghost Dance a
[535] special rite called the Horse Dance was per-
formed. Owners rode their animals around within
[825] the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old
horses were led around and were rejuvenated by
the spiritual power (t:pni) of the dance. One
of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 Then word that the white settlers were
668 coming to kill them ended the affair and sent
the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible
648 torture from the whites flew about. On their
way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives
traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during
the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother
threatened her with warnings that if the white
men found her they would kill her, cut her open,
and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras
to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They
were still afraid of the white people. They
had one or two such dances, but one ended in a
drunken brawl.

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening 515 [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men T Y usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of 517 Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wɨs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by 323 women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. 436 A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of 286 rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month 805 roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A 301 single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mɨn) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned [237] one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

T Y● Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´'i) ●534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 52a] Tubatulabal NS22

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´twɨl) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wos) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sop) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi'se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called yɛ´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ṭa´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

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[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wabonsuh Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

539 773 The sweat house.---The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

223 485 237 Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, only a chief could order one killed. He paid $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as needed. [534] The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

Musical Instruments

Y 534 M [534] Y 198

All informants agree that no drum of any type was used by the Yokuts or, for that matter, by the Western Mono. The foot drum of the Miwok was known, and was referred to as pu´mpum.

A whistle (pu´sač) of eagle leg bone was used by doctors and by the huhuna dancer.

Ordinary whistling as Europeans know it was not indulged in, but instead a kind of "humming through the front teeth" was practiced. Some women did this, but mostly men while working at odd jobs (J.P.). This "whistling" was called šiš. ´k'nota; perhaps was a sort of hissing.

Y 534

The flute (utoi´'i) was of elder wood, averaging about eighteen inches long. It was end-blown, but was held at the right side of the mouth, not centered, at an angle of about 45° below horizontal (S.G.). The flute was reedless and had four holes.[221] A frequent custom for men was to nap at home or in the sweat house, during a rain and, on awakening, to play the flute.

A clapper (ta´owid) of elder wood was used for ordinary pleasure dances such as the watiyod, whereas the cocoon rattle (sa´ñač) was used only for serious performances like the Bear Dance.

534 237

The cocoons used for rattles were those of the ceanothus silk moth which infested the oak trees of the roblar and chaparral of the foothills. The cocoon was carefully freed from its moorings, a twig inserted into one end and then held close to glowing coals to singe off the "silk" and kill the pupa within. At this time the cocoon shell was soft, and was pressed about the twig, being wrapped and held in place by a bit of sinew string. The cocoon was left in the sun until the pupa had become thoroughly dried and, shrunken to a hard small mass, rattled about inside. Pebbles were sometimes inserted. Two to four such cocoons were then tied onto a little handle about six inches long.[222]

Deer-hoof rattles were not used, but the hoofs were sewed around the edge of women's deerskin aprons where "they made a pretty noise" (M.L.). This informant claimed a rattle made of deer hide and pebbles was used for the Bear Dance.

Tobacco

276 249

Tobacco (šo´gon) grew all through the foothills. Any person who wished to might pre-

[221] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., pl. 43,b. Although Kroeber states that the "holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relation of distance" (p. 509) it appears that the 4-holed flutes (pl. 43) have spacings roughly constant in relation to each other and the total length of the instrument.

[222] Illustrated by Kroeber, ibid., fig. 37, a.

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them,
[533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a
574 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by
756 shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[302] down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Dankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle.[1] The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[1] [in the Bear Dance. -Analyst]

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 237 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers [534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 533 539 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
   storehouse my [place name]

   (My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
   small basket small basket [futurity]

   wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´´õ na husɨm
   small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

   (I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with
● [534 him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´miš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kıč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sɔt) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sɔ´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kıl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

This kind of big time lasted about one 796 week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

Musical Instruments

W Y 524 Flute.---This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ṭa). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

W Y 534 237 Whistle.---This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.---For this instrument (ča´o'ač, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

W Y 534 Clapper.---This (ṭa´ohıl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

W Y 276 [438] Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pıt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kın). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lın nım ti´'ıs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ım ti'ıs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of W Y [426] money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lakına´nıč, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

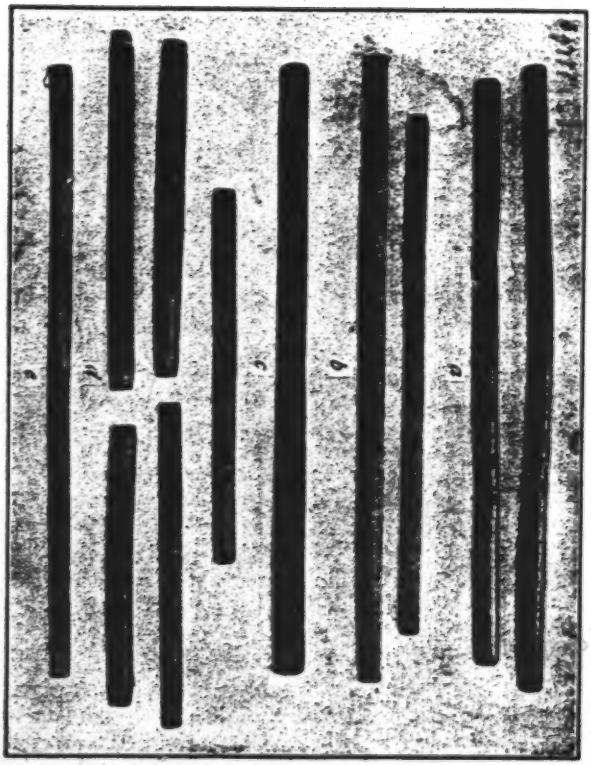
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Pomo NS 18

Miwok NS16

Karok NS12

Y●
P
M
K
534●



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FLUTES

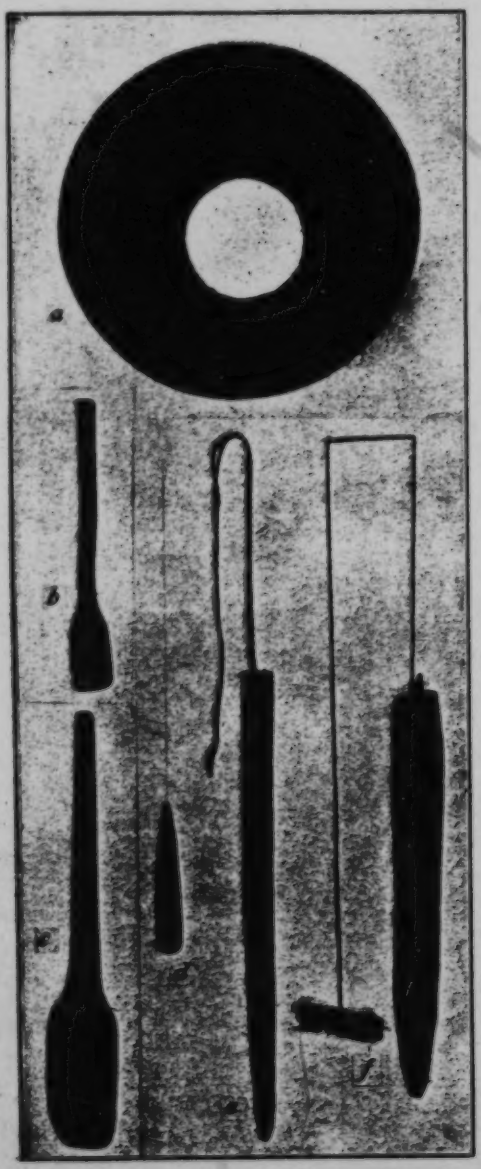
a, Yuma; b, Yokuts; c, Miwok; d, Pomo; e, Karok

[p. 508(C)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29
Luiseno NS14
Pomo NS18
Serrano NS20
Wintun NS26

SW 412
YLP
534



a, Klamath mortar hopper. Acorn pestle above; b, Diegueño; c, Northern Wintun. Bedrock: d, Yokuts; e, Luiseño; f, Pomo

[p. 508 D]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may pa?a seo

2. ke way may xo ke we may xo pa?a seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 419] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing,[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

536 Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
517 held. A chief might give such little parties
574 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house. His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

a [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut]

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down
strings around their hair. The men wore the
ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could
get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no
special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwes). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

751 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´pɛt) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi,
535 Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (N.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

766 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[102]

[102] Handbook, 501.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
535 the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl: ´l:n was an old man who could make that
[825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (o´šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´m:č or wa´tiyod) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds
and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two
539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na ko´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na ko´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wːkči wːs and made the sides yːt ka yːt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´osːl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mːm tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu munːn").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hatːm) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
● 535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oṭo´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not tːpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´lenːn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identi-
[616] fy them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw·l). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai ´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi´·th·´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [443] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (t·pni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
542 Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulaba].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[36] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
423 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

> The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yʿt	6. tu´dipi
2. po´ñoi	7. no´mčʿn
3. so´pʿn	8. mo´ñus
4. ha´po´ñi	9. no´nʿp
5. yu´tsʿnuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hopes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] p. 375.

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, 292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in
[301] the fields in spring as they would startle the
snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the
[823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused
by ghosts.

Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush
825 and whistled to people when it was time for
them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no
other bird or animal who did such a thing.

At Gutenumi, in the bottom of the swimming
776 pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who
pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger
went to swim there, she would grab his feet and
pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a
flood came bringing quantities of sand which
spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it
552 cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with profession-
al entertainment occurred not more than once a
month in any one village, as there was so much
intertribal and intervillage visiting for all
such festivities. The kind of dances that were
given by the shamans depended upon the chief's
choice. His winatum would tell the shamans
what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver
Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for enter-
tainment called the kam or watiyod performed
by shamans all the year round.

Kam

● 535 The kam was one of a few dances performed
purely for the entertainment of spectators.
Whether the dance was always the same, i.e.,
had specific songs and steps which differenti-

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face
[302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them,
[533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a
574 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
535 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa'tiyod was a dance performed by
756 shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač'am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle down glued across her forehead, wore a deer-
[302] skin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 Usually there were four or five men and
308 four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭu hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
[554] and used a cocoon rattle.A The dancers stood in
a row, with the most powerful or important man
[198] at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[516] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
796 her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
535 palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
the dancers turned toward their left, and the
men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up con-
tinuously while the men jumped and walked back-
ward to their former positions three times. The
whole performance lasted no more than ten
minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be re-
peated under any circumstances until the follow-
ing year. For this reason it was particularly
admired, and urgent demands for repetition from
the onlookers, with consequent refusals from
the dancers, seem to have been a traditional
part of the affair. If the spectacle were to
be witnessed again that season, it would have
to be in some other village or tribe with other
dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer
whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spec-
tators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's
see your hair!" At once the black portions
turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to
dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

A [in the Bear Dance. -Ambyst]

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Mutoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owıts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, although J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell [293] discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´nıl). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunats (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 128 a] Wukchumni

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Sa´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´´iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (son:l) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
769 was called gokosyu´ñit. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, pre-
769 ceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (he´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
769 at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville, and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´m:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief,
[481] mourning families, and others proceeded around it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called kn´m:ts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
796 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[88] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[88] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[205] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´hantao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[205] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šiš na´mit)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešiš namit dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wit) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Si´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

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[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or
787 three times around the village. Then he mashed
up the plants and left them to soak in water.
In midafternoon the participants drank, and by
the following morning their narcosis changed
into active behavior. Then "they saw every-
thing and it was all pretty." The causes of
illness could be seen: a man might see another
bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness
on himself. An animal would talk to him and
tell him about it. When he saw something
[supernatural] he would blow it away if he did
not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer"
might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed
it onto a basket; it was removed and buried,
and the basket washed by a winatum. All that
was seen was told about afterward, as the
drinkers returned to their normal condition:
onlookers could ask them about it. This vision-
ary ability during the narcosis was called
tanai ṭı ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

The participants waited six days before
796 touching meat, then they had a little party
(wi ́te luni ̌ʒa) with kam dancing at night.
This was probably given by the participants'
families, as it was the parents of young
drinkers who paid the administrant for his
services. If the drinker was an independent
adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both
[616] moieties engaged in the drinking and party
without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as
"they were afraid of it; it was used more by
the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the
grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the
summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam,
the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case
is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and
Southern Valley informants.

The plant was used medicinally, especially
752 for broken bones, when it was drunk as an
anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poul-
tice form. (No splints were used.)

The mythological source of jimsonweed was
773 not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that
the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief
of which I told him] or two girls [as believed
by the Chunut].

Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ̌ʒa)
769 lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n.
The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
● 535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill
Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was
largely devoted to settling visitors in their
camps. On the second and third days the host
chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as de-
scribed by P.D.W.), which might be performed
in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure
Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two
doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest
was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the
fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day, the Huhuna Dance
in the afternoon, after which the usual games
● 535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This
arrangement may be quite correct, for the
Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourn-
ing" significance and is nothing more than a
display. While it is unusual to have display
dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the
first days, the program for these days was
somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River
area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety
opposition. Most frequently it was the Micha-
616 hai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
"washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit
were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shel-
ters and shades. The winatums of the host
tribe got wood and water for the visitors.
Every morning and evening just before sunrise
and sunset a group of singers went outside of
the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed.
The relatives of the deceased and any others
dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers
clapped their hands, the performance ceased.
Some of the visitors played games during the
day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old
people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it
seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the
day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also
might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers,
whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men
who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial
regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hc ´ǐwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
756 herent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took
place in the early afternoon. There were four
doctors on each side, of whom Pušl:l:n and
Kapl:l:n are the only ones remembered. In
making their "airshot" (toiyeš) they used no
fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," al-
though P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying
to] the sun was involved. As they made their
seizing gestures from the sun toward their
basketry trays on which the shot appeared,
they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hᵊ!
hᵊ! hᵊ!" The airshot "looked just like white
fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet."
The surviving doctor in the contest was al-
ways [?] Kapl:l:n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of
crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was
called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had
been in retirement during the day, made two ex-
cursions out to the central fire during the
night, carrying with them the images or "dolls"
(ta´w:ts nao´ha, dead made-like), which were
not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzle-
ment over the images and said he did not think

[i.e., of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing («pla´o'iša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
● 535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
536 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimna at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema).
796 535 Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a´la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·´l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance.
[302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

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[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´načˇ), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osnıl).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [481] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men 562 tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row 386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

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535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [747] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gon. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a ´nuṭun ti ´ña) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 789 A distinction was made between the doctor (a ´ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 [535 778] There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty of ṭɛpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One cam still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ˇna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´osaho) is called by the name because it starts in
[343] the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual
[237] breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n ṭ:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Goh:l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n:ǎ do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ǎa´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and
535 frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokon:k's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh:l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai':č, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokon:k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
535 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 203 a] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

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[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

W
Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
796 Il: ´pča. (Il: ´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.---The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'ič, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not
Y brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the
796 money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
541 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured
789 invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket
756 was laid out for money which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.---This dance (h: ´ž:šne´n:č)
● Y was done in the evening at any time of year,
● 535 though it would not be done for more than one night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that W Y [831] he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahun ile´h:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

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[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

W Y [775] "We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783] Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535] Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83] Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517] During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuuuuuwuu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

535 turesque spectacle when several tribes gathered at once; but it has
527 the appearance of being only a prelude.

CEREMONIAL PARAPHERNALIA.

292 The eternal yellow-hammer forehead bands of the California In-
237 dians are not lacking among the Yokuts; but the characteristic dance
[301] costume of these tribes comprised the *chohun*, a skirt of strings of eagle down, and the *djuh*, a tall headdress of tail plumes of magpies, encircled at the base by crow feathers (Fig. 44). The eagle-down skirt extends across the Sierra to the Shoshonean tribes as far east as Death Valley (Pl. 42). It has not been reported from any part
[171] of interior California other than the Yokuts, and in southern California its place is taken by a skirt of large eagle feathers. In this garment we have the [illegible] recognize either a local development [illegible] influence from the Great Basin. The magpie and crow headdress is found, with some slight variation, among the Maidu and Patwin; and it may accordingly be assumed for the intervening Miwok also, though not yet reported from them. With the Maidu, this ornament is part of the apparel of god impersonators, such as the *Sili* and Bear spirit; among the Yokuts, who do not indulge in such esoteric representations, it is worn in the mourning dance, in the complementary dance of rejoicing, and by shamans. It is a familiar fact that the same article or element of civilization is frequently utilized for widely different purposes, and in quite diverse connections or meanings, by distinct nations.

FIG. 44.—Yokuts dance headdress of magpie and crow feathers.

292 The *djuh* was held in place by a stick jammed through its base
237 and the hair as bunched under a tightly drawn head net—the usual
301 central Californian device for fastening large feather ornaments to the head. The *chohun* was made from the down of a large water bird, called *goldat* by the valley tribes, when they experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of eagles. Sticks tipped with the showy crest feathers of the mountain quail were passed through the pierced ear lobes.

293 Two other ornaments were much used by the Yokuts: the *wachom*
237 and the *notanat*. The former was a loose bunch of feathers carried
301 in the hand and swinging with every motion; the latter, a belt, also worn as leg band, of strings of twisted hair cut off by mourners. This

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

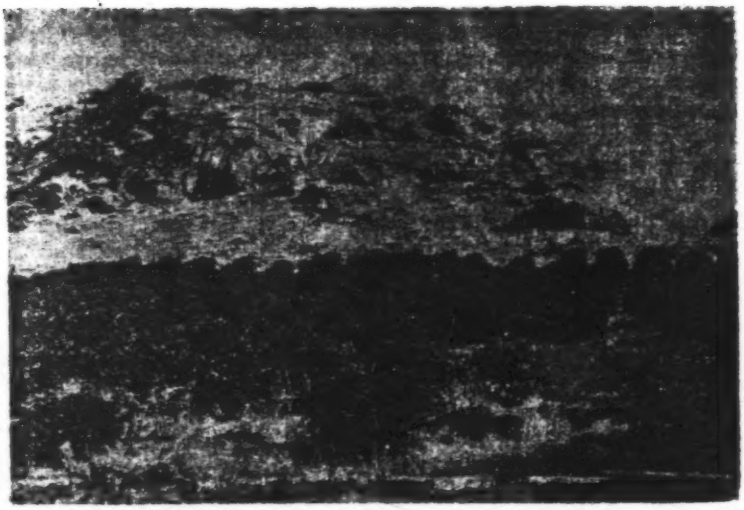
RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
769
[133]



This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the **Wukchumne** called it **Ho-hu'-no.**

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs. [535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called
769 *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were
756 both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne*. The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we). 159 756 769

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley. [103]

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek. [103]

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpikntis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We [535]

[text continues on p. 249]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 301 824 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 796 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 226 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some [423 616] foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 484 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local [535 527] and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

221 484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791
chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796
arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302]
either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177]
Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535
inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177]
from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181
a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648
take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177
of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302]
appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

583
Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585
virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435
anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the 834
arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners.

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance,

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 which consisted of two leaps on each foot alternately, causing the body to
786 rock to and fro; and either hand was thrust out with the swaying, as if the
535 offering it held were about to be consigned to the flames, while the breath was forced out with violence between the teeth, in regular cadence, with a harsh and grinding sound of *heh!* The blaze of the sacred fire flamed redly out between the bodies of the dancers, swaying in accord, while the disheveled locks of the leaping hags wildly snapping in the night wind, the blood-curdling rasp of their breath in concert, and the frightful ululations and writhings of the mourners, conspired to produce a terrible effect. At the sight of this weird, awful, and lurid spectacle, which was swung into motion so suddenly, I felt all the blood creep and tingle in my veins, and my eyes moisten with the tears of a nameless awe and terror. We were beholding now, at last, the great dance for the dead.

All the long remainder of that frenzied night, from one o'clock to two, to three, to four, to five, those women leaped in the maddening dance, through smoke, and choking dust, and darkness, and glaring light, and cold, and heat, amid the unceasing wail of the multitude, not knowing or heeding aught else on earth. Once in five or ten minutes, when the choir completed a chorus, there was a pause of a few seconds; but no one moved from her place for a moment. What wonder that only the strongest young maidens were chosen for the duty! What wonder that the men avoided this terrible ordeal!

769 About four o'clock, wearied, dinned, and benumbed with the cold of the mountains, I crept away to a friendly blanket and sought to sleep. But it was in vain, for still through the night-air were borne up to my ears the far-off crooning, the ululations, and that slow-pulsing, horrid *heh!* of the leaping witches, with all the distant voices, each more distinct than when heard nearer, of the mourning camp. The morning star drew itself far up into the blue reaches of heaven, blinking in the cold, dry California air, and still all the mournful riot of that Walpurgis-night went on.

Then slowly there was drawn over everything a soft curtain of oblivion; the distant voices blended into one undistinguishable murmur, then died away and were still; the mourning was ended; the dancers ceased because they were weary.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint. 517

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts. 517 171

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints. 517 538

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he	palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw	palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa		where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

Other songs of this sort are the Weli Weli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choynimni and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[p. 1-A]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

[p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[128] incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

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LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 A striking uniformity of style is to be found
538 in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on
[182] a highly generalized level. This bareness and
[193] simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is
193 practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[p. 6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," miwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
112 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the

[p. 7-A]

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
539 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

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195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the sympton of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of [182 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc- 195 esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms, 153] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths [114] in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

[p.8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6]Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 773 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 178 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic, neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9]The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

●538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[883] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 776 825 His association with Crow is notable. The animal characteristics of these persons are occasionally pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 171 538 773 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly characterized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to [197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 538 773 The mythology deals with events and adventures in the lives of a superhuman as well as prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would 773 115 538 feel that the creation tales should come first, merely as a matter of logic. The Mishahai informant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
796 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE[13] IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

[p.14-A]

171 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestion-
538 ably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono, yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo, Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein his rôle is often at least daring if not undefeatedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
[184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill or mountain country. How far he was popular with Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi, Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the mythology recorded from these groups is hopelessly incomplete. With these people it is possible that Coyote or some other held a more elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

[p.14-B]

171 538 773 The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tübatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[128]

16:Gayton & Newman L-5 (1930-1931)1940

NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts.[1]

[1] [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES — ANALYST]

726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[28] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[29]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
anchi sent a man, who said that they would
202 fight in a certain number of days. The
[Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the
539 Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?]

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (t'so·'wihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

[576]

[28] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[29] Recorded in Tuuelmani dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Manuel, Bankalachi.

726 good clubbing. In reply to further questions,
202 the [Southern] messenger told them that his
539 leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They
[411] then descended to the plains and fought there. They used only arrows and obsidian (tba·siþ), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wukchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
them of the arrangements that had been made for
202 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their
539 enemies at the appointed place. They fought
for a long time, shooting at each other and
dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and
Xenilal grappled with one another for a long
time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal
was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away
and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had
any more arrows; they worked on each other with
necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
quit fighting, now that all of their comrades
539 had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to
Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he
would never fight again. The Tachi had been
severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal con-
ferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told
Xenilal that he thought they should not fight
with each other but should live peacefully
('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This
leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said
that soon he would arrange to have the Northern-
ers and Southerners assemble, so that they
could see each other peacefully. This remarka-
ble man was going to make a feast in seven days.
He went on to say that Xenilal and his people
need be afraid of nothing, that they should
bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked
when the feast would be held and was told that
it would probably take place in seven days. The
final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated
his hope that they fight no more but live in
peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought
that their leaders had killed each other. When
Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades
were still there. They expressed their sur-
prise at seeing him, saying that they had
thought he was dead. He assured them that he
had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very
powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the
people to assemble at his home and added that
it would be best for them not to fight again.
The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned
about the date of the feast, he said that he
would start preparations immediately on his
arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa
announced that the feast would take place in
seven days. He warned the people not to "talk
about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier
(wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the
Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier
invited these people to the feast and assured
them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
728 as they arrived, they were stopped and present-
ed with bead (liína') money. This is Indian
539 money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and
many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the
feast the Southerners were again given bead
money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did
not think it good for them to fight; he thought
it better that they should see each other peace-
fully, just as they were doing now. Then he
told them all to return to their homes and to
live peacefully.

796 had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (t:pni ha´tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these
796 songs had words. Two of them which J.A. re-
539 calls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and the following:

ma´´an(a) gut hoi´yiuh:n
you that come back

pa´wus mai´y:n ye´ha ye·e·e·e·´ha
seeds are coming, coming

uya´yi uya´yi
[exclamation]

hot:nih:´nke wača´ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

hia´ma ṭa'iho´awa
now reddening

so´pas inana´he
[a plant with red berries]

wi´ya ṭa´ho'iwah:n
will be reddening

796 At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (son:l) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his son:l over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
535 Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl: 'l:n was an old man who could make that
[B25] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ'šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata'm:č or wa'tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa'taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two
539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi'awe na ko'no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa'o wa na ko'no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho'hima) is singing.

he'li ipai'ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

KOYETI

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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756

Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´čɛn, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551]

Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camau´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kam or do conventional dance steps.

539 773 The sweat house.--The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho´ na'a, hoyoho´ na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running-water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

754 Both sexes took care in the disposal of hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

826 Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected. Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every-
539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

292 Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 In the first world Deer was a quiet man
539 who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then
773 when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

Great respect was shown eagles, in fact,
223 only a chief could order one killed. He paid
435 $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be
237 paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as
[534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] The Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 96).

223 The eagle's carcass was returned to the
237 hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 Eagle lived over the water before the
723 world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mɛts ṭo´hɛl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wɛts), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wi´tɛs), and grey eagle (ṭohɛl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 J.P. said that when a man went out to kill
[130] bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundi´ta pō´dta ma ṭupɛ´nita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭi´pɛni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was
[281] made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.--The plain bow (ta´dup) and sinew-backed bow (ṭap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse´ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tuned) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 539 432 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or
three chiefly men in a village they would
divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing
feathers, another the leg bones, and another
the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the
meat. "The chief would not let those people
gathered there go away until all the meat was
eaten." When the killer had finished, the
chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in
water so that it would be revived and return to
its supernatural home. As he did this he said,
"tuñdi´ta po´dta ma tupı´nita" (? ? you go
up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter
when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
782 called his people to pay for it. The coyote
lay on a blanket, the people threw down their
432 strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it
would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man
"buried the whole thing right then because no-
body ate that meat."

825 <u>Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions</u>.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduwıts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these
informants could recall for Wukchumni people.
They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other
tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:ṇi."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. The rocks were [531] usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain.c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

5. The power of flying, known to northern
756 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
789 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
237 Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagledown cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

[P. 117b] Wukchumni

533 two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other four were Wukchumni.

533 1. ta´wɨt tɨ´nima tawatawɨl [repeat 4 times]
dead maybe motion of hand feathers in dancer's hands
539

soisoi ma´yɨn tawɨt tɨnima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša tawɨt tɨnima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi mayɨn
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´tɨn ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is speaking]

hu´nai hiwaitɨn ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo nɨm
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´mɨt na ṭɨpni ṭumɨt na ṭɨpni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hɨt na· na´hɨt
[nonsense line]

kate´ wahɨṇ na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʼõ o´mta na ma hanɨ´nwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭepa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

[267] Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

533 5. aiyama´tːn na pa´nːn
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yːn do´mto panːn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
796 (taña´yːn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
262 in the early spring about February to March;
276 "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place. Roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
787 under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent
276 long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 The male dancers wore whole bearskins
237 fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers
[534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their
533 songs follow:

539 1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·če·me·hu
small basket small basket [futurity]

wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-
[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

> This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!"

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

> This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ·pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

> ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
> catfish, catfish, catfish
>
> e´base, e´base, e´base
> trout, trout, trout

796
539
533

koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 [756] [184] M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (<u>ohowish</u>) used by Kroeber.[271] His 796 756 description of the rite is as follows:

> ...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the <u>ohowish</u> medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by [783] the mourners or corpse-handlers.

W Y 767 All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočim, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nil (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibi´knič).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 242 b] Wayan Nano NS25

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

W
Y
[539]

hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw‹´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [‹niša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo·ni; ‹nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which
756 hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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 776

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans 177
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: [782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüüshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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756 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and
778 to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from
787 animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in
[823] pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

> Whose is this fish to shoot?
> Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wochom* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never
[539] left the earth. This is his song:

> The other says: Run in the brush;
> Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 533 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-
124 blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 533] *Toke'-un lih'-nuh* *Wa-tin-hin* *nah* *Yo'*
(west side) (straight path) (me) (to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *Ah-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village) (this is I) (charm stone) (over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1946)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to
796 know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't
198 understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

539

O, Chochin witche pah
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah - - - - - yah!
(Everyone hear me).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Win-*
159 *at'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
769 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each
624 tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*.
[152] [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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769
[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)

Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach. [533] [302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die. 159 769 292 237

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together. 159 769 293

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159 769 756 [624]

Then the Teah called, "*He'-ahn tahn'-hin.*" The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed Cuksa.

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159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.
756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he [624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him [237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah* [539]
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

775

A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it.

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-at*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant. "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

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hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*. 159 524

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it. [525]

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, *"Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,"* meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one. 159 526

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went [533 539]

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this: 539

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

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539 finch. One of the birds would sit on *pahn,* the ground. He was "it" like in hide-and-go-seek. The others would peck at him.

A'-nis, my Grandfather, used to say that the Tawtawkits birds were playing an old game that was played by the old-time bird and animal *Yo'-kuts* [people] before the Indians came to California. One bird would sit on the ground and close its eyes. The rest would fly close to it. Then *Weutoi* (We'-oo-toi), the bird on the ground, would peck at them. If it pulled out *te-pit'-pil* [feathers], that bird must sit on pahn, the ground, beside it until all the rest of Weutoi, the birds, were caught. Then the game began all over.

Once, in the old days, the Tawtawkits were playing their game and *Ki'-yu,* the Coyote, came along. He said, "What are you people doing?"

The birds answered, "We are playing Hihsuh Naes."

"Let me play that game," said Kiyu.

Kiyu was *he-ow'-trah* [mean] and the [illegible] were afraid to come near him. He shut his eyes only [illegible]ay and said, "Come close to me. Come close to my nose [illegible] not be afraid. I will not hurt you. Come on." Soon Tawtawkits began fluttering about Kiyu's nose. Soon he snapped one from the air and swallowed it. Then he called again to the birds to come closer still.

Again Kiyu caught and ate a Tawtawkits. After the third bird had been eaten, the birds began to talk among themselves. They said, "Where did those other birds go? They are not on the ground beside Kiyu. Kiyu is heowtrah. He must have eaten them." So Tawtawkits would not play with Kiyu any more.

Kiyu still wanted to play, but finally he went on along a trail until he came to *lah'-pah,* the cotton tree. He sat down under lahpah to rest. He saw *top'-top,* the leaf, come fluttering down. Then two more came whirling down. "I can do that," said Kiyu. He climbed up high in the tree and jumped to the ground. He fell on his face and was killed, *Kiyu tow'-it-se* [coyote is dead].

159 533 My people had lots of songs. Once I knew almost all of them. My mother used to sing them. Now I remember only a few. The one I remember best was called *Wih-la'-litch We'-peh,* the lizard song. The little white-grey lizard of *Chaw-law'-win,* the plains, sang this song. *Wihlalitch* was an *Ahn'-troo* Doctor, but he wanted to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural].

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

159 When I was about ten years old my mother married again. 103 Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa 361 Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and 587 at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

159 This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white 361 people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of [578] *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

159 We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of 166 us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, 361 my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the [103] name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched
up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung
from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah [539]
(sung five times) [533]
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

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159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:
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Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home Indian village) (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The following Wukchumni (Y) tale is typical, and shows Eagle's position and power, and Dove as his messenger:[19]

In the old days there was nothing in this world. It was just full of water. The birds and animals were here first. Eagle said: "I'm tired of living over this water, I want a little oak to grow up there in the middle." This happened.

There were also present five varieties of ducks, Haiyano, Hohoda, Wacicina, Teututpoi, and a very little one. They were going to try to get some dirt up from under the water. Eagle sent Dove after some tobacco which he needed to mix with the sand. Dove got it and gave it to the chief. Eagle said to the littlest duck: "Can you go to the bottom and get some sand?" He tied a milkweed string to the duck's foot, and the bird dived into the water. He stayed down all day and half the night. He died without striking the bottom. Eagle pulled him out, and restored him to consciousness. The little duck told his friends that he had not reached the bottom. All the other ducks tried with the same result.

Then Eagle called on Turtle to try. He said he was willing. He went down and remained under the water a whole day and a whole night. He was nearly dead when he came up to the surface. While he was under the water he had barely succeeded in scratching the bottom with his finger tips. Some sand was lodged under his finger nails. Eagle got out this sand.

Eagle, the chief, then rolled the sand and tobacco together and pounded them in a mortar. He took up a handful of the mixture and scattered it toward the south, east, north, and lastly toward the west. As he did so he said: "In twelve days all this water will go down." This happened. All the birds and animals were able to walk about on the ground.

Finally these creatures got tired of just staying about doing nothing. Eagle and Wolf were bored too. Eagle sent Dove to call all the people together. He said: "Go tell these people to come out and listen to what I am going to say."

When Dove went to get Bear he had to run from him as Bear killed every man who came near him. They ran a race to a gap in the hills. Bear said: "You run and I'll catch you." But Dove ran faster and won. Bear agreed to come to the meeting.

At the place where the animals gathered there was a big fire. The chief told his people that they could all live elsewhere and do as they pleased. Some liked the mountains; others could live in the flat. Then he told them what they were to be. He was Eagle and he flew off.

The abrupt close of this tale is atypical. Another Wukchumni informant gave the complete form. But the conclusion of the Bird-animal period in which Eagle was the creator-chief is best exemplified in the following Waksachi-Michahai version:[20]

Sun and fire were now established. Eagle, the chief, gathered all the people around him to listen. He said: "There are going to be human beings here in this world. We are going to be different kinds of people. We will put up one man and one woman in each place. Now these people will die and be burned; their bones will be put in a spring of water. On the second dawn they will rise up and come toward us talking. But after this one rebirth they will never come alive again."

[19] Told in English by Joe Pohot, 1925.
[20] Told in English by Sam Osborn, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Waksachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition confinned to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipai (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mĭnimon	kiolĭn	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 and keen, little, basilisk eyes, stepped forth into the quadrangle and began to walk slowly to and fro around its three sides, making the opening proclamation. He spoke in extremely short, jerky sentences, with much repetition, substantially as follows:

[539] "Make ready for the mourning. Let all make ready. Everybody make ready. Prepare your offerings. Your offerings to the dead. Have them all ready. Show them to the mourners. Let them see your sympathy. The mourning comes on. It hastens. Everybody make ready."

He continued in this manner for about twenty minutes, then ceased and entered his booth; after which silence, funereal and profound, again brooded over the encampment. By this proclamation he had formally opened the proceedings, and he took no further part in them, except in a short speech of condolence. By this time the Indians had collected in considerable numbers on the embankment, and they kept slowly coming forward until the circle was nearly completed, and the fire was only visible shooting up above their heads. A low hum of conversation began to buzz around it, as of slowly awakening activity. The slow piston-rod of aboriginal dignity was beginning to ply; the clatter and whizzing of the machinery were swelling gradually up. No women had yet come out, for they took no part in the earlier proceedings. It was now quite ten o'clock, and we were getting impatient.

Presently the herald, a short, stout Indian, with a most voluble tongue, came out into the quadrangle with a very long staff in his hand, and paced slowly up and down the lines of booths, proclaiming:

769 "Prepare for the dance. Let all make ready. We are all friends.
539 We are all one people. We were a great tribe once. We are little now. All our hearts are as one. We have one heart. Make ready your offerings. The women have the most money. The women have the most offerings. They give the most. Get ready the tobacco. Let us chew the tobacco."

[195] This man spoke with an extraordinary amount of repetition. For instance, he would say: "The women—the women—the women—have the most—have the most—the most money—have the most money—the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 [539] [195]

women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most."

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

769 276

769 [539]

"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

[301]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
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Chunut
Choinck

WO 'LABI.

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192

Pronouns found are na, mạ, mak, nim, min, amin.
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, his.
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyȯku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
xat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-ẹite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

539●
197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

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1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxäle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yòuyahè
wiähè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yòuyahè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wiähè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükehamni.

wita	t'öpük	yo	nahaate	
said	beaver	and	other	
wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me
ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
them	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	goloñkil	t·öd
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake
am-nan	piteiu[1]
not me	touch
a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do
dok'ou	teixae
belly-full	(lie)
doxmadhin	t·öd
(rock-pile)	rattlesnake
am-nan	piteiu
not me	touch
wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said	not you	anything	can-do
tiñelhan	ma	t·öd
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake

[1] Handle, catch, take, stop.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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dok'on belly-full	teixac-ma (lie) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do!
yapkanhin many-trees	t·ööd rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixac (lie)	
a-ma not you	haa anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·ööd rattlesnake	
te'ododin white	ma you	enea eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	pitein touch	

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. 193
Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative 539
from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, hud doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

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6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

wèhè yōhō
wehe yoho

na kiitcau hoyoji p'ana
I (sound) earth

kalagawiw
(invisible)

widāta not'
east

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-čwe
who (sound)

yèha
yeha

xomòt-i māy-a tān-iyo
south we go

yèha
yeha

pinłt'iux na teay-e
oak I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kò na
(sound) (sound) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipni
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural power

nāyu
nayu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
wehe yoho

nan-a go ma ha wiihin
me you (do not mind)

èkak tcan-a witcłpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ēka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not 539
witeep but witep. Tean-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of te for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that 533
his father said to him: 539
756
192

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (pursues)

pĭwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (pursues)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form biwacä and Tulamni biawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'ai dupit·
whose this shoot fish!

wi xi min ta wateam ahādad
well, this your that feather-hand-ornament is-pouting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònon
(name of scratching)

teuyuak ma ha tala tasji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (rules)

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses sili. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

533 539 192

yileyalè
earthquake

silika uim teieau
see my emergence-at

walāliu teoxil-a māyu
at-open-place eagle

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam wiliteyau muyukun
you (in-front-of) whirl

yòhā
yoho

uyayet ke teèkèya māyin p'aanin
(mourn-for) that string our world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na kalu
I coyote

naan kalu
we coyotes

auua p'an widji taeki
then earth told these

ama p'an widji
then earth told

a-ma-naa-hi k'uyak'tad
not you me will scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaliu-na yawud
coyote I (do-thus)

ama na t-ipinit lòlènae
then I from-above (twisted)

kaliu-na yaud
coyote-I (do-thus)

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu wita
coyote said

hanham-na kaiiu-na
what-am I? coyote I

wi idkau-un na
well, water-in I

hanham-na
what-am I?

kaiiu-na
coyote I

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu nan t'ui cik'an-nim
here me shoot side-in my

kaiyuwin mam ta t'uyoe
coyote's you that arrow

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a nan
who me

t'uyou
shoots!

t·ipinit
from above

t'uyou
shoots!

ybiteai
come

t'uyou
shoots!

wèhèn
when

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyiu naan
return we

nètu naan xuyiu
east we return

tahiteipau
to-Tehachapi

p'annin
land's

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 22. Mountain-sheep song.

539 ' hiyeu-na ukunumū

192 or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dòmto ukun
far I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

limini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run me-two

hiam-ā na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunau nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait· hāhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dahaad-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yokol dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-na	taxin
again	do you	come!

wa	ha	mai	kitewin
far	something	we	will-go

wa	na	kitin
far	I	go

todomit	na	idkin
do-not-find	I	water's

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)

hāini	hamāna
(fly	what-we!)

mòxumxai
(Pleiades)

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan
return	to-me! (wife)

xoiyu	nan
return	child

ama	nim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling

t·awe	nan
beat	me

dokoi-nim
game my

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
nanntayo	
lanīyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t·awat·e	beat

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulûmai
sawawa kanama
tanĭyo
yapĭwipĭwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t·awat·i t·awat·

31. Another.

hila ma tā	you
hayâwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
waatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimĭne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanā-na-ma	hear
hòsĭmi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a
788 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
796 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitsariut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782 silkawil nan
see-yo me

192 silka-nan tōnciut
see me name (= maker)

539 silka-nan bamāciut
see me name

silka-nan yoxāxait
see me name (= crusher)

silka-nan etcèpat
see me name

8:Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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192
539

silka-nan pitserint
one two name

silka-nan tsukit
one two name

silka-nan ukat
one two name (bucket)

yòt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yòt·an t·ikexo texal
my together to-tied talk

maiayin lomto
with-the-large mountain

maiayin silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

maiayin witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yòt·an polut-nim
together body my

tsuk-nim
heart my

yòt·an-ma-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·è-pani
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

daak
day

yò-ma
and you

toino
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nan-illèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·an ki
together this

p'nan
world

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wŏkitska-nan t-iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wŏkitska-nan t-iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwin, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tŏwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tŏwahlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasayutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yuhhahhalt

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	have	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
have	me	with-a-little	sun
anè	nan	yòt·au	teomoot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heneit	nan	mitèni	
have	me	with-a-little	

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts. 775 192 539

miin	ma	ò̀yin	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
choon	ma	heha	x̌oyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shoshonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an 197*

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo paʔa seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he	palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw	palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa		where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

539
756

At length he came to the end of the cave. It was a new and strange land which he had not seen before. After looking around, he came upon the doctor sitting steadfast as a stone and looking straight before him. After a time the doctor looked up and asked Sapagay, "What are you doing here? How did you get in? You must have some sort of power to get past my guardians." Sapagay told him of the charms he had used and the doctor approved of them. They were the right charms for the man who wanted doctor power.

Sapagay looked about and saw that there was no one around. He said, "This must be a very lonely place; there are no other people here." The doctor replied, "You don't seem to like it here; why did you come?" And he continued, "I will show you the people who live here." So he called, and a long line of deer came out of the black mountain to the west. Sapagay thought to himself, "These aren't real people, but just deer from the woods." But the deer came and formed a circle about him and lost their horns and hooves, and turned into beautiful girls dressed in string aprons, beads, and clamshell ornaments. The doctor then addressed the girls, "Now give him your songs that he may have doctor power among his people." And the girls taught Sapagay their songs so that he could use their secret power.

When Sapagay learned all that he could, he asked the doctor how he could get back to his people. The doctor told him that the guardians would be asleep when he returned through the tunnel. And then Sapagay returned to his people and became a famous doctor who was called to all parts of California to cure the sick. (3)

16:Gayton & Newman L-5 (1930-1931)1940
N529 Yokuts N529

[p. 1-A]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in
171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than
538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TIPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

[p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock cover-
538 ing of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and
[128] incident.[a] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes.

TYPE MYTH

539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[126] [a]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

[p. 2-A]

●539 looked for their footprints. He found nothing. And from there he returned. And he arrived at the leader's house. And the leader said to him, "Why are you alone?" "I can't find her," he says. And the leader said, "I think she has been stolen from you. Now we'll assemble the people," the leader says to him. And he sent Dove. "Assemble the people," he says. And Dove got all the people. "Falcon's wife has been stolen," he says. "Now Eagle will ask the people," he says. "Who's going to find her?" he says.

And all the people assembled. And he asked all of them, "Who can find out where she went?" And Buzzard said, "I'll try. But he must take me where she was stolen," Buzzard said. And there Falcon took him where she was stolen. And there they arrived. "For one day I will search for her," he says. And Buzzard searched all the ravines. He looks down all the impassable places. He comes down. Where is she hidden? And in vain he goes up again. He finds nothing.

He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he returned. And, as before, all the people assembled. And they asked him, "What happened on your journey?" "I didn't find anything," he says. "I walked over the whole world, but it was useless," he says. "I didn't find anything."

And the leader said, "Now you," he says to Wind. "Yes," says Wind. "I think I can do something. I try to get in everywhere over the whole world," says Wind. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Is this it?" says Wind to him. "Yes," says Falcon. "Well, I'll walk now," he says. "I will arrive there after sundown," he says. And Falcon says to him, "Well, I am going now," he says. And Wind walked over the whole world. He did not find anything. He worked for one day. And he arrived late at the leader's house. And the leader asked him, "What happened on your journey?" he says to him. "I didn't find anything," he says.

"Now you," Bottlefly is told. And there Falcon took him. And they arrived there. "Did she go from here?" he says to him. And he stood right there where the woman had been sitting. And he said to Falcon, "You must not go anywhere. You must wait for me right here," he says to him. And Bottlefly says, "From here I'll find out where she went. I'll turn around here," he says. "East," and also, "North," he says, and also, "West," and also, "South." And Falcon said, "Where is she?" he says. "Not there," Bottlefly says. "She went far up," he says. "You must wait for me right here," he says.

And there he went far up. And there he remained. He sniffs in all directions. And he turned around. And he saw a house. It was the house of the thief. And there Bottlefly went. And on entering his house, he slipped. He falls on his back. His house was slippery. And it was quiet there. And he saw the woman. And from there he returned. He seemed to be very

●539 quick. He came there where Falcon remained. And he reached Falcon. And Falcon said to him, "Where?" And he said to him, "She is up there." "I have known it for a long time. I have been thinking," says Falcon. "It is best that we return, and I will go in the morning."

And they returned. And they arrived at the leader's house. And the people assembled. Now they will listen to the one who found her. And all the people assembled. And the leader questioned Bottlefly. "The two of us arrived there where she was stolen," he says. "We arrived there," he says. "And I couldn't find her east or north or west or south," he says. "Well! She went above," he says. "And there I arrived far up," he says. "There she was," he says, "that woman." And Coyote said, "I have known it for a long time," he says. And he named him. "That is his name," he says. "Condor," he says. "All of his body is stone, but his heart can be seen through his back," he says. And Eagle said to him, "Is he certain to fight us if he comes?" he says. And then he said, "Sparrow Hawk is Falcon's younger brother. Yayil is his name." And Falcon said, "In the morning I will get her," he says.

And in the morning Falcon went. He took his musical bow. And far off there he arrived. And there he placed it where his wife had been. And there he sat on his musical bow. And he went up. That musical bow of his took him up.

And far above he came out through a hole in the world. And after coming out he stood there. And there he saw the house. And there he went. And there he arrived at the door. And he said to her, "Come out." And she said to him, "Who are you?" And Falcon said to her, "It is I." "So it is you," she says to him. "Now I will come out," she says to him. And she came out with a string of human bones around her neck. And Falcon said to her, "Take off your necklace. Now we will go," he says to her. And from there they went to the place where he had come out. And they arrived there. And there he placed his musical bow. They sat in the middle of it. And from there they descended far below. And from there they went to their house where their leader was. There they arrived. At their arrival, the people are happy.

And then Condor, the fighter, arrived at his house. And there he saw their wife's necklace; she had thrown it on the door. And at that he immediately got ready to go. Now he is going to follow his wife. And he descended far below. And from there he went. Now he will go toward them. And far off there he arrived. And he asked them, "Where does Tsopnix live?" he says. And Falcon was told, "Condor is looking for you." "Has he come already?" he says. "Yes," says the speaker. And there went Falcon.

All the people are getting very frightened. "Hello," Tsopnix says to him. "It is really you." "Hello," says Condor. "So you took our wife," he says. "Therefore," Condor says to him,

● 539 "therefore, we will settle it between ourselves. If you kill me, then you will take our wife. But if I kill you, then I will take her," he says. "Which one will shoot first?" he says. "I will be first," says Falcon.

And they went far off to an open plain. "Ready?" Falcon says to him. And it seems that he conjured up a fog. And "Ready?" says his opponent. And many stones fell where Falcon was standing. And Condor asked him, "Where are you?" his opponent says to him. "I'll take my turn with you. Now I come," Falcon says to him. And he conjured up a fog again. Soon his younger brother will go in a circle around him. He has many wire-grass [cane] arrows now. He is shooting at the heart through Condor's back. There this heart of his could be seen. "Well, get ready now," Falcon says to him. "Now I will shoot at you. Three times I will shoot at you," he says to him. "Ready," he says to him. "Get ready now. Now I will shoot at you." And he shot at him. Many stones dropped from his body when he shot. And he shot at him again. And, as before, stones dropped there. And "Where are you?" Falcon says to him. "Here I am," he says.

"Now I will take my turn with you. I come next," Condor says to him. "Good," says Falcon. "Ready?" he says to him. "Ready," then says Falcon. His younger brother still keeps shooting at him through his back. And he conjured up a fog again. And many stones dropped where he was standing. And again he went far off to a different place. And he says to him, "Where are you?" "I am standing here," says Falcon.

"And now I will take my turn with you. I will come next again," Falcon says to him. Already Condor is losing strength. Now he is going to shoot at him again. And a lot of stones fell; they seemed to be very large ones. "Again," Falcon says to him. And he shot at him again. "There is one more," he says to him. "Now I'll shoot at you again," he says to him. But he [Condor] is already losing strength. And, "Again," he says to him. And finally he fell down. Yet he does not stop talking. And then they rested. Now he does not get up. Now he has fallen.

And "What are we going to do with him?" says Coyote. "We will burn him," say all these people. And all of the people gathered wood. They piled it there where he had fallen. And it was set on fire. And the fire died out. Nothing was burning. "Hello," says Falcon to him. "Hello," then says Condor. "So! You are still alive," Falcon says to him. "There is nothing you can kill me with," he says to him. And an-

539 other kind of wood was gathered. And, as before, it was again piled there where he is lying. And, as before, it was set on fire. It was not burning any longer. "Hello," Falcon says to him. "It is really you. Hello," he says to him. "I am well," he says. "So! You will not die," Falcon says to him.

And Coyote was asked, "What will we burn him with? He does not burn up," they say. And, "With grass," Coyote says. "With that he will burn," he says. And a lot of grass was brought. Now he will be burned with it. And it was set on fire. And all of his body was burning. But his head still talks. "We have probably killed him now. Leave him right there," he says.

And they stayed over night. And during the night the head, by itself, went away. His body was not there. And Falcon got the head and took it away. And the head got angry at being taken. Now the head will try many times to harm him. And again Falcon takes it in his hands. Now he is going to keep smashing it down on these stones. And again it kept trying to harm him.

And finally Falcon said, "We had better go to my father's sister." And Falcon and his wife went off. Now they are going to run away. And the two of them went. And now the head came again. It was trailing them now. And again it overtook them. Again it failed to do any harm to Falcon. And, as before, Falcon took it and kept smashing it down. He broke it in many pieces. And again the two of them went off. And again he overtook them as they were nearing his father's sister's house. And, as before, he again kept smashing it down. And with that the two of them went off again. And his father's sister shouted, "Run," she says to him. "You are coming close now," she says to him. They were getting very near. And now the head was approaching them again. And already it was overtaking them. Just as it approached, the rock closed shut. Just as it closed, the head arrived there. There the head broke. There it became Echo Rock.

And then Eagle was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says then. And Cougar also was asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here in the mountain I am going to roam," he says. "I'll kill many deer," he says. Falcon also says, "I too will walk here in the mountain," he says. And Coyote was also asked, "Where will you go?" he is asked. "Here I will walk on the plains. Maybe I will steal something there," he says. And Crow also was asked. "I'll walk west," he says. "Maybe something will die. And I will eat its eyes," says Crow. That is the end.

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face [302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal [533] white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a 574 mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment 534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear 765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the 541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become 535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du) [613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owıts [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, although J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell [293] discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so´nıl). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tuŭao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

W Y [789]

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

W Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
796 Il: ´pča. (Il: ´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'ič, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not
Y brought a winatum with him, the local chief
would assign one to assist him. After the
796 money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
541 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a
little fire at which the shaman manufactured
789 invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told
where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket
was laid out for money which would be paid the
756 shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced
about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who
fell over unconscious. His winatum carried
him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.--This dance (hə´ž:šnə´n:č)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year,
though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 756 541 574 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyne). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

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651 541 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance. 651 541

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section. 769 622 476

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony *contribute on the spot* produced the same result. 622 541 651

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsmumi, the other two at 622

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chisehas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
787 manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of
[548] difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

In connection with dreams J.A. stated that
[555] a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

The man who accepted dream help and wished
756 to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walat, the talis-
778 mans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walat always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with t'pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walat, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walat kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n:tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´twal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain:tc), the lake people the second part (walat).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, *"He'-am tan'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wiči lonu'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa'tsas hu'ṭoñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'ŏau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

KOYETI

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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756 Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´ć:n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551] Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christmas, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kum or do conventional dance steps.

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[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i [i.e. Frank Manuel. - Analyst]

T Y 796 276 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nak ma ana´telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´':t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɩn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɩn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɩts. She "thought about power [tɩpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče'ɩs, who was Wati'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɩn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about nose-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 103 a] Wukchumni

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The
[757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no'mčin, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po'noi nomčin, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not
[551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi'ti lonu'was) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

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[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[544]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[545] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[544] Merriam, The Ha´-tin´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [545] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawa´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 163 b] Kechayi

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) fuhctioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 167 b] Kechayi

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewᵢnu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wᵢša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

582 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime con-
[835] sideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wᵢt (husband), yi´wᵢn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawᵢ´nᵢš (to have intercourse), yewᵢnuša (marriage party or cere-
[551] mony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law,
607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true
[831] for the girl. The nature of these jokes was undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
852 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
783 held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food, baskets, and other treasures had been assembled
852 by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529
[P. 194 b] Chuckchansi

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] (both sexes?) clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separation. [55] N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether [861] they wanted to or not (by what means?). The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W Y 553 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a´ktač (S.O.); called we´čɨp if a boy, and wi´tɨp if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Wakasachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto (Ko'onikwe) was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho¹ unu´malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[178] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[178] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 237 b. Western Mono NS25

W Y 775 539 there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W Y 765 [765] Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe.". Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y [302 826] The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551 Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point E.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He
[481] put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

Renaming was in some instances done several times. An [553] Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

551 The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They 775 believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis*, care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina*, who died in Squaw Valley

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wuk-chumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

224 followed to the fence by the mother bear. He made his escape
551 with difficulty.

The second Tripne brother handed one of the cubs through the fence. Then he made a mistake. He should have waited until his teammate repeated his part of decoying Mrs. Bruin from the rock. But he thought there was enough time to return for the second cub, and, contrary to the coaching of the Indians forming the fence, rushed back to the cavern.

Mrs. Bear turned and saw Tripne starting toward the cave. Mustering all of the amazing speed with which a great, heavy bear can move, she charged him. The Indians were all speechless and helpless to interfere. It seemed impossible that Tripne could escape with his life.

Just as Tripne came opposite the opening of the cave, unaware of the charging bear, out of the hush of expectation which had fallen over the group, someone yelled at the top of his voice, "Ha-la-wan'-she!" (get out quick).

Tripne hesitated the fraction of a second in front of the cave. Without looking, he decided not to go in, and quickly leaped forward through the fence. Mother Bruin was within three feet of him and clawed his head as he passed through the
[165] pole fence, almost entirely removing his scalp. He later died from the effects of the wounds received.

With the relaxation which occurred immediately after the escape, all of the Indians fell to laughing and ever after called the two Indian families Halawanshe.

WUKCHUMNE PLACE AND ANIMAL NAMES

Those who have studied the Yokuts never cease to marvel
192 at the extent of their vocabulary. They had a name for every object about them. In abstract matters they were able to express themselves almost as fully as can people with a written language. Although Yokuts grammar was less complicated than that of English, the vocabulary of an intelligent Yokuts contains several thousand words. In this sketch are presented the names of the common animals of the valley, as well as various landmarks and other items of interest. The names were obtained from the *Wukchumne* tribe of Yokuts.

The Wukchumne dialect was almost identical with the
197 *Kaweah, Yokodo, Wa-chik'-it,* and *Yaud-dahn'-che.* As explained in the foregoing account, these dialects almost never involved the sound of "l". So, for the surrounding dialects,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[55] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[55] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Wakachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes [101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [768 in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible 551] that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word 193 denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however,
197 the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in
*197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree
193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead.
551 This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and
768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of
193 the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un-
192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t·i, varied occasionally to t·e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt·im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'äna or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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10| 12| San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 171 The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 551 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 171 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker. 171 60

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses. 616 171 [611]

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci. 171

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name. 171 616 171 551 616

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver. 171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 607 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific
769 coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the
551 custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of
184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally
769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River
551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the
[553] first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahasch, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 175 769 [102] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, [768] or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the
[823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face black, the other side white. Both men had [302] their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were al- 765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be [756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment 534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or 765 four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the 541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become 535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by
756 shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[302] down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an
616 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pit, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hip (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipit received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yil) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by Hečač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 199 b] Chukchansi

616 Although J.R. said moiety division was not
524 followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was
796 a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also
616 freely applied to persons with reference to
552 their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of
825 the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

W [P. 229 b] Western Mono NS25

Y

821 An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called
782 by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time
Y [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold
805 approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu,
221 summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November.. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W B.O. gave the following information in Wak-
Y sachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O.
805 for the Michahai.

821

192 Times, stars, nature:

tapewa´no: daytime

ha´nos: before sunrise

552 motve´sihop: sunrise

tukita´wena: noon

motara´tahikup: sunset

ure´´uñus: after sundown

totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night

tara´ue: sun

ta´ow": moon

nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"

tapu´ha: morning star

so´šso´š: Pleiades

te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"

na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse

tuo´pade: sky

to·´uare: clouds

u·´´uare: rain

paho´nop: hail

nu´babi: snow

pi·´b:p: earth, dirt

pasi´wap: sand

patigui´noba: mud

Y t:p: granite

W pahe´: soapstone

823 Directions:

pite´kimat: south

192 quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wiči lonu´'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´toñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat [553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was [853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the [314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro- [177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The
[757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no´mčɨn, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčɨn, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not
[551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´was) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 134b] Chukaimina

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teča´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´:č) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´l:č) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ła). The pieces used

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[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). A bear claw was soaked in water and [237] the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´'ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-
[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

Birth took place in the dwelling, not in
844 a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also
237 rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
842 longer, before a young couple had their first
163 baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119] The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʌʌʌ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120] Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about
553 the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
551 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
177 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
846 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
852 held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was
783 brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W ● Y ● 553 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a´ktač (S.O.); called we´čap if a boy, and wi´tap if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ba, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho' unu´malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

Renaming was in some instances done several times. An [553] Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They 551 believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death 775 to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis,* care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina,* who died in Squaw Valley

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 769 551 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of 184 769 551 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same [553] time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

342 houses there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
554 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground:
622 "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was us[illegible]hout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825 (čɛ´mčɛm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231 to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184 people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

821 Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety,

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen
622 years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiw(s), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
● [554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[775] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[61] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[61]Powers, 371.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...

At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself.
[765] It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[152] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

The Shamans' Contest was known to all the
756 plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heŝwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em'-tim'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedaws'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[in the Bear Dance. -Amb/st]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After
[551] him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 796 751 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were always that way [south]." But in spring everyone were an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 276 The ritual (tañi´ša) of drinking jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hol´yop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes of relatives living some distance away. They [292] all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ·pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'·č) was present: he [554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gam- 787 bling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige 622 based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

622
[115]

On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

[554]

In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

[43] Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*
[44] *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put [554] him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 171 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort. Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:[48]

> The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

[48] Informant, Sam Garfield.

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 756 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
787 manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of
[548] difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talis-
778 mans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with tʻpni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walaṭ of the Chunut is identical with the ai´nʻtc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ainʻtc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a
756 person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of
825 evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed
556 to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called
778 tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he'u´te'ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[85] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the <u>chok</u>; one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the <u>chok</u> was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the <u>hista</u>, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu´dipi
2. po´ñoi	7. no´mčan
3. so´pan	8. mo´ñus
4. ha´po´ñi	9. no´nap
5. yu´tsanuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205]A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431 [206]Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207]Handbook, 458.

[208]Ibid. 375.

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi-
622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment
624 of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's
622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not
556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers (doctors, singers, winatums) involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´n:č and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected as the recipient; but this tribe was not the 437 tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) fuhctioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating with the feasting. No payment was made by
[616] the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu´i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After
[551] him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pački). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
● 556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

756 the door and call[illegible] the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
422 to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
556 belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
776 these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
787 shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on. When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana´nıt a´mın časa´ěti (coming his helper; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mač (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ič was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

[364]

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipıt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipıt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
815 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[345] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[345] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order. Y W [574]

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´sip); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region. Y [322]

Warfare

W Y 726 B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure. W

W Y [177] Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927. W Y [556]

W returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated
Y again before sundown. During these days S.O.
and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. fre-
769 quently talking in consoling terms to B.O.,
telling him that this was the end of our
sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu'i, i.e., the
W reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe
Y for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni,
but none of these people came, though invited,
[578] owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and
Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi nak, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a
W basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O.
Y for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But
769 S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking,
783 telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased
from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

W
Y
[556] The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 622 [562] The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige 622 based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down,
[778] and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[28]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[155] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[28] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[26]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[27] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[26] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[27] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 756 541 574 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'itc's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'itc's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'itc received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'itc totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary 622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis 556 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more 574 likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 541 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[32]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

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[32] See anecdote, p. 394.

582 would be called hokoi´šan yiwi´nši (sister
582 marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
588 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was undoubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such a union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early, going for the morning bath and thence to his
591 parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the time the betrothal took place.

Y 769 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in 431 trading on this one- to three-months' loan and 437 to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of Y actual money, it was equated in commodities. Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get [224] deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were [558] laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the [756] Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was Y not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several [426] individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y

Reciprocity

769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe M in the entire function.

769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were 648 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of 767

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any 182
of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other 622
chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess.

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels 622
and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsi- [692]
bility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he [623]
did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy 622
did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance 627
to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking news- [203]
papers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect [558]
in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion.

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors 182
in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens 626
were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death.

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´nač). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´tit and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners [illegible] cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

● 561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´tep, wi´tipač: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witep: baby boy
mo´kis witep: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witep mu´kis: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

561 hiam pahata muk:s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years

hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years

goi'yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years

wit:p mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years

hiam pahata mitač muk:s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years

pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)

moho'do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over

modo''o mu'k:s: old woman, past child-bearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

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[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

175 769 161 [361] [342]

I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the rancheria I counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the rancheria were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

[561] [252]

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 769 574 525

The visitors brought with them their own mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 177 [532]

Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 156 a] Dumna

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]
821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeče´yeš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lel (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lak (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nan homoti
823 (to go south); to´xal (west; toward the plains): toxal tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxal pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tal (directly down, also downhill); tanan atal (to go down); atal tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pan (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipan wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mat (to run); witi´nat (to fall down); haswa´nat (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
● 561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lat (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswa´nat (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Dunnell, 122.

W
Y

The Transvestite

838 [767] The male transvestite (tono ˇčɪm, Michahai; tai ´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

W
Y

[787] 767] The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočɪm figures in a myth told by S.O. [773] In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W
Y

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture. [767]

W
Y

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

● 561 192

na´na hua ˇčiči: newborn boy
hu´pi hua ˇčiči: newborn girl
na´nači: boy about two years old
si'i´sači: girl about two years old
hua´wuha na´nači (or si'isači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na´nop na´nači: boy five to ten years old
hu'u´pi mo´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa´bi na´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

W Y 561 192

moa ˈbi hu'u ˈpi na ˈnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ˈbi ti ˈkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu'u ˈpi tu ˈamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ˈbi na ˈnany:p: man forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi nana ˈpi'ep: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi moa ˈbh·l:p: old man
moa ˈbi hube ˈči'ep: old woman

Death

W Y 763

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ˈkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ˈči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

W Y 764

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ˈlšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ˈlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao'i ˈči (person dead); pučo ˈñ tao'i ˈči (man dead); muṭi ˈhoi tao'i ˈči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ˈnoluč (tawa ˈtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

513 states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were 562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was 515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

343 A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be 515 built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; [622] then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke there." [574] But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the framework, the woman after the thatch. [48] Men tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. [562] There was a sense of joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling. [586]

Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; 386 if it did not, any arrangement was permissible. 622 Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

[252] [851] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a [823] fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The [562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

622 [562]

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the 515
water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and [578]
vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak′-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared 262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco 224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tēss*). Ke′-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd′-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
● 567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had no special mark or manner of dress. But when
[293] traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he
202 went directly to the chief's house. A mat was set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[437] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called guštá´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ned), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´´it) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate''ič or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 238 a] Western Mono NS 25

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"Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´´i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

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When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

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When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nič) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

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During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yandanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yandanchi (Y), another Yandanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Tcinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Tcinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Tcinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death. [195] [624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials 756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been 572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyuc) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[48] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[49]

[48] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[49] See anecdote, p. 391.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

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[60] Sam Garfield.

[61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[63] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo:

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1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyĕtsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch?). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matuk tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moisty. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[63] See anecdote, p. 396.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
● 574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wi[illegible] Xenilal asked when the feast would be hel[illegible] was told that it would probably take pla[illegible]ven days. The final greetings were exchan[illegible]bsa repeated his hope that they fight no[illegible]ut live in peace, and the two leaders [illegible]ted for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liína') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down
574 strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwas). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[353]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, however, domestic fires were most frequently 342 built outside under the ramada. The floor was 352 covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

Mats were rarely used on a conical frame 342 as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[353] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
202 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[431] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ñed), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´´it) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´seš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face [302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, ●574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. [237] said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the ranchería I
counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
[361] makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
● 574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 143 C] Choinimni

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western
Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore
Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves su-
186 perior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the
[197] valley, the upland Monachi were found to be
treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield fami-
ly. However, with characteristic fairness,
Mayfield said that this might be due to his
family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that,
had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the
Monachi, these Indians probably would have been
the friends and the Yokuts would have proved
equally inimical.[3]

What is clear throughout is this: that
619 utmost friendliness prevailed among all the
423 Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along
these waterways, particularly with regard to
fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt
the north bank of Kings River to be theirs,
between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toi-
hicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to
occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D)
during the spring salmon run. These neighbors
remained there while the fish dried, which they
then took home to store. Similarly there were
the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and
acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the
eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there
was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable
foods; probably for that very reason, nothing
[574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal
visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni,
Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined
on such occasions.

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual
574 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they
484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An ex-
[501] cursion to the lake on tule balsas is described
by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them
supplies and equipment for camping. The large
574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills,
502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the
484 river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3]Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli´u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli´u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni
361 and Wobonuch sites.
103

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ´ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo´a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

131 The type of country in which the Northern
175 Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chow-chillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

131 This belt of country [Sandhill Crane
136 Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no
175 Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has
137 plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other
175 supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

343 Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the
[574] chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

342 The houses (sa´mɛs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (pa´san)
222 were obtained on trips up to the mountains or
262 were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (a´pču) was made of the
252 ripe berries which were mashed and freed of
272 their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (či´tɛl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called ča´pi. A thickening material called ča´nɛt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɛt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (miko´n) was
411 made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (piki´l). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyo´s.

412 A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mike´) was made of
227 "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?].
[262] Small fish eaten were: polhu´i, (sucker), wɛsča´ (lamprey eel), and lu´pɛč (brook trout).

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[37] Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38] "Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi·). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´´osn·l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men [562] tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row 386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 Old people made a practice of eating to-
887 bacco and lime frequently. They would gather
[594] at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations
[171] (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

Y W [574]

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´s:p); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Y [322]

Warfare

W Y 726

B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

W Y [177]

Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

W Y [556]

[P. 216 9] ~~Western Mono~~ NS 25

W Y 342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was W Y [574] thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y [36] There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left W Y at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. [352] Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, [237] though these often had to be obtained by trade [439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or [512] head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head 513] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokut NS29
[P. 216 b] [redacted] Mono NS 25

W Y 342 port with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

W Y 343 Shades (ci´nu'ǻš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. W Y [594] All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain. They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

W Y 343 Storehouses.---The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

251 Storage bins.---Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ǻts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa·dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b·: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b·p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't·p: slippery elm
napa·'ap·: alder
soho'p·: cottonwood
tanapo'nip·: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s"hu'b·: small willow
se·'nowiyap: elderberry bush

W
Y
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Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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[415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

W Y 264 from house to house. "He went the rounds and
574 never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not
followed with persons whose intimate connec-
tions in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or
otherwise drew attention to himself. To ap-
proach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 During the evening, between supper and
517 complete darkness, or after dark in the winter,
people sat around conversing. Some would be
engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or pre-
paring tobacco for the pre-retiring drink.
They talked about their plans for ceremonies,
hunting, or other occupations; particularly
important were discussions of the seasonal
moves to other localities for fish, acorns,
seeds, etc. Older people told stories, ex-
plained the nature of the world, and prescribed
conduct for youngsters. This was the only
means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would
shell acorns while some old person told stories
or adventures. Stories were told only at
night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as es-
pecially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening enter-
tainment as it could only be played at night,
whereas the women's dice game could be played
only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming
would foregather at a house to drink of to-
bacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 According to D. the basketry of the Micha-
hai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their
Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we
[177] know this to be true, yet it should be pointed
out that a mutual exchange has brought this
about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and
fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts,
while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray
has been taken over by the Mono in preference
to their own twined triangular sifting tray.
Several shapes and their uses were dis-
tinguished by D. and may be taken as typical
for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and
Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They
are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be W Y "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon." [587]

W Y 584 At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they Y didn't like to have their children go way off W to marry."

W 585 When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, 431 acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y W 606 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon 591 removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home W frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds Y [574] from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[373]

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[373] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 250 a] Western Mono NS 25

W Y 769 The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the W Y coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as [767 783] visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that 574 Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W 769 574 The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524 No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao´šiko).

W Y 769 184 Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.252 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 253-4] Western Mono N525
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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.
131

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was
576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used
● 574 and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made 438 up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chis*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-
824 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was
591 their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many
● 574 miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Upon learning that the basket maker was gone, the caller decided to return to his car, but being quite thirsty, asked for a drink of water. This immediately created for the host a real problem. There was no water in the house. It was approximately one-fourth mile to the spring. He could not very well leave his guest there while he went to bring water. Neither did he consider it hospitable to tell his guest to go after it. The elderly lady was his mother-in-law. She could not understand the English conversation, and he could not talk to her at all in any language.

606
574

After studying for a moment, he walked out of the house. Standing quite close to the wall near where the mother-in-law sat, he placed his hands to his mouth, and in a very moderate tone, called in the Indian language to his wife, who was from two to three miles up the canyon, "Mary, come and bring the white man a drink of water." Then he immediately came back in the house, sat down and began to entertain his guest.

The mother-in-law immediately arose, picked up a bucket and, as her son-in-law had intended that she should, brought water from the spring.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni'ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō'o ka'maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kiteeyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

361 184 In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at [574] ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wki hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakaschi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[23]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[23] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured
756 his magical "air-shot" (toiyue). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when
541 he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his
574 money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'itc's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'itc's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'itc received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'itc totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary
622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often
556 made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis
574 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or
541 Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end *of your feeling bad.*' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Jocie Alenzo.
[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
431] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west *is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above* say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [164] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

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ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge. 114 797

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested. 114

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated. [574] [648]

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

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797 648 [361 162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 263 [497] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

648 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, be of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to
[162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this
[361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756
[342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented
[162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon
[252] the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the
797 objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jossps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jossps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Jonsps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Jonsps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Jonsps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Jonsps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

[p.10-A]

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (taw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
● [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[863] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[28] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[29]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
anchi sent a man, who said that they would
202 fight in a certain number of days. The
539 [Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wukchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?]

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (t'so·'ihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wukchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

[576]

[28] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[29] Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Manuel, Bankalachi.

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tūtic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
su ˈhup:	hawk
lːmːk:	prairie falcon
o ˈčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˈhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokte ˈklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot ˈwat:	frog (small)
oːo ˈyːts:	frog (large)
ma ˈčwːs:	elk
yːtsa ˈhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ˈyu:	coyote
weṭi ˈṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ˈlu:	"hoot" owl
tekla ˈli:	"screech" owl
poho ˈːot [sic]:	weasel
poho ˈːot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ˈnul:	wildcat
a ˈdza:	fox

[773]

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first docter, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

> The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu´dipi
2. po´noi	7. no´mčɨn
3. so´pɨn	8. mo´nus
4. ha´po´ni	9. no´nɨp
5. yu´tsɨnuk	10. ṭi´´uv

[172] [205]A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206]Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207]Handbook, 498.

[208]P. 375.

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi-
622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment
624 of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's
622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not
556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers (doctors, singers, winatums) involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 572 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
604 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[139] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the 622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was 361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was 576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used 574 and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 N529 Yokuts N529

159
The people who wanted to trade carried their things in 439
baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), [482]
chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took [576]
hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah [539]
(sung five times) [533]
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got 159
their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the 312
lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once 159
it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My 133
people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wiki hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Waksachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Jesie Alonzo; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[24] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. [623] An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627

[24] See anecdote, p. 394. [25] Informant George Dick.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspa had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [481] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco* [147] *Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭew xɔ'xɔ'hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' ̀co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[883] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü´u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must rempower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W Y [606] 153 [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
181 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
[756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
622 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
756 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
[577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
182 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
622 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[25] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp
609 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
436 the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[26] near the ocean, and far west and

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[25] Handbook, 474-486.

[26] A Salinan site on Chalone Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nel was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
574 visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyɛt
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
101 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
131 frequently walked over to the ocean across the mountains to the west, provided relations were

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [20] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archaeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple
584 to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the instigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em'-tim'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Mobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
624 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate''ač or "dance managers." Not all in-
571 formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
[417] assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

482 [854] Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and Le´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living now who can play well.[12] [237] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[302] [198] A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kač; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 386 [439] Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wen) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called se´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´k:l (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them
648 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
252 surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very early to knock down more acorns. They found a
648 series of stakes, with feather bunches (so´n:l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

She did not know whether white people
787 dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way (of animals ?) when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
278 ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now (method ?). If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die (at the poisoner's hands ?).
Even today these people (poisoners) are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Sokst at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

W returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated
Y again before sundown. During these days S.O.
769 and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was the end of our sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu''i, i.e., the
W reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe
● Y for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited,
● [578] owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi'nik, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

W Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a
Y basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O.
769 for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But
783 S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking, telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

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[556] The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi. Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniiu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

[103] Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the Tolhicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aitlcha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-homel-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim*, the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu*, the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees*, myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about 361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'- 166 wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first 159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to 648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six 166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none [147] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[34] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [623]

[34] See anecdote, p. 394. [35] Informant George Dick.

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among ● [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence
731 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . encontrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi-
*161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em-
164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the
73 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

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NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom 115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts 789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier. 796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who 789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him 578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans 791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of 789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was sold that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Ên'-tim'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Mobenuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not
586 essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within
837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse [579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As [181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and
[767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winetum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the
482 stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?]. At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo¹šin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

579 674 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses [262 492] to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't kill them or anything." [152] Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality. [262] Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost [484] traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There
492 they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organ'-ation."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

I: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529 ,
[P. 989] Wukchumni

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the terms tokəlyuwəč and nutuwəč were known to both
619 M.L. and J.B. and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokəlyu´wəč. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dəkao and da´tu idəkao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
582 mony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
616 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning
619 ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily between families having the same totemic animal
769 (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only
619 at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

● 582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

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[164] [243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

582 would be called hokoi ´šan yiwe ´nši (sister
marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
582 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two
588 recently married young Waksachi who are second
cousins. He added that he thought "people to
the north" married their cousins. No special
punishment was attempted in the old days when
such a marriage occurred. The parents of both
participants, having done their best to prevent
it by verbal argument, would not, and apparent-
[558] ly could not, do anything more. There was un-
doubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how
far this affected the offspring of such a union
cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages
is in itself an indication that commonsense
entered, according to the particular circum-
stances. J.B. said that such marriages "never
occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there
is no genealogical evidence to prove the con-
trary, we can scarcely accept a complete nega-
tive. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

A man could marry where he wished, within
582 the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself,
provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If
he had been betrothed to a girl at her first
menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek
her bed at night. But in doing so he committed
himself to a serious union with the girl and to
obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
591 going for the morning bath and thence to his
parents' home for breakfast. During the day he
would fish or hunt, taking the game to his
wife's home and remaining there for the evening
meal. If he did not go there he hung about the
sweat house and slept there at night; this was
especially true if the girl's home was already
crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked
upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely
lasted out a year. If the girl became preg-
nant at once, she usually wanted to stay with
her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the
husband's home or to a house of their own.
When gathering seeds, or on any other food-
collecting expedition, the young wife joined
her mother if it were physically possible. If
she did not accompany her mother, then she did
not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but
attended to household tasks and helped in the
preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman
were wholly independent in their choice of a
mate, and especially so in their married life.
But the parents of both participants exerted
strong personal influence. They frequently ar-
ranged betrothals at puberty and made every
effort to see that the marriage not only took
place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each
other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the
time the betrothal took place.

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wičɛ´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, 825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´hɛl: eagle
ŏ´lŏ´l: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukobɛč, Western Mono)
ṭuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wihɛ´šɛt: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

lɛmɛk: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [aic], Western Mono)
nahō´'ō: bear (bi´owɛši [aic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother, 625 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewınu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wıša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

● 589 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had [835] intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wıt (husband), yi´wın (wife or any woman one slept with), yawe´nıš (to have intercourse), yewınuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his [551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma´ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, 607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was [831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have
584 been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl get[illegible]ed "by herself" without the consent of [illegible]y.

582 Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated
[616] marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not
[587] practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nıč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y 613 619 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon." W Y [587]

At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry." W 584 Y W

When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts. 585 431

The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173] Y W 606 591 W Y [574]

[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y W 601 The husband was termed lotɔ´pnɛm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɛn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɛkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186]

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

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101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau,
103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River
was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek
131 they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kutaniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tiniiu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tiniinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Wollo ("planting place," "sowing
[177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there
● [582] are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'iuta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

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616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nuturwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the 796 Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, [171] of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok 582 this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such 611 children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the 556 rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to 622 the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to 773 bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to 622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The [562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. 622 There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Wakachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

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marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
582 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two
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the north" married their cousins. No special
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participants, having done their best to prevent
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cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
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is in itself an indication that commonsense
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tive. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

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the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself,
provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If
he had been betrothed to a girl at her first
menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek
her bed at night. But in doing so he committed
himself to a serious union with the girl and to
obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
591 going for the morning bath and thence to his
parents' home for breakfast. During the day he
would fish or hunt, taking the game to his
wife's home and remaining there for the evening
meal. If he did not go there he hung about the
sweat house and slept there at night; this was
especially true if the girl's home was already
crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked
upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely
lasted out a year. If the girl became preg-
nant at once, she usually wanted to stay with
her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the
husband's home or to a house of their own.
When gathering seeds, or on any other food-
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her mother if it were physically possible. If
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584 It may appear that a young man and woman
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strong personal influence. They frequently ar-
ranged betrothals at puberty and made every
effort to see that the marriage not only took
place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each
other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the
time the betrothal took place.

882 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

"The mother would tell the girl about
864 having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) Money and other
583 gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that [194] it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

[P. 235b] Western Mono NS25

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnɨm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɨn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɨkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791 chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796 arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302] either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177] Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535 inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177] from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181 a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648 take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177 of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302] appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

583

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585 virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435 anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate- 834

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home, where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

321 Deer bone awls (poa´´uk, M.L.; ap´´up, M.P.)
412 were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were marked, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 An assortment of obsidian blades, also
412 made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 Women came by these possessions in a var-
[584] iety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a
285 burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young
431 girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.
428 Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these"
[764] (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or in-
[437] herited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 The two plants used for poisoning fish
278 (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka´di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni´'udi (another) was added; thus, ni´'udi komo´d:s (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´h:t (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with 431 them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

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time the betrothal took place.

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple
584 to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the instigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all informants agree that it was only a chief, shaman,
[554] or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em´-tim´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

796
276 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
787 covery through this means would try to render
754 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
● 584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were t:pni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declara-
584 tion of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ič) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

584 (ma´kši) and the [illegible] parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewınu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wıša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

586 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime con-
[835] sideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wıt (husband), yi´wın (wife or any woman one slept with), yawe´nıš (to have intercourse), yewınuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his
[551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, with the sexes reversed, of course. A man
607 "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was
[831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 60] plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

882 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

864 "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) Money and other
583 gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

59 Concerning residence after marriage, there [184] was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

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591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon." W Y [587]

At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry." W Y 584

When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts. W Y 585 431

The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173] Y W 606 591 W Y [574]

[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
N S29 Yokuts NS29

Chapter 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 493; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

101 The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being
131 included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

● 584 Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. [184] For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not
586 essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within
837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse
[59A] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As
[181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and
[767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

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591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they (which family, both ?) gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

Some people married within the tribe, some
582 outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 Today the young people have marriage con-
582 nections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past (first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.), and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated
[616] marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not
[587] practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be W Y "all right to marry." Both the levirate and [587] sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W Y 584 At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." Y W They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

585 431 When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y W 606 591 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. W Y [574] The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173]

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[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary . 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭí·pni) that forced success. 825 [778 776]

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791
chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796
arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302]
either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177]
Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535
inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177]
from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181
a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648
take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177
of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302]
appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

583
Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585
virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435
anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the 834
arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by 578 conversation or argument with the young couple 584 to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the instigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all informants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, [554] or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un- [579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em´-tim´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Mobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected 586 from a wife. The husband was entirely within 837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse [579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As [181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

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Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and [767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osn:l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [48] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men [562] tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row 386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any ar- 622 rangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

●586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ič). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponik. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lit, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 <u>An unusual burial</u>.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

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Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnɛm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɛn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɛkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ṭa'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dis (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hit (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no'či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamak were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with 431 them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

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765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´nıč). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´tıt and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´tep, wi´tipeč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witep: baby boy
mo´kıs witep: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witep gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witep mu´kıs: little femmie, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have
582 been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated
[616] marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not
● [587] practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 197 a] Chuckchansi

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 769 especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they 775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its short- 302 ness indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be W Y "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually [587] a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W Y 584 At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they Y W didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

585 431 When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

Y W 606 591 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home W Y frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds [574] from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173]

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[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

[P. 235b] ~~Western~~ Mono NS25

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnɨm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɨn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɨkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY

YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

[103]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry 587 within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [177] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

582 would be called hokoi´šan yiwɩ´nši (sister
582 marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
588 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two recently married young Waksachi who are second cousins. He added that he thought "people to the north" married their cousins. No special punishment was attempted in the old days when such a marriage occurred. The parents of both participants, having done their best to prevent it by verbal argument, would not, and apparently could not, do anything more. There was un-
[558] doubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how far this affected the offspring of such union cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages is in itself an indication that commonsense entered, according to the particular circumstances. J.B. said that such marriages "never occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there is no genealogical evidence to prove the contrary, we can scarcely accept a complete negative. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

582 A man could marry where he wished, within the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself, provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If he had been betrothed to a girl at her first menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek her bed at night. But in doing so he committed himself to a serious union with the girl and to obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early, going for the morning bath and thence to his
591 parents' home for breakfast. During the day he would fish or hunt, taking the game to his wife's home and remaining there for the evening meal. If he did not go there he hung about the sweat house and slept there at night; this was especially true if the girl's home was already crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely lasted out a year. If the girl became pregnant at once, she usually wanted to stay with her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the husband's home or to a house of their own. When gathering seeds, or on any other food-collecting expedition, the young wife joined her mother if it were physically possible. If she did not accompany her mother, then she did not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but attended to household tasks and helped in the preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman were wholly independent in their choice of a mate, and especially so in their married life. But the parents of both participants exerted strong personal influence. They frequently arranged betrothals at puberty and made every effort to see that the marriage not only took place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the time the betrothal took place.

Property

421 Although there were no defined tribal
423 boundaries, customary usage gave people the feeling of ownership of certain land. It was not the land but the produce and game available on it which was the matter for concern. In this way there was a sense of tribal property or "home land." As individuals, women rather than men felt ownership of those places where they and their mothers had gathered seeds. Families did not own land, nor did the captains. According to the Tachi informant (M.G.) a woman went to one place to gather seeds and her daughters went to the same place. Another woman would not come there without invitation, but went to her own patch. If she trespassed, a quarrel ensued. A stake (šo´nɑl) marked the end of a woman's claim; a series of these several feet apart might be set up to include an area about forty feet square. Such plots had no special name.[30] A woman had such a special place for each type of seed. Her daughters continued to use the plot after her death; a sister might claim it if there were no daughters. If there were no close female relatives, M.G. thought it would be used by some woman friend who belonged to the same moiety.

A young married woman returned to her mother's plot to gather seeds. If it was too far away, she remained at home to do the cooking instead of going with her mother-in-law. Her own mother would send or bring her foodstuffs from time to time, but the mother-in-law gave her nothing. The young woman cooked for the entire family while her sisters-in-law went
[591] with their mother to do the gathering. This, of course, was during patrilocal residence, which was the customary home of newlyweds in the lake area.

According to M.G., men did not own fishing or hunting places even in the above sense (but on this point a male informant's opinion is needed). They went anywhere within tribal
[224] territory for game. Game was never sold, but was often given to friends. Men gathered tule roots more often than women, but whether the men, like the women, had individual claims on gathering places M.G. does not know.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, UTENSILS, AND CRAFTS

Houses

342 No adequate description of houses was obtained for the lake region. Two types are well known, the long communal house and oval individual house; but the gabled house pictured by

[30] The informant insisted that this property marking was a very old custom. The interpreter had never heard the word for the marking stake until the older women explained it to her, she claimed.

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184] patrilocal residence customary with the lake
[591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and
262 tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (ŏe´mŏem) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya´h:n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

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other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the
time the betrothal took place.

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 [591] When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 [184] Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 Today the young people have marriage con-
582 nections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated
[616] marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not
[587] practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 2359] Western Mono NS25

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be W Y "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they [587] married too soon."

W Y 584 At Tuŝao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makŝi (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they Y W didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

585 431 When all was settled, the makŝi exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

● Y W 606 ●591 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home W Y frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds [574] from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173]

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[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y [P. 235b] Western Mono NS25
W
601 The husband was termed loto´pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wan. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y While chiefs often had two wives simul-
W taneously in the same home, most men did not.
595 Sterility was the most usual reason for taking
842 a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife
837 "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W When quarrels arose, the makši acted as
Y peacemakers but, if they failed in their at-
602 tempts to make a reconciliation, they remained
586 on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ikšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law
Y tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the
606 idea, but his statement is not compatible with
583 opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to
586 those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was
591 seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W The Waksachi married among neighboring
Y people to the north, south, and west. But they
582 never married with Eastern Mono, even when a
[648] family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they
W didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to
Y stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O.
[186] knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives.
Y There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two
W wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the
[587] Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neigh- [184]
bors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-
824 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-
591 law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many
574 miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
484

342 Powers, described by Kroeber, and presumably the one meant by Estudillo with his phrase "dobladas sus puntas" was declared unfamiliar by both informants.[31] The conical house was not used here.

The house with oval floor plan and with walls arched into a rounded top was the most common type of dwelling in the valley area generally, according to J.A. and M.G. (fig. 1,a). Two forked posts linked by a tie-beam formed the basis of this structure. Upright poles of willow were set into the ground in an oval line around the center posts and the tips pulled inward and downward and tied to the center beam. Strengthening horizontal withes were tied around this framework. Large mats of tule were hung on the frame and pegged down to the ground. A slot was left along the center beam for the smoke to escape.

The tule mats which covered the frame were about 8 feet high and 10 to 12 feet long; their height roughly equaled the distance from the ground to the center beam. Truly rectangular mats were made by laying the tules alternately tip by butt to equalize the differences in their tip and butt diameters; such mats were used on side walls. For the rounded ends of
342 the house somewhat fan-shaped mats were made by
285 placing the tules butt by butt, thus giving a greater width at the base of the mat than at the top. Men gathered the tules, whereas women made the mats. The reeds, already sorted by size and length, were laid out on the ground. The individual stalks were held together by rows of
[284] single cords of milkweed twine looped once around each stem (a half-hitch may have been meant). The rows of binding cord were a handspan (about 9 in.) apart. All the rows were worked forward at once rather than completed one at a time.

342 Technically, the long house was really an extension of the oval frame. There was a series of forked center posts supporting a continuous ridgepole formed by overlapping and lashing its units. The overlap did not have to coincide with an upright. Willow withes held the side poles, which were bent toward the center at their tips and were matched by a parallel withe on the exterior which held the tule mat covering in place; both withes were called tumlu''us. Smoke escaped through a long slot left at the ridgepole. The long communal house was partitioned by means of mats.
[592] Sections of the house were apportioned to sons'
[354] families, each family having its own fireplace, and, if the house were large, its own door. Such a house was "just like a street, you could look right down the middle and see everybody's fire and what they were doing" (J.A.). The long house was covered with tule mats (woi´yohono; tule-covered house: woi´yohon ṭi).

[31] Powers, 370; Kroeber, Handbook, 521; Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

221
166 the families in Diapnuša would move within
621 about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did
[888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other
[131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod
[312] territory. The original source of the water there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own
[342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and
[412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of
342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con-
592 struction so that they were merely repaired
621 from year to year. [illegible] them later were permanently occupied [illegible] men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Harrington's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet´(Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pːno (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itːmwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'iːn[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
512 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would
stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went
with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

342 meantime the cover, whether thatch or mat, was prepared by the wife and other female relatives who had a personal interest in the dwelling. The lower layers of covering were tied on by women, but the upper layers, which could be reached only by climbing on the frame, were fastened by the man.

The size of the house depended upon the 342 needs of the family, that is, the number of 592 persons in the household and the amount of entertaining to be done. A chief, though perhaps having a small family, would always have a large dwelling because he was frequently visited. If decrepit relatives crowded a home, a small house, which was often little more than a hovel, would be built for them near by. (The ancient mother-in-law of one informant was living in such circumstances.)

342 In the Central Foothill section houses with a conical framework predominated. A house of any type was called ṭi', those covered with brush, ṭi´yao´w:l (yao´w:l, brush or tall grass), those covered with tule, pu´muk (round tule). The name of the bark house was not obtained: Kroeber gives it as samish.[151] Among the Gawia and Yokod the tule-covered house predominated. The Wukchumni house was commonly brush- and grass-thatched, though tule was preferred when obtainable, as at Gutsnumi. For them, the bark house was rare, whereas the tule house was rare for the Patwisha, who used brush and bark coverings about equally. Kroeber states that the common Yaudanchi house, called te, had a conical framework and sewed tule mat covering, although the ridged house, with a fireplace and door at either end, was also known to them. They made use of a special species of tule called shuyo growing in the vicinity.[152]

The first step in building a house was outlining its circular area on the site selected. There is a difference of opinion among informants as to the hollowing of the floor: perhaps this feature varied with each builder's preference. Certainly the floor was never lowered more than a foot, but at least a slight cavity was made to brace the frame poles. For the conical house three oak poles were tied together near their tips and set up as a tripod. Two poles were closer to each other than to the third; these became the door frame, while the third was opposite, at the back of the house. Other poles were then leaned into the crotch at the apex; they were spaced 18 inches to 2 feet apart. The length of the poles depended upon the diameter of the house, which in the conical form was some 6 to 9 feet. The butts of [283] all poles were embedded in the ground at the edges of the floor cavity. They were held in place by horizontal bands of pliable willow bound on with ho'. The first was about a foot above the ground, others, of which there might

[151] Ibid., 522.

[152] Ibid.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no.9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´´o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

● 592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´´ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second
[789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] 727 J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[82]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

[82] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

583 to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't-go."[123]

585 Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the [591] girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

592 When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came [591] after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

591 Concerning residence after marriage, there [184] was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

583 A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group.
584 She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

591 The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

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[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

HOUSES.

342

The Yokuts built at least five kinds of dwellings.

1. Most distinctive was the mat-covered, gabled, communal *kawi* of the Tulamni, Hometwoli, Wowol, Chunut, and perhaps Tachi. The roof pitch was steep. Probably each family constructed its own portion, with door to front and back, closed at night with tule mats. Each household had its own space and fireplace, but there were no partitions, and one could look through from end to end. [362] [592]

[304 531]

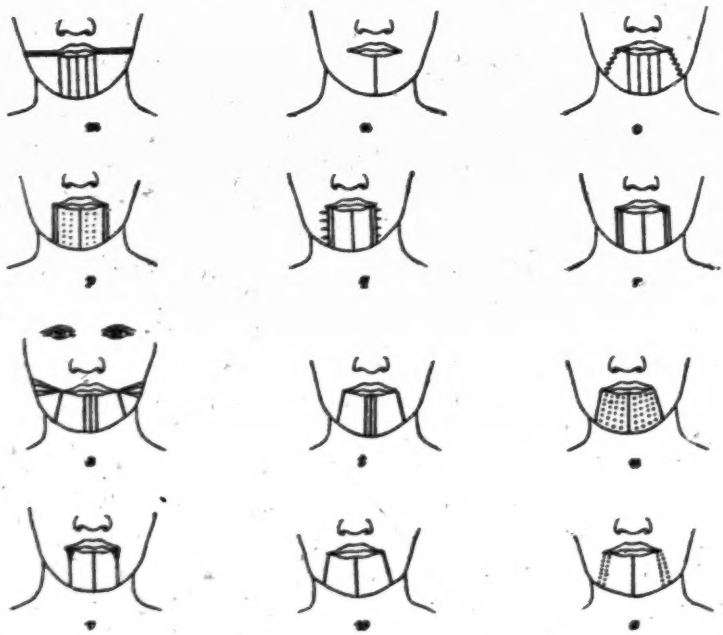

FIG. 46.—Women's and men's tattoo. Women: m–o, Chukchansi Yokuts; p–s, Mohave. Men: t–z, Mohave.

These houses sometimes ran to a size where they accommodated a little more than 10 families. A shade porch extended along the front. The tule stalks were sewn together with an eyed bone needle and string of tule fiber. [412]

2. The Yauelmani and their neighbors of the southern plains off the lake approached this long structure in aligning their wedge-shaped tule houses or *dumlus*, but kept each contiguous family domicile separate.

3. The middle plains tribes, such as the Wechihit and Tachi, to-day build small tule houses of another type, elliptical or oblong

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

342 for probably ten or fifteen years before it had to be rebuilt. The rest of the houses were of a more temporary nature.

Surely the most striking of all Yokuts houses was the long, mat-covered, communal house called *Kawi*. This house was used by *Wowol, Chunut* and *Tachi* and probably by the *Tulamni, Tuhohi,* and *Hometwoli*. It sometimes reached a length of three hundred feet and looked from the exterior like a long, wedge-shaped tent.

In the communal house lived many families. We are told 342 that in some instances the people of an entire village occupied ● 592 one house. The house was built with a long ridge-pole supported by crotched posts and with a steep-pitched roof. On the sloping side poles, were left stubs of some of the small limbs. [352] These served as hooks to support horizontal poles over which were thrown the tule mats. Such stubs were also left on the underside of the sloping poles, or rafters, and also on the center posts. Strings of dried acorns and of fish and meat and all manner of camp equipment were hung from these Indian clothes hangers. It is thought that each family constructed its own part of this house, with doors at both ends as well as along the sides. These doors could be closed at night with tule mats. Although there were no partitions in the house and one could look through from one end to the other, each family had its own space, its own door and its own fire place, and it was considered a breach of etiquette to walk lengthwise of the house through the portion occupied by another family.

Along the front of the house a shade was constructed. This 342 shade is still used by many of the Yokuts Indians and is called *Ch'-iniu*. On the treeless plains and shores of Tulare Lake it was indispensable. Crotched poles were set in the ground at regular intervals. Other poles were laid across them and tule mats were unrolled on top of the cross poles. Near streams a covering of willow brush was used, instead of tule mats. It was this tule mat and light framework house that the *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wowol,* and *Chunut* dismantled, rolled up quickly and placed on their large tule rafts when river-swollen, or wind-swept Tulare Lake flooded their camp sites.

It is unfortunate that more details have not been preserved concerning the long, wedge-shaped house. Life under conditions which existed in such a dwelling must have been complicated, to say the least. Each family was in close contact with [362] the neighboring families and there was practically no privacy for anyone in the tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.
342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake. They always were close to the water and the ground was wet. [361] When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win,* on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was [361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few [361] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They thought they could stay there. But the white people already had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol) had was called *Che.* It was a long tule house. It was made so
342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule
592 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch. They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the house. You generally lived by your grandmother or by your good friends. 159 342

The tule house had a row of posts down the middle. They had forks at the tops. On top of the posts we put long poles. Then we leaned poles against the long poles at the sides. On top we put long tule mats. We made the mats nice and smooth. The tules ran up and down. We tied them together with tules. We could roll them up like a rug. They kept the water out good. 592

Inside the Che we kept everything—acorns, dried *sah'-pahl* (jack rabbit) and *i-ke' em* (elk) and *suey'-yohl* (antelope) and *lo-pits* (fish). We hung all of these on the poles. 159 251 262

We dried lots of *mah-mil* (blackberries) and *saw-ha'-mik* (mushrooms) too, and put them in baskets. We had lots of seeds in baskets. The house was full of things to eat. We always had plenty.

The Chunut and Wowol cooked the white-shelled lake clams in large bunches like you call a clam-bake. They called the clam *trah'-sheep* and the clam-bake *hah-pots'-ahk*. First they put on the ground a layer of tules four or five inches thick. Then they put the clams on top, with the open edges down as thick as they could, so they would not roll over. They piled tules on top of the clams. Then they set fire to them. When the tules burned, the water ran out of the clams and steamed them so they cooked nice. My people ate lots of them that way. They were good with salt from salt grass. Sometimes they baked lots of fires of them. 159 252 262

We gathered lots of salt from salt grass. Lots of Indians used to get their salt at a place about three miles north of Guernsey. I have gathered salt there lots of times. The salt comes on the leaves of the grass in little round pieces. We gathered the grass in the afternoon when it was damp and stacked it in big piles. After dinner we put the grass on an elk skin and hit it with sticks. The dry salt fell off and we threw the grass away. It made a good salt. We called it *ahlet* (ah'-leet). 159 222 263

We made another salt by burning a different salt weed. We called it *tiit* (tih'-it). It was not as good as ahlet.

The old-time Chunut Indians did not use much acorn mush. They used more tule roots. They did not have to take the bitter out of the tule roots. They ate some of the tender roots raw and pounded up the old roots. 159 252 262

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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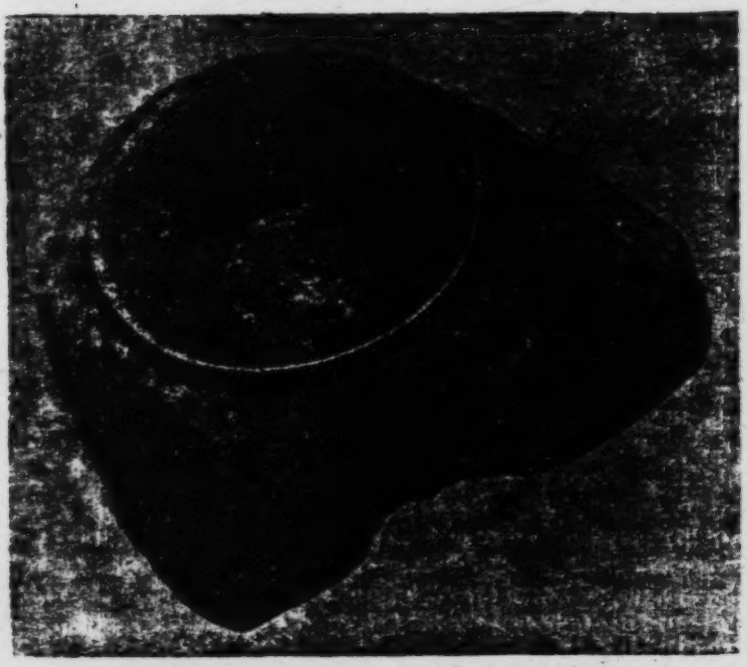

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not
251 store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but
412 they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

159 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You
342 could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all
592

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

right. We just opened the tule mats for a door. We did not 159
have a round smoke hole in the long house. The tule mats did 342
not reach to the top. If we wanted more room for the smoke 542
to go out, we put a stick between the tule mats at the top.

In the Indian houses we nearly always slept along the side 159
with our feet to the fire. To sleep sidewise to the fire we call-
ed *yot'-sahn*. We dug a hole in the ground and filled it with 513
loose tules. Then we covered them with two or three tule mats. That made a nice mattress.

For bed covers we used lots of things. The best bed cover [237]
was rabbit skin blankets. They were soft and warm. Nearly
everybody had one or two. They were about as big as the
blankets you white people use. We made the rabbit skin
blankets out of strips of skin. When we took the skin off of 159
the rabbit we cut it around and around in a long strip. We 513
twisted it so all of the fur was on the outside. We twisted the 281
rabbit skin strips into a double string as long as we wanted the blanket. Then we sewed it back and forth from one end to the other until it was a big blanket. We made blankets the same way of mud hen skins.

We had elk and deer skins on our beds, too. Some people 159
513
had bear skins, too, for bed covers. But not many had that. I 237
knew an Indian doctor who had a mountain lion skin on his bed. [438]
He bought it from a *Wukchumne* Indian from Lemon Cove.

The old-time Indian men wore a deerskin breech-clout call- 159
ed *trah'-keet mu-num'-hoey*. It was held up by a narrow deer- 231
skin belt called *wuh'-suk* (string). A little piece of the breech
clout hung down like an apron in front. Some of the men [531]
painted colored pictures on it. I only saw one or two of the old-time breech clouts. That was when I was a little girl. After that the Indians all wore old underwear or a piece of old cloth for a breech clout.

The Indian women wore a small skirt. It was made in two pieces. They had a small apron in front and a larger one behind. They were held up by a string like a belt. It tied at the side. We called the woman's skirt *ah'-til ra'-es*. It was generally made of the inside bark of cottonwood, or of tule. Some times they used strings of twisted rabbit, or mud hen skin. They liked the twisted rabbit skin skirts best.

The Chunut and Wowol women wore a cape, too. It was made of twisted rabbit skin, or mud-hen skin strings like a
small blanket. They used the wing feather of a goose to pin the [237]
cape in place.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as [577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those ●542 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechizero*).
592 In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the
621 instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested.
622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the
621 lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in
624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the
621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and
622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni,
622 who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a
624 special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded
622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records [161]
the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi vil- [114]
lages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of ● [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear indication of this condition is contained in the sentence 165 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . en- 731 contrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi- *161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em- 164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the 773 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

264 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat;
512 cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 If the women of a household were off
593 getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a
512 meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R.
512 Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they re-
512 turned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same
512 time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to
513 have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family,
352 each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 Not much clothing was worn by the Chuk-chansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared
[281] the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the
[302] penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wild-cat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84]Handbook, 519.

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., [601] plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether [861] they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɛ´mɛk), "wolf" (iwe´yɛt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɛ´šɛt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly [624 the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

●595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[244]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[245] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[244] Merriam, The Em´-tim´-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [245] A Wobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe´dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yew·nu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´w·ša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

586 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime con-
[835] sideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

●595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´w·t (husband), yi´w·n (wife or any woman one slept with), yaw·´n·š (to have intercourse), yew·nuša (marriage party or cere-
mony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his
[551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law,
607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was
[831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnɨm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɨn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɨkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186]

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically [611]
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality
[574] extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[28]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[28] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni
way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
wing which, as a talisman (ainič), he kept
close to his person. About a month later a
shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could
hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainič) singing
under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talis-
man. Haičača denied that he possessed one,
"but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
make him sick and kill him if he did not give
it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he
cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
started to go to Dohem [?], where he was work-
754 ing, and after crossing the river he coughed
up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
man had lain down by the water and the frog
jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
frogs came up around his feet and sang.
Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went
right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
his approach and did not return until Haičača
left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare
to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
however, and a little later a woman "burned it
up for him." Instead of being cured, the
shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
"He nearly died." How he was cured of this
ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catho-
lic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
[237] of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-
head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
sucked out blood in the shape of two little
frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
● 546 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
525 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
eat fish "because their father was sick for a
long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 103 b] Wukchumni

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very
862 gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and
pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those
things better and wanted them all the time."
Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling
them what they must do. M.L. said naughty
children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning
childbirth and children. It was lucky to give
birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a
woman was sterile, it was because she had
played at intercourse with boys when she was a
little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility
to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O'mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad
fortune, though they entailed special care, if
they were to survive. If one twin died, the
other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman
had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would
have them also. She had never heard of anyone,
native or white, having triplets and, when told
of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill
the mother. She herself expressed a physical
fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been
withheld with others from this publication. As
with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins
were classed with siblings and called by the
same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another
relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the
same term as that relative; thus, a father's
sister's cousin would be addressed as father's
sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child
(ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.***
Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

***This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'aṭi (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni´'udi (another) was added; thus, ni´'udi komo´d:s (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´h:t (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin 431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

582 would be called hokoi´šan yiw´nši (sister
marriage) and would evoke the scorn of all who
582 knew of it. J.B. spoke contemptuously of two
recently married young Waksachi who are second
588 cousins. He added that he thought "people to
the north" married their cousins. No special
punishment was attempted in the old days when
such a marriage occurred. The parents of both
participants, having done their best to prevent
it by verbal argument, would not, and apparent-
[558] ly could not, do anything more. There was un-
doubtedly a loss of social prestige, but how
far this affected the offspring of such a union
cannot be said. The mere fact that informants
582 could not formulate rules for these marriages
is in itself an indication that commonsense
entered, according to the particular circum-
stances. J.B. said that such marriages "never
occurred with the Wukchumni" and, while there
is no genealogical evidence to prove the con-
trary, we can scarcely accept a complete nega-
tive. No form of "uncle" marriage was known.

A man could marry where he wished, within
582 the tribe, within his own village, and even a
591 woman having the same family totem as himself,
provided no recognized blood-tie existed. If
he had been betrothed to a girl at her first
menses, he might, were he old enough, soon seek
her bed at night. But in doing so he committed
himself to a serious union with the girl and to
obligations in the provision of food to her
583 family. For two or three months he rose early,
going for the morning bath and thence to his
591 parents' home for breakfast. During the day he
would fish or hunt, taking the game to his
wife's home and remaining there for the evening
meal. If he did not go there he hung about the
sweat house and slept there at night; this was
especially true if the girl's home was already
crowded.

This sojourn at the girl's home was looked
upon as a temporary arrangement and rarely
lasted out a year. If the girl became preg-
nant at once, she usually wanted to stay with
her mother until her baby came (M.L.).

After that the couple moved either to the
husband's home or to a house of their own.
When gathering seeds, or on any other food-
collecting expedition, the young wife joined
her mother if it were physically possible. If
she did not accompany her mother, then she did
not join her mother- and sisters-in-law but
attended to household tasks and helped in the
preparation of the food when it was brought in.

584 It may appear that a young man and woman
were wholly independent in their choice of a
mate, and especially so in their married life.
But the parents of both participants exerted
strong personal influence. They frequently ar-
ranged betrothals at puberty and made every
effort to see that the marriage not only took
place, but continued. The parents-in-law and
[601] their brothers and sisters all called each
other by the reciprocal term ma´kši from the
time the betrothal took place.

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., ● 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

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W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai´kšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

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W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´´otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

Y W [587] B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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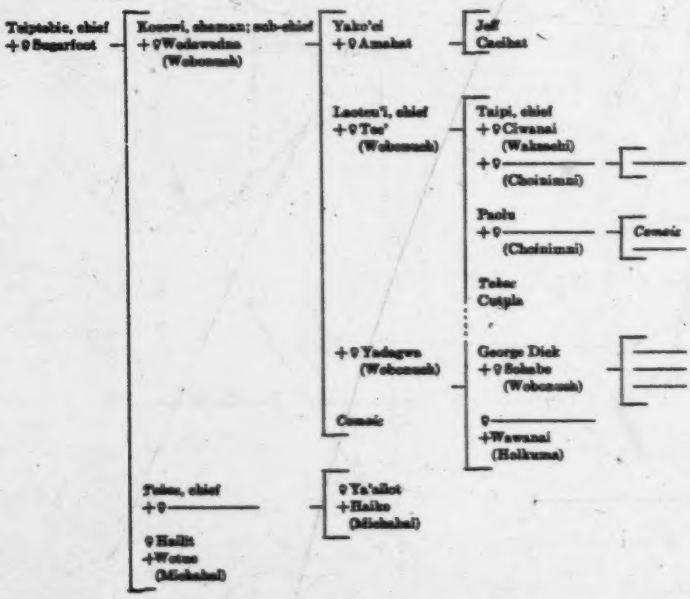
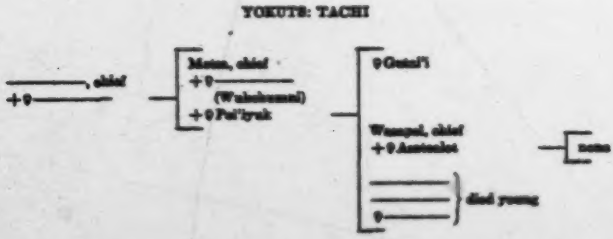
YOKUTS: ENTIMBICH



YOKUTS: TACHI



9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

10| 12| San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 171 The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 55| Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

● 60| 171 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker. 171 601

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses. 616 171 [611]

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantei. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantei phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetei. 171

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name. 171 616 171 551 616

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´'ıč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lıč) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.---All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.---A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ła). The pieces used

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[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

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Y W [587]

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796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
787 supernatural power might take it each year, or
276 every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it was announced twelve days in advance by a wina-
[262] tum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

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[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɛn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɛn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [233] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ˀɛč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɛ´lɛč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the [856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree 789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya'h·n (pai'ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yew:nu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´w:ša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

589 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime con-
[835] sideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: ·lo´w:t (husband), yi´w:n (wife or any woman one slept with), yaw: ´n:š (to have intercourse), yew:nuša (marriage party or cere-
mony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his
[551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

● 606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law,
607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was
[831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67]There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68]The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law taby</u>---A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

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[824] [139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 235 a] Western Mono NS25

Marriage

W Y 582 With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

W Y [587]

W Y 584 At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

Y W 585 431 When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

● Y W ● 606 591 The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173]

W Y [574]

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[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnim (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´win. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai´:kšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [248] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 240b] Wesley Newman WS25

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nū u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W Y [606] 153 [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. [184] For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-824 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

●606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-591 law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many 574 miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Upon learning that the basket maker was gone, the caller decided to return to his car, but being quite thirsty, asked for a drink of water. This immediately created for the host a real problem. There was no water in the house. It was approximately one-fourth mile to the spring. He could not very well leave his guest there while he went to bring water. Neither did he consider it hospitable to tell his guest to go after it. The elderly lady was his mother-in-law. She could not understand the English conversation, and he could not talk to her at all in any language. 606 574

After studying for a moment, he walked out of the house. Standing quite close to the wall near where the mother-in-law sat, he placed his hands to his mouth, and in a very moderate tone, called in the Indian language to his wife, who was from two to three miles up the canyon, "Mary, come and bring the white man a drink of water." Then he immediately came back in the house, sat down and began to entertain his guest.

The mother-in-law immediately arose, picked up a bucket and, as her son-in-law had intended that she should, brought water from the spring.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[262] [576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

778 [276] [533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

[171] Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

[784] [574] [583]

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP 251 q Western Mono VS25

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The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

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The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´ncai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

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B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
●609 bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particu-
436 larly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lama,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca´was. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
826 were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 175 619 648 [482] swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 184 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—*'Esperate Carrajos'*—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
[262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, *'Manadas'*. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of
[181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far
184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné, Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Winatuas* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

181 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself
515 only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms,
[609] and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854
648 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true
515 to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine
[291 fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing them-
302] selves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels
[291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is re-
657 ceiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797 648 [361 162]

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M. [765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes. 133 [137] [283 227]

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.] 262 [197] [252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco. 797 648

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves. [609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 648 797 574

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulučao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahačʌn wʌnatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father
[611] in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´´i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking
[211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 26).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree 789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[611]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's [611]
child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. [184] For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

622 [562]

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker. 171 601

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses. 616 171 [611]

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kumugetci. 171

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name. 171 616 171 551 616

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected
● 613 by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the
619 basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny
621 hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices
177 were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by
613 purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or
177 Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley
778 neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward super-
177 natural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade rela-
439 tions have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other coastal people to the west). By laying them on
[439] a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa'lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

616

tepːkː[71]	seal
nahaˈˈatː	otter
kːyoˈkːutː	badger
hoiː	deer
čiˈuː	cottontail rabbit
tsaˈpalː	jack rabbit
mamːlː	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Nutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tcːmtcːm)[73]; rattlesnake (taˈmhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (šakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (waˈtswats, duck; u'luiˈlum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman era] (yːtswahats), and the other (laˈptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohːl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage [613] (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[71]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.O. also insisted tepːk was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[72]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telamni, and Wosol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya´hɨn (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

[756 All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
285] Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

[821] The invisible airshot was derived from the sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit., nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
756 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
754 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

756 Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
789 that persons with supernatural power, not necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
778 under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanši's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ.pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

789 Flying power.--The power of flying through
756 space, while mentioned, was only incidental. Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainič), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainič) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
[237] of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
546 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
525 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. III].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´´o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, [574] although visitors might send or bring food, for which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 [237] The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
[302] his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was <u>not</u> the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up
522 and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
[786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of tipni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu) 535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu´du) [413] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The [237] usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owʌta [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, al- [293] though J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (wo´nʌl). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[285 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning.
[237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

624 An official speaker was called di´'e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chumut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [43] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not 825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɛ:l: eagle
naho´'o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɛ:t: long tail cat[18]
hɔts: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i'o´i': roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´nhɔt: weasel
lɛ'mɛ:k: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi´lɛ:ts: fisher [or martin]
ta´čai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´'ɛ:k: blackbird
ma´o: tree [grey?] squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɛ:n: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɛ:ts: condor
tono´hop: black bear
wehu´šɛ:t: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´'i: dove
to´nol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɛ:š: beaver
šo´'šo': kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
š:´čɛ:l: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɛ:n: acorns

[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iwey:t, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

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were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobič (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

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The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

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The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

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The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

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Person	Tribe
Kilmišet, winatum	Michahai
Tčaodit	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušlilin, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nıč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y

Totem	Dream helper
613 Dove	---
Eagle	---
619 Dove	---
776 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
778 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

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distance, was called mai´´iwɨn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. J[illegible] the bear was upon him he called out, "hw[illegible]!" and flew off. This he repeated severa[illegible] until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɨč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

W
Y saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko ʼo (both
613 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they
825 came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W
Y The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat
778 comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W
Y The following very general information on
756 shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha ʼgɛ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of
Y crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing
[237] with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u ʼdəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
Y analogue.

764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought
W justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death
683 of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W
Y A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who
683 were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´'o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[6] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[6] See genealogies, Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poes, and teeeac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five [614] different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if 622 623 the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary 622 type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or 769 denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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796 826 614 [787]

The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796

The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kitceyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Wakaachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

[755] [782]

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A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference 182 from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] [825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as
[615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard
616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn
[846] infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and
843 morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the
843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, her mother or grandmother made the first cradle
854 for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this
[177] is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a
[439] stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48]Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49]Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of [249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever [757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

616 The hand game (wehala´nwıca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ıš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwıč) was played only after a mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This 616 may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

526 The pole and stick game (aiki´wıč) was for
●616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[184] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´wıč) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyıt and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[765] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´wıč as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´´iwan) or another straight willow (sala´´am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´´al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Dayton and Bowman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepɛs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepɛs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyɛt.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ici) might also be a messenger's totem.
● [616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]

[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´ʼi, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´tʼts, a term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem,
786 just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hiletʼts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hiletʼs should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´wʼts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The title of the chief is diya. A male chief is
622 described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen
622 years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiwis), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[775] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[61] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[61] Powers, 371.

616 totemic animals. The words tokɛlyuwɛč and nutuwɛč she aligned with west and east respectively, and the head of each as Crow and Coyote, respectively.

Further categorizing was as follows.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
ho ˈtoi:	raven
lɛ ˈmɛk:	falcon
upye ˈˈi:	mourning dove
hi ˈtyi:	raccoon
te ˈpɛk:	seal[62]
poho ˈˈot:	weasel
po ˈhiyon:	Cooper's hawk
šo ˈˈšo ˈ:	"chicken" hawk[63]
Nutuwich, east	
kai ˈyu:	coyote
ulo ˈˈi:	black bear
soi ˈyol:	antelope
ma ˈčwi:	elk

A member of one moiety "respected" all the totemic animals of his moiety, but had one animal as his lineage totem. Members of the same moiety should not marry. Persons with the same lineage totem could not marry, nor could cross or parallel cousins. Moiety members called each other merely "friend."[64]

In playing games and in mourning ceremonies, moiety members were reciprocally opposed. In the doctors' contest, which was a feature of the mourning ceremony, there was no moiety opposition, but there was tribal opposition. Sometimes there were doctors from different tribes on one side, but no men of the same tribe would be opposed. Doctors on the same side might be relatives or "just friends."

With respect to moiety manifestations in other tribes, M.G. had rather definite ideas. The Hoshima (northerners) called people of the same moiety cousin, i.e., literally sibling. The Choinuk and Chunut had the same divisions as the Tachi. The Wowol had, too, she believed, but it was not customary for a Tachi to ask a Wowol what his "pet" (totem) was. She was uncertain whether the Gawia and Yokod had moieties.

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[62] M.G. twice gave tepɛk as seal, her interpreter adding "just like you see in the circus." Kroeber gives tōpūk as beaver (The Yokuts Language, 242), as does Gifford (ndebig). J.A. agreed with M.G., also giving tepɛk as seal. I think we may be sure that the animal M.G. meant was seal, regardless of the correctness of the name she used. Pages states that "seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Rio de San Francisco" [San Joaquin River and its sloughs](Pages, A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California, 77).

[63] This is probably osprey, as given by Gifford. M.G. could only say of the bird that "he went up to a little pool in the mountains and got fish there."

[64] For the Tachi kinship system see Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, 81-82.

616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two
622 chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

[776 Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in
787] dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tutic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikca), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈnkas:	crow
su ˈhup:	hawk
lːmːk:	prairie falcon
oˈčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˈhwimus:	swan
tsu·toktə ˈklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyotˈwat:	frog (small)
oˈoˈyːts:	frog (large)
ma ˈčwːs:	elk
yːtsa ˈhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ˈyu:	coyote
weṭi ˈṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ˈlu:	"hoot" owl
təkla ˈli:	"screech" owl
pohoˈˈot [sic]:	weasel
pohoˈˈot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ˈnul:	wildcat
a ˈdza:	fox

[773]

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides (moieties)"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's (dream) helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

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tepɛk:[72]	seal
naha ʿʿat:	otter
kɛyo ʿkɛut:	badger
hoi:	deer
či ʿu:	cottontail rabbit
tsa ʿpal:	jack rabbit
mamɛl:	blackberries

During a discussion which added nothing definitive on the classification of animals by moiety, J.A. added the following to her list of Hutuwich animals: Cooper's hawk (pohiyon)[72]; pelican (hahal); bat (tcɛmtcɛm)[73]; rattlesnake (ta ʿmhana); a bird "like kingfisher but bigger" (šakaka); Steller jay (ṭikaiya).

Of no moiety were ducks (wa ʿtswats, duck; u'lui ʿlum, drake); whippoorwill (waiwai); two unidentified birds, one "sang sometimes and used to be like people" [lived in prehuman eral (yɛtswahats), and the other (la ʿptana) "walked lame like a seal."

Eagle (tohɛl) was "on both sides because both moieties had chiefs."

The animals listed are not all lineage totems, and few are dream helpers. It appears that those creatures which are not lineage or dream totems, and do not serve as food, are arbitrarily forced into the moiety alignment. [182] The informant's uncertainty may in part be due to the disintegration of her culture and the disappearance of the wild life; it may also be an indication of an attempt to carry the classification beyond its normal limits.

Ordinarily a child followed the paternal moiety, but the rule was not rigid. In a large family a man might "give his wife" one or two of the children: they would assume the duties and tabus of the maternal moiety. Tribal affiliations, too, were normally patrilineal, but J.A.'s daughter, whose father was without moiety (i.e., a Hutsammi "southerner" from Tule River Reservation), "didn't feel like them and followed her mother's people."[74] Ordinarily, even after marriage, a woman continued to associate herself with her paternal moiety in any situation where moiety alignment was called for.

Moiety exogamy was usual but not obligatory, as the genealogies disclose. Since lineage was the fundamental regulator of marriage [613] (the consanguineal tabu group), no difficulties arose as the result of rearing a child in the maternal rather than paternal moiety. Members of the same moiety who knew themselves to be

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[72]These animals were caught in rivers and lake "west of Lemoore," and at Summit Lake little ones were caught in nets; the Tachi informant M.G. also insisted tepɛk was seal "just like you see in the circus."

[73]He was "official shaman killer" ("daredevil") of all the birds.

[73]Bat was a dream helper.

[74]This was doubtless due, at least in part, to the fact that the girl's family lived among Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol in a rancheria where moiety functions prevailed.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun:ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills. [231 184]

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman. [779]

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ
616 talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
756 hawk (pohiyon) can be dreamt of by anybody. So could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

Those persons who did not want to possess
756 ṭ'pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

One night a white spider (kolok' 'lwoi
756 metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came back to her. The spider said, "you are going
787 to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ṭ'pni (I am not ṭ'pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto 'ho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai 'tna
not I male sexual partner

hina' na na'as toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na'as hebo 'ma topo 'lṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[31]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired t:pni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[32]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

A man was called Piwa´sa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Aho´ni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (pu´us). All bears are classed as Nutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety. [616]

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Čoiiwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

One shaman, Solo´lo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called ane´tap:n w:p: ´l. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.

Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yam: ´n:l).

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[31] Handbook, 516-517.

[32] Ibid., 514-515.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself.
[765] It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[152] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dancers. - Analyst]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was between tribes, secondarily between moieties. ●616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this 619 relationship likewise were called gi´´i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuw·s (little ceremony), or one said of it teya´o wa'ha´l tsumə´lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu´w·s was held for the purpose of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye´´i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakn·'n·ts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia´´a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu´iw·s) lasted six days. Each day for four days

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[106] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called w:kči w:s and made the sides y:t ka'y:t (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa'os:l. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("m:m tulun. hi'na ma hi'nasu mun:n").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hat:m) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all night. Some people who had special super-
535 natural powers might dance also. Oto'ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not t:pni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o'po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono'len:n. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identi-
[616] fy them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie (the chief, Tipwatswat) that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y ●616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y ~~796~~ 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The [683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokelyuwič and nutuwič were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokelyu´wič. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dikao and da´tu idikao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
[769] mony. Even then the grouping was not followed when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, <u>not</u> another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe, totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
756 follows:
616

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowik (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlɨlɨn (Rattlesnake); Kaplɨlɨn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´sɨš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

616 825 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

616 It is clear that the moiety was not a basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 825 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616 825 192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
   ṭu´´ud: rattlesnake
   ñahõ´´õ: grizzly bear
   ṭa´´ₛšwide´´ₛt: black-and-white woodpecker
   du´hun: cinnamon bear
   aho´´ot: weasel
   sañsañwide´´ₛt: tree squirrel
   po´´hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahõ'õ got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´´iyu: coyote
   a´dja: fox
   tu´ned: wildcat
   wahu´sₛt: cougar
   iwe´yₛt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´´i: dove
   so'o´no: pigeon
   hₛ´mₛd: quail

No comment.

616
825
192

4. ṭu´hɨt: eagle
u´wɨk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sañsañwide´ɨt: tree squirrel
aha´ot: weasel
po´hot: ground squirrel
hə´nhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɨp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

825 Just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants
789 were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.);
769 the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal
[616] alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič:´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wuk-chumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages,
825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´h:l: eagle
ö´lö´i: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ţuna´o: badger
ti´či: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wih: ´ö:t: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [nic], Western Mono)
nahö´'ö: bear (bi´ow:ši [nic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ţe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother,
625 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ła); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

624 An official speaker was called di´´e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di´ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

●616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [43] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not 825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɛ:l: eagle
naho´´o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɛ:t: long tail cat[18]
hots: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i´o´i´: roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´nhot: weasel
lɛ´mɛk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di´kwi´lɛts: fisher [or martin]
ta´čai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´´ɛk: blackbird
ma´o: tree [grey?] squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɛn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɛts: condor
tono´hop: black bear
wehu´šɛt: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´´i: dove
to´ñol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɛš: beaver
šo´´šo´: kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɛ´čɛl: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɛn: acorns

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[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iwey:t, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

BURIAL

763 If it were thought a man would die within
●616 a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the
764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´čɛm) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the
767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W.,
773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on
302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier
[778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun-
[683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream
787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was
276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛn´tɛm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ti´pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi´te luni´ǯa) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent
● [616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni´ǯa) lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day.[1] the Huhuna Dance
in the afternoon, after which the usual games
535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
● 616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hə ˜šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
756 herent description can be followed, the contest
769 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušl·l·n and Kapl·l·n are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl·l·n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´w·ts nao˜ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[1] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony. — Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 156 b] Dumna

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, 616 which does not agree with more reliable infor- 825 mation from the neighboring Kechayi.

Tokelyuwich, west

to ˈhːl: eagle
wahe ˈšut: cougar
a ˈluwets: crow [blackbird?]
ho ˈtoi: raven
humi ˈx: jackrabbit
na ˈčoč: rattlesnake
te ˈˀːl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki ˈ: king snake
oi ˈu ˈi: roadrunner
tono ˈl: a large, red, wildcat
te ˈpok: beaver
u ˈˀwak: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa ˈhat: crane
ši ˈkol: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi ˈˀina: horned owl
po ˈhiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho ˈˀo: bear
čai ˈčai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope ˈl: gopher snake
koto ˈnːč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o ˈčoč: magpie
upla·li ˈ: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha ˈˀːt: otter
šo ˈkšok: kingfisher
če ˈha: dog
hota: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (tːˈpni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana ˈts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te ˈˀis; B.W. claimed a ñtu was the Gashowu word.

who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu ´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša ´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa ´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[94] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha ´čpam
2. po ´noi	15. yɛ ´čam
3. so ´pɛn	16. čo ´lpop
4. hatpa ´nai	17. no ´mčom
5. yɛčɛ ´nɛl	18 mu ´nčum
6. čo ´lɛpi	19. no ´mpom
7. nu ´mčɛn	20. ponoi te ´yiu
8. mo ´noš	21. ponoi teyao yɛt
9. no ´nɛp	22. ponoi teyao ponoi
10. te ´yao	23. ponoi teyao so ´pɛn,
11. yɛ ´čam	etc.
12. bo ´čtop	100. yɛt pi ´ča
13. so ´pi ´op	1000. yɛt mi ´la (Sp.)

GAMES

Shinny.--This game (ko ´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha ´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i ´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[94] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest
556 man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
● [616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu'i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56]The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

622 Čo´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk:´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were 616 given voluntarily in response to a general 825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´x:l: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´y:l: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi´hi´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	so´tot: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai''ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

616 ulu·´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča´pit₄´tna:
kingbird
wihe´š₄t:
cougar
ki·´či:
raccoon
te´p₄š:
beaver
xu´mix:
jackrabbit
te´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši´tx₄l:
ground squirrel
homu´ča:
wood rat
te´'₄l:
rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:
lizard
ta´nai'₄w₄ts:
grasshopper
pu´tus:
"round" acorns
e´š₄n:
a "mountain" acorn
te´p₄n:
acorn mush
li´m₄n:
acorn gruel
a´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:
sourberries
ča´n₄t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe´l₄s:
a seed
naho´'o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´'ušu:
coyote
a´oja:
fox
čo´i:
skunk (large)
če´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma´o:
grey squirrel
gai´h₄t:
salmon
ma´m₄l:
blackberries
kisi´'₄n:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety
262 animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[552] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an
616 eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pıt, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hıp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipıt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yıl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62]Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all
222 the acorns, which were gathered and stored,
616 as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the
616 western horizon at dusk it was time to watch
796 for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

226 616 796 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new" acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 616 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head [252] roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841] There was no separate hut for birth or
343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
● [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65]
[553] The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the
[856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-
[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were associated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl
756 and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I).
All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these
E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n ṭ:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´naš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ıč, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limin) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˜ła) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising
● [616] the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. *Every morning and evening the mourners* went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´ow·č ano´ła) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna (guksai), Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character (Gugusia) was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (epla´oša) was reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[618] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

795 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
669 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiža kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [gic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and M were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Poagiss were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
103 tain was there
č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

People would move around, perhaps two or
166 three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [616] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 <u>Parent-in-law taby</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Qashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

[P. 1990]

Chukchausi

616
825
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Informant	Nutunus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Nutunus	Tuxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nıč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y

Totem	Dream helper
613 Dove	---
619 Eagle	---
Dove	---
776 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
778 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

strated vigorously, would probably soon depart of his own accord. 584
If a marriage took place, the husband lived with his wife's people. 591
This is rather remarkable in view of the fact that most and probably 611
all the Yokuts reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism. As usual in loosely organized society, polygamy 595
was not considered objectionable, but was not the common fortune of men and women, probably because there was no noteworthy excess of females. A man with several wives seems normally to have been married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households. Kindred of any known degree of relationship, except 582
perhaps one class of cousins, were ineligible to marriage; and, what is more interesting, accidental namesakes as well. The Yokuts state that people of the same tribe and town could marry, and this is confirmed by the parentage of old living Indians; but the vast majority of such specific records reveal marriages between people not of the same tribe. This habit is the more peculiar because the dialects of the tribes always differed somewhat; at the same time, the practice must have been a factor of some influence in preventing the rapid drifting apart of the idioms. Naturally, many of the Yokuts were [191]
bilingual; and persons knowing three or four dialects, or even distinct languages, are not rare.

Children-in-law and parents-in-law exhibit mutual shame. They 606
avoid speaking, though inmates of the same house; walk apart; and do not even approach each other unless it is absolutely necessary.

MOIETIES AND TOTEMS.

In addition to the politically exogamic tendency, there was a strict 582
rule requiring a man to marry outside his own inherited social division. 616
These divisions were two, and certain animals were symbolically [611]
associated with each and transmitted from father to child and son's child. In other words, the totemic moiety system of the Miwok extends also to the Yokuts. It has been found among hill and valley 616
tribes from the Chukchansi to the Wowol. Only the Yaudanchi and [184]
Yauelmani, and with them no doubt some of their immediate neighbors, did not possess the organization. For the extinct valley tribes north of the Fresno River there are no data, but their associations with their own kinsmen to the south, as well as with the upland Miwok, render it extremely probable that the same scheme prevailed among most if not all of them. In fact, the existence of a similar organization among the Mono on the east and probably among the Salinan Indians to the west, together with the reappearance of exogamous moieties in southern California, place the Yokuts more centrally than the Miwok as regards the known distribution of this so-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote [illegible] back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only [illegible] for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

622 [562]

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the 616
head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity 622
of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, 624
the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. [361]
When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would [651]
gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. 624
One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, 522
Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The 838
tongochim or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recog- 767
nized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled 624
corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally 648
to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, 727
this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after [773]
a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 301 824 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops, for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 796 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 226 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some [423 616] foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 484 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local [535 527] and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

221 484

12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Depart-
122 ment of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the
[101] plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have
121 been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts
[642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the
[616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *Ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *Ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*Ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *Ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *Ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference *they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the* same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Wakachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[80] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

● 616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[81] In this region the moiety organization
572

[80] Sam Garfield. [81] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the |2| social organization of the Indians of South Central California. 616 The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties |7| exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County 616 in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited |0| are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts |2| stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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101 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the
121 San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 The principal facts concerning social organization among the
171 tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception
551 of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi,
171 Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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with that of the Inyo Mono and the Bridgeport Mono, who live east of the Sierra Nevada. These systems are characterized by a distinct term for each of the four grandparents; furthermore, the same term is applied by the grandparent to the grandchild. Cross-cousins are classified as brothers and sisters, hence in the generation of the speaker. 171 60

The names of the moieties among the Miwok are kikua, or water moiety, and tunuka, or land moiety. The three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) examined employ the names nutuwic (also given as nutuwuts) and toxelyuwic for their moieties. Like the Miwok moieties, the Yokuts moieties are exogamous. A child belongs to the moiety of the father. Among the North Fork Mono also descent is paternal, but there is no rule of exogamy. A child belongs to the clan and to the phratry of the father, and may marry within his own clan or not, as he chooses. 616 171 [611]

The names of the two phratries of the North Fork Mono are pakwihu and yayantci. The pakwihu phratry is subdivided into two clans, tübahinagatu and puzaots. The yayantci phratry is composed of the two clans dakats and kunugetci. 171

The arbitrary division of nature into two categories, "land" and "water", is a feature of the Central Sierra Miwok moiety complex. The land side of nature is associated with the land moiety, the water side of nature with the water moiety. The water moiety (kikua) of the Miwok finds its analogue in the nutuwic or nutuwuts moiety of the three Yokuts tribes mentioned, and the Miwok land moiety (tunuka) finds its analogue in the toxelyuwic moiety of the Yokuts tribes. Among the Yokuts tribes certain animals are associated with each moiety, but it has not been ascertained that the whole of nature is divided and associated with the moieties as among the Miwok. In the Miwok organization the connection between moiety and animal is through the personal name, each individual being named after an animate or inanimate object. The eponym, however, is not transmitted to the descendant as a rule. Among the Yokuts tribes and the North Fork Mono, where personal names are meaningless, the connection between animal and moiety or phratry is naturally not through the personal name. 171 616 171 551 616

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

171 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem,"
616 which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no con-
551 nection with the personal name.

Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated
616 with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and
825 quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.
171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Cere-
171 monial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as
616 similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry,
171 was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.
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9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 189, 1912.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case: the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 778 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and
616 other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was
619 between tribes, secondarily between moieties. The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this relationship likewise were called gi''i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuwas (little ceremony), or one said of it teya'o wa'ha'l tsume'inut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu'was was held for the purpose of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye''i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakna'nats, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia''a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu'iwas) lasted six days. Each day for four days

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[106] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokɛlyuwɛč and nutuwɛč were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokɛlyu´wɛč. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dɛkao and da´tu idɛkao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
[769] mony. Even then the grouping was not followed when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To ex-
619 emplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowɨk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlɨlɨn (Rattlesnake); Kaplɨlɨn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´seš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

186 [192]

What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

619 423 [574]

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

574 484 [501] 574 502 484

[text continues on p. 145]

[3] Ibid.

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day.[1] the Huhuna Dance
535 in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
756 (hɛ ´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušl·l·n and Kapl·l·n are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyeš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "h^{x}! h^{x}!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl·l·n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´wits nao´ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[1] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them
648 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
252 surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grew into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

● 619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.N. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɨ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɨč: got liquor

koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 231 a] Western Mono NS25

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were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobıč (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

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The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

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The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

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The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

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Person	Tribe
K:lmišet, winatum	Michahai
Tčaod:t	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušl:l:n, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´n.č); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y 613 619 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

2:Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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CHAPTER 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

Tribal organization, 474; habitat, 475; classification, 477; tribes of the Buena Vista group of the foothill division, 478; of the Poso Creek group, 479; of the Tule-Kaweah group, 479; of the Kings River group, 480; of the northern foothill group, 481; of the southern group of the valley division, 482; of the northern valley group, 484; speech and topography, 486; designations of the stock, 488; Yokuts and other California population, 488.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a
619 dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to
101 the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of
197 speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

101 Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

[pp. 1-473 not processed]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi. Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniiu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the
[103] Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

FOREWORD

101 131 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of [161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand [619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visit- [262] ing and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aborigi- [197] nal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of 142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and 181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

114 F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

3: Latta.Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley. 172 361

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people. 101 [197] [648]

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States. 101 131

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages. 101 131 619 103 361

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east. [181]

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*. Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the village of *Dinishneu*.

The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kwyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*. Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land, was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings on the north slope were known by the same name and were thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Wutuasta tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu* (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud*. Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido*, meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow*. Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin*, meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha*. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw*, Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu*, meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow*. *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water. 101 103 131 619

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs. [258] 361

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings. [531]

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it. [137]

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place. [776 823]

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo). [415 252]

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*. 101 103 131 619

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*. 361

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne. 825

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located. 101

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim- 101 317

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
101 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
[484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
101 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
181 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
184 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the
619 Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 175 swimming the animals and the little cart across without the 619 slightest accident occurring.

648 "These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, [482] assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few [609] months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they [609] taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just 101 184 presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the [342] highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to
131 four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme south-
619 ern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok*
131 (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life
[171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

raising clouds of dust on the prairie. Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley." 175 202

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party. 202

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah*, an aged *Koyeti*, I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin*, meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people. [619]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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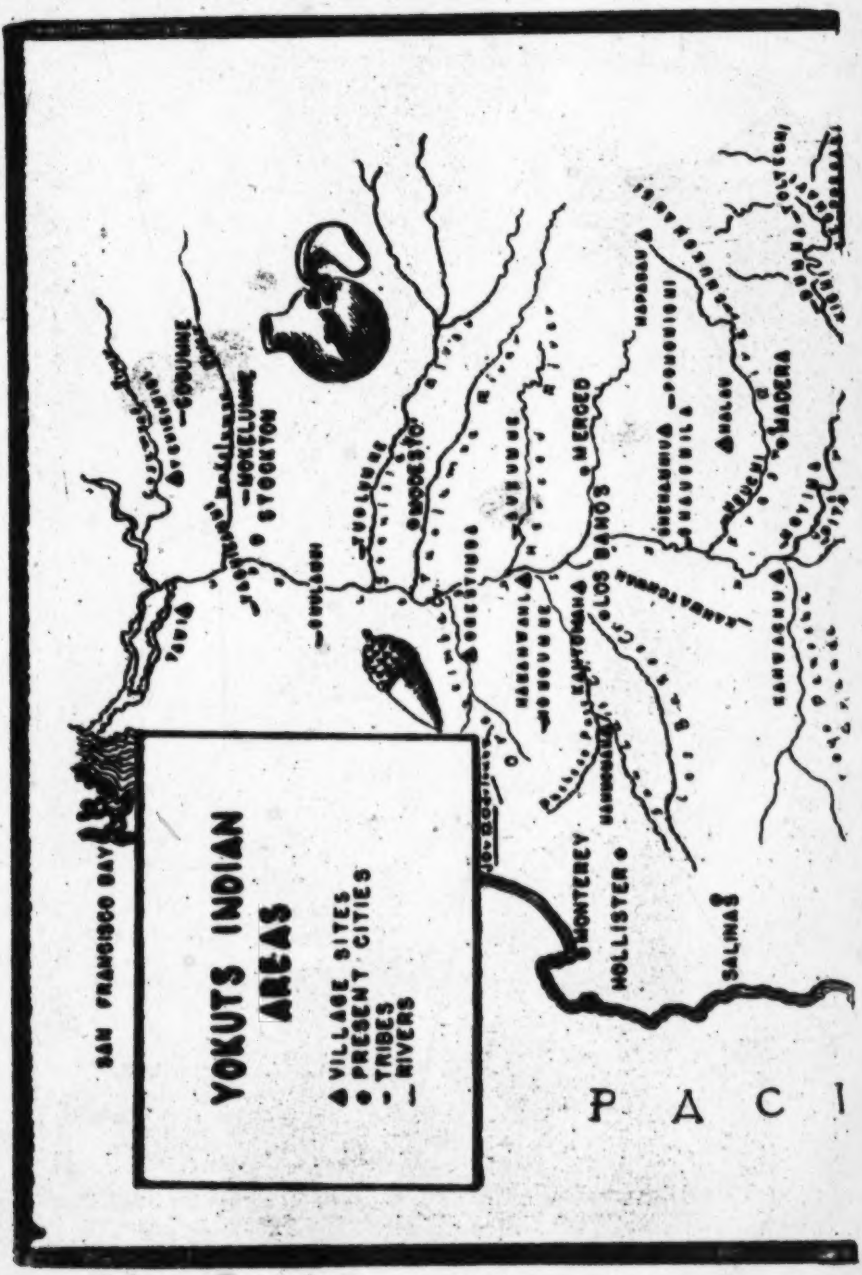

[End Map(A)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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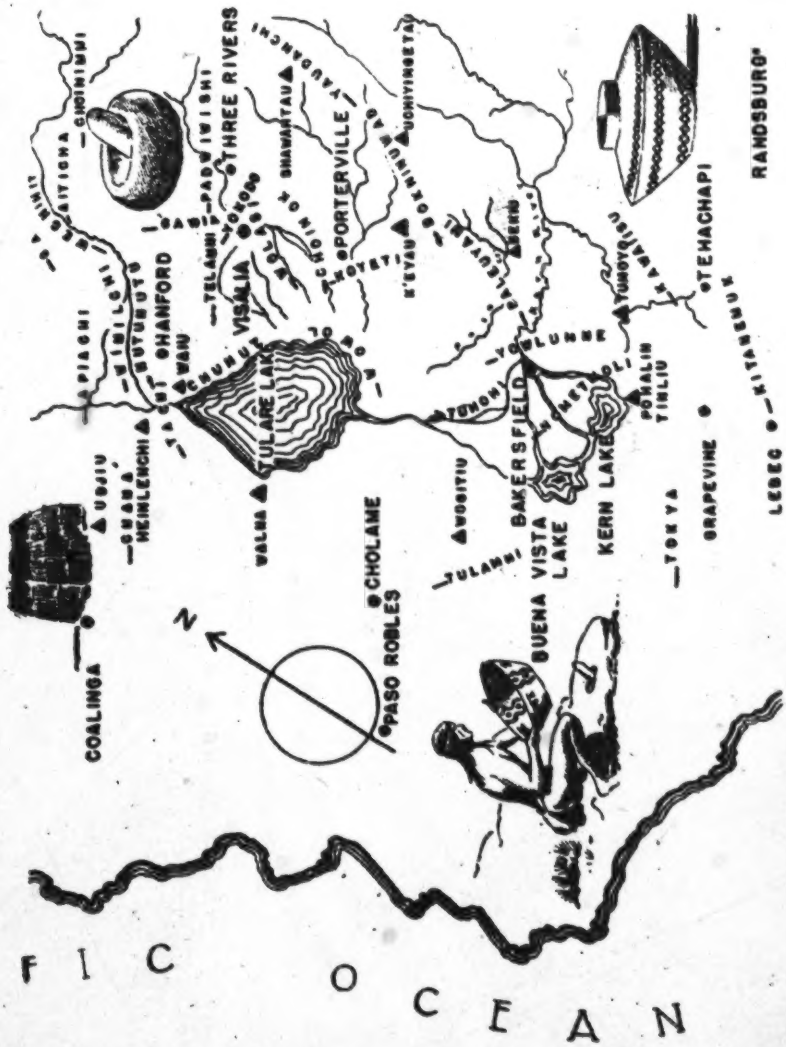

[End Map (B)]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yandanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[4]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[5] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[4] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[5] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

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754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aštaws (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and
[823] ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region.
[177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

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[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 592 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single 361 row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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[P. 168 not Processed]

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family. 101 131 197*

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed, [619]

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 ●619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

Y
*161 is 3,750. To assume 3,500 is merely to stay within the bounds of the existing evidence.

If we accept tentatively 3,500 as the number of Indians on the middle Kings River in midcentury, then we are confronted with the problem of backward extrapolation. For the Tulare-Kaweah region the probable decline from 1800 to 1850 was probably to the level of approximately 20 per cent of the original value. Direct application of this factor to the Kings River gives a value for 1800 of 17,500. This is manifestly far too high. For the Mono and the Miwok in the upper foothills many facts point to a population decline to approximately 70 per cent of the prehistoric value. Application of this factor gives 5,000 for the Kings River, a high but not impossible figure.

Other considerations are worth mention at this point. In his diary of 1826 José Dolores Pico describes his adventures on the Kings River in January of that year. He was chasing stock thieves and trying to recover stolen animals. From January 10 to January 14 he beat back and forth along the Kings River, from the sloughs to the foothills, attacking every Indian in sight. The results were discouraging. He captured no animals, killed not over a score of natives, and was completely
● [619] outmanoeuvered by the combined forces of the Wimilchi, the Notontos, and Chukamina. The entire tenor of the document suggests an active, competent, and quite powerful local confederacy of tribes. This diary of Pico describes the only expedition to the Kings River of which we have documentary knowledge between 1806 and the coming of the Americans.

These facts suggest, first, that there was a sizable population which managed to maintain itself reasonably well for several decades along the Kings River. Secondly, they suggest that there may perhaps have been a slow migration of the more exposed valley people, like the Nutunutu, higher up the river. Both these factors would tend to keep the population decline to a minimum.

In view of the confusion surrounding the evidence in this area and in view of the apparent inadequacy of the Moraga figures the aboriginal population of the middle Kings River may be set at 5,000, with the full realization that this value represents the best guess under the circumstances.

Y
*161 The upper river was inhabited by the Mono groups,
W Holkoma and Wobonuch, for which an 1850 population of
161 1,700 was computed. The decline to 70 per cent may be accepted here without serious reservation; hence the original number would have been 2,340. Adding the values for the three sectors of the river we get 9,130 or, estimating to the nearest hundred, 9,100.

KINGS RIVER 9,100

UPPER SAN JOAQUIN, FRESNO, AND CHOWCHILLA RIVERS AND MARIPOSA CREEK

Y
*161 The area between the Merced and the Kings rivers (see maps 1 and 4, area 5), which includes the courses of the upper San Joaquin, the Fresno, and the Chowchilla rivers, together with Mariposa Creek, is very poorly represented in the early documentary sources. The central valley itself, as far as the foothills, was apparently traversed by numerous expeditions and raids, and the population was largely missionized, killed, or dispersed. The written record is, however, quite inadequate. It is therefore not feasible to consider each of these river systems separately, as was done in the

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected
613 by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the
619 basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale,
●621 under a chief and his henchman whose offices
177 were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by
613 purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or
177 Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley
778 neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural belief and powers. The attitudes toward super-
177 natural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade rela-
439 tions have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2]Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3]See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi´''in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y● 621 131 When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wu in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ‘´nuwao, was east of Čenawu. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´s‘ts was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´w‘l ti´''i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´''i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´ʼima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humtʼ´nʼn).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohat were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prelogue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of 342 the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 592 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of them later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohot (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohot later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´p:no (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´oses (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po'o´tso (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. It:mwi´'iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´'i:n[242] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[242] Consistently pronounced Bo´wiyan by J.B.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

● 621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
512 call only three families. The chief there was Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulaball.)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family
343 of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small
251 replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six up-
[285] rights were held in place with horizontal split willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from
[621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157]An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, e).

[158]The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community [683] of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of poňas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokəlyuwəč and nutuwəč were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokəlyu´wəč. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dəkao and da´tu idəkao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
[769] mony. Even then the grouping was not followed when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.H., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremony [illegible] took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were [621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [176] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alcuno.

[42] Marian Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 592 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechizero*). In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

621 622 But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested. Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In 621 624 this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the 621 622 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

622 Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni, who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

624 The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded 622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 619 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn [621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley [194] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [62] at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162 it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was 797 named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tacho. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this [162 ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, 62] Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij- [36 nocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small 162]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
554 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground:
● 622 "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
541] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
[825] (čɛ´mčɛm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 73; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 73-74.

821 Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety,

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepʿs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepʿs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watamat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyʿt.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.
[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]
[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´ʼi, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

The official proclaimer was hile´tʼts, a
624 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem,
786 just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hiletʼts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hiletʼs should not be in the clowning category.

Another man who was not a tribal official
624 but had a specific function was pine´wʼts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The title of the chief is diya. A male chief is
622 described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen
622 years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiw(s), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[776] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[4] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[4]Powers, 371.

616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two
622 chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in
[776 dreams were often mountain lions and bears
787] rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [77] reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, 657 strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-323 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´ʼɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the 838 grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other-764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the
264 other in the midafternoon.

String.--It appears that both hemp and
283 nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in
276 abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
● 622 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might
624 have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he de-
526 scribes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[124]

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt: ´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutanumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi:[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

513 states that men slept there regularly during the winter months.[146] Women entered the sweat house only when it was empty of men, as it was at mealtimes, or when the majority of men were 562 occupied elsewhere with their duties. It was 515 chiefly during very cold weather that they went in to warm themselves, and they left instantly when they heard men approaching.[147] Sometimes women sat just outside to listen, if the men within were singing especially well, but ran off when the inmates were about to emerge.

515 Sweats were often held twice a day, sometimes one in the morning, and invariably one in the late afternoon. Though it was the winatum's duty to keep the sweat house provided with some wood, the major portion of the supply was brought by the individuals who were going to sweat themselves. Men sitting next to the woodpiles -- there was a pile on each side of the door -- cast sticks on the fire as they were needed: there was no fire-tender's office. An intensive sweat seems to have been the vogue. Many informants speak of participants staggering as though drunk when they left the sweat house. After the sweat there was a general rush to the river for a swim. The men then returned to the sweat house to sleep or lounge in the warm interior until sundown, when the evening meal was ready.

343 A village of any size had at least two sweat houses. Sometimes a small one would be 515 built by a group of friends, though there was no sense of exclusiveness or private ownership involved. If the number of men in a village was reduced, a smaller sweat house was more appropriate to their needs; especially was it more easily heated. When one burned down, as they occasionally did, or the supporting timbers of an old structure weakened beyond repair, steps were taken toward building a new one. Men would talk among themselves about it; [622] then the chief was consulted. While his permission was not absolutely necessary, he usually directed, by means of his winatum, the construction of a new sweat house. Three or four men whose skill was recognized were selected to undertake the job. They were paid for their services by the chief, who received contributions for the purpose from the men of the village. Apparently there was no fixed fee: informants said each man "would give a little bit," or that occasionally workers were not paid "because they wanted the new sweat house too."

343 The area of a sweat house floor was excavated about two feet. Digging sticks were used to loosen the soil which was piled into

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[146] Ibid. Pages in the 1770's found that men of the San Luis Obispo region (Chumash) slept away from home in what were probably sweat houses, although he (or the translator) construes them as "great subterranean caves" (p. 48).

[147] This would modify Kroeber's statement that women never entered the sweat house (Handbook, 523).

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully [788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called Xuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[325] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but 323 were clumsy affairs.[326] The shape follows the old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

[325] Handbook, 538.

[326] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lı´mık), "wolf" (iwe´yıt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehe´šıt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly [624 the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services, unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in
[576] Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi-
622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment
624 of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's
622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not
556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers [doctors, singers, winatums] involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had no special mark or manner of dress. But when
[293] traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
202 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he was through his collation, gave his message.
[437] If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gušta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ned), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ıt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Back-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 148 b] Choinimni

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahačɨn wɨnatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and [611] official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 153 a] DUMNA

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal
131 locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkıt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokı´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

[622]

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmın and Salo´knıč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 A long list of place names was given but
361 only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

342 Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa´načˇ), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko´'osn:l).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354] The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke [574] there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the [481] framework, the woman after the thatch. Men [562] tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of [586] joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row 386 if the site permitted; if it did not, any arrangement was permissible. Regardless of his ● 622 moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

535 Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

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[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 163 b] Kechayi

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest
556 man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu'i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[56] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

622 Čo´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk:´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] "party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum [illegible] function as such. The family chose one or [illegible] of its sons to take up the work, but if [illegible] were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were 616 given voluntarily in response to a general 825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´x:l: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´y:l: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi´hi´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	so´tot: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o´č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai''ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group [621] to the south. The Chukchansi communities were small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

This kind of big time lasted about one 796 week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

W Y 823 192 peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r•: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192 Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184] B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

W Y 773 821 The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825 Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puši·l·n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773 The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

W Y 622 The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

W Y 622

and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief [i.e., not only called tia'a but respected as such]. However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as ibuk [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa´o'ɨč (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto´bɨč (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si´wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'ɨk, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo´tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu´ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.[166] The order is from Wa´nuk to his son Čo'o´po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča´muč, then Wa´kɨt, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala´ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, Hɨ´lčap, was selected. When Hɨlčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

W Y 624

The secondary chiefs (tuye´yi, Michahai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

[166] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to 622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The [562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu* (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the 622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was 361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private 576 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that 574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and tecenc; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it. 773 539

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Wakaachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world. 773 622

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

622 As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kasti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wʌti hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Waksachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[28]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[155] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[28] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further. 622 439 556

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums. 622 756 541 574 [431]

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[26]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[27] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[26] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[27] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'itc's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'itc's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'itc received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'itc totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

622 556 574

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

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No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance. 651 541

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section. 769 622 476

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result. 622 541 651

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsmumi, the other two at 622

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622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five [614] different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if 622 623 the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or 769 denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merieaa Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

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796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony [755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by [782] the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

● 622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[34] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [623]

[34] See anecdote, p. 394. [35] Informant George Dick.

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40]

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The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinso, and told what had happened.

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The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch

622 648 728

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

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tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

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The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776]

The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

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The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

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The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonzo.

[42] 'Merieas Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

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On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

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In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

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[43] Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*
[44] *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti ~~had a~~ lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

[195] [624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 756 572 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyuc) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[88] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[89]

[88] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[89] See anecdote, p. 391.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

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[60] Sam Garfield.

[61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

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648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 754 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

278 754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called meta aṅtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and [823] ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. [177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 757 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[62] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[62] See anecdote, p. 397.

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	somloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mlnimon	kiollin	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[63] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo:

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1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyĕtsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch?). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matuk tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[63] See anecdote, p. 396.

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622 754 The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather head-dress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wepis did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wepis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

[775] 6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him ṭoṭi (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or ṭihlthai (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutai'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

622 The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore ranchería. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

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men he chose. The others were likewise from chiefly lineages. By this time the old life had so completely disappeared that these persons had little to do save make arrangements for mourning ceremonies, which were still continued in an aberrant form. Motsa paid little attention to such duties as his position required, rather utilizing his prestige for his own benefit. Of the other two men appointed, George García, a Wolasi, soon moved up to the foothills; Joaquin, a Tachi, preferred to let the old régime disappear rather than try to carry on alone. The informant says these two men used to talk to Motsa and ask him "not to act so mean," but they could do nothing to stop him for they feared him just as every one else did. If Motsa had lived in a social setting of the old cultural type one can imagine him carrying on his intrigues through a powerful doctor as was the wont of chiefs. 622

Wasapĕl (Brown Wilson), Motsa's son, is today living at the Lemoore ranchería. He is called tiya (chief) but does not function as such because the old social order has entirely disappeared. Only the lineage rank is remembered. In no respect is he said to resemble his malicious father but is regarded as a good, hard-working, thrifty man. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible to obtain Wilson as an informant. His version of his father's activities would in all probability make an interesting check against Josie's imputations. However, how much is fact and how much prejudice in this informant's tales of Motsa, is of no moment in the present discussion. All our accounts of the activities of malicious doctors and chiefs which are given here represent native attitudes toward these men as a class rather than as individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

The political life of Yokuts and Western Mono as presented in the foregoing pages leaves one with the impression that the condition was unsatisfactory from the point of view of its average citizen. A discussion of this social system may be profitable: first, it should be viewed as a practical political scheme, and secondly, as a cultural mechanism. 182

1. By a practical political scheme I mean a system which kept social order to the advantage and comfort of the majority, not from a general, humanitarian, or idealistic point of view but in terms of this particular culture. The civilization of the Indians of California has always been regarded as low, that is, extremely simple. It is,

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as [577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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181 756 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely, or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure 181 754 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead [756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted 626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 622 756 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public [577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

182 622 The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess. 182 622

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion. 622 [692] [623] 622 627 [203] [558]

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death. 182 626

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present
177 study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems
182 raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were
622 the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western
769 slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laotcu'i, and Hamatc, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

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The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

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361 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechisero*).
592 In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the
621 instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested.
● 622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the
621 lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in
624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the
621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and
622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni,
622 who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a
624 special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded
622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

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622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared 262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco 224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tēss*). Ke'-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuta moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuta moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver. 171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 622 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

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Doubtless other tribes will prove to have a similar division of the chieftainship.

An organization, which will perhaps prove to be on a moiety basis, is reported by Dr. J. Alden Mason among the Salinan Indians of Monterey County. A bear and a deer "totem" are mentioned.[1] Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the chief animal of the land moiety, the deer of the water moiety. It seems quite probable that a continuation of Dr. Mason's investigations among the Salinan will show that the bear and deer "totems" really stand for moieties, which may prove to be similar to those of the Tachi Yokuts, who were the closest neighbors of the Salinan on the east.

Mr. J. P. Harrington for some time past has been investigating the Chumash of the Santa Barbara region. The details of Chumash social organization will perhaps prove to be quite similar to those of the Yokuts tribes, mentioned in the present paper, who lived to the northeast of the Chumash region.

The next task is to extend the survey to the Washo and the Southern Maidu in the north and, if results among these stocks warrant it, also to the Southern Wintun. The examination of the Lake Miwok will perhaps prove instructive as to the origin of the moiety institution among the Sierra Miwok. The remnants of the Plains Miwok and of the Costanoan stock have so far yielded no positive results as to a clan or moiety organization. There are still other informants to be examined, however. In the south the Mono living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada south of the San Joaquin River have yet to be visited, as have also the other Yokuts tribes not already mentioned. Information obtained from the Tachi Yokuts indicates that at least the following Yokuts tribes inhabiting the San Joaquin Valley probably had an organization akin to that of the Tachi: Chunut, Nutunutu, Telamni, Wechikhit, and Wowol.

The elucidation of the relations between the type of social organization found in South Central California and the type of organization found among the Luiseño, the Mohave, and the Pima, all tribes possessing clans, is one of the ultimate aims of

[1] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 189, 1912.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chiuchas which Joasps had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased. [576]

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival. [226] [48] [147]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

797

Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told. 648

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one. [501]

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies). [361 262]

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No- [622]

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

797 tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov.
648 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of
[622] Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great
captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to
[201] punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once
put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied
that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the
[162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up,
knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept
[133] [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is
without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

648 tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from
797 it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he
[622 888] is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Mereed River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of
000 *Thursday, 11.*—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaijs. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of
797 *Saturday, 13.*—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

*161 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

From the demographic point of view the chief justification for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first 361 648 two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter wherever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martin in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martin in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone' . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta [648] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in bad straits, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the ●[622] rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

[P. 49B]

THE KINGS RIVER

*161 The next region to be considered is the basin of the
101 Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be
divided into three sectors. The first comprises the
131 delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was
the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and
Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley
margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha,
Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area
4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces
the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma
(area 4C).

*161 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804
by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of
Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The
next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the
expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is
made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias
visited in this trip and the one in April" are included
Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100.
Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto
(only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303
men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a
few old women and children. Since the men are of the
same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully
counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio
of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A popula-
tion of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850.
Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of
[622] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy.
The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the
Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be
traced and may indeed have been those of individuals.
The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in
1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two
rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six
villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber,
[361] Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau
(Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau
(Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the
village of Ugons (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these
villages actually existed in the early years of the nine-
teenth century, they can scarcely have held less than
250 persons apiece and the population would have been
in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at
[361] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one)
of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the
latter may have been in fact the principal village of the
Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or
as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons
at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been
exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very
probable that they had undergone considerable attrition
before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of
view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he re-
quested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without
their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas veli-
cosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite prob-
able that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A
value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other
villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs
apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi
had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal
population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta
were represented, according to the account of G. H.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

343 covered with a brush and tule thatch and then with dirt. The roofs of these houses were so low that a man could probably not stand upright in them. Some of the tribes called the sweat house, *Mosh*.

The structure was generally quite small, probably never more than twelve or fourteen feet in length, and was not used as a dance house as was frequently done among other tribes. We do not know of its use as a council chamber, or assembly hall. What information the writer has been able to secure on [623] this subject indicates that the Yokuts probably used the house of the head man, or chief, for these purposes.

During the winter the sweat house was a regular sleeping place for the older men. The door generally faced the south, but if the house was on the south side of the stream it faced the stream. We are told that in some instances a brush shelter, or wind break, was erected on either side of a path leading from the sweat house to the water, which was never more than a few yards distance.

343 In using the sweat house, a fire was built in the center and stones were heated in it. All openings were closed and water 515 was poured upon the hot stones. In addition to the intense heat due to the closed door, as well as the smoke from the fire, the steam from the hot rocks soon brought the inmates to a state of profuse perspiration and near suffocation.

[413 During the time of sweating, a sweat stick, or scraper, was used to remove the perspiration from the body. This scraper 237] was sometimes made from a split elk rib. It was about eighteen inches long and curved both along its length and in cross section. The elk rib was split along the edges and the thin, concave inner half used.

After enduring this state of affairs as long as possible, during which time there probably was competition as to who would be the last one to leave the place, the opening cover was thrown aside and a group of yelling, perspiring Indians ran from the house and jumped into the water.

Often this form of bath was indulged in at night, after which those participating would go to their beds and to sleep. In the morning, generally before sun-up, practically every In- [512] dian in the rancheria would have left his house, running and shouting, and would have bathed in the near-by stream.

I have been told by old Indians, and have proved by investigation, that the Yokuts sweat house was located at the

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five [614] different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if 622 623 the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 769 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[84] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [623]

[84] See anecdote, p. 394. [85] Informant George Dick.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess. 182 622

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion. 622 [692] [623] 622 627 [203] [558]

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death. 182 626

1: Gayton
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[Material on the winatum, the official messenger and sub-chief, will also be found in Categories 202, 796 and 769. --Analyst]

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugono
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. wit'tsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. [201] Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26]Possibly the Wowol village called "Buhal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27]Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha´lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepɨs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepɨs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuši, the chief at Telweyɨt.

624 The official messenger (wina´tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti´yan winatem and a´ñutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o´ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.
[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

A chief's messenger, when going on an
[293] official visit, carried a long cane called site´lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 78,80.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]
[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´ʼi, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, who often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´tʼts, a term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem,
786 just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hiletʼts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[60] It would seem that hiletʼs should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´wʼts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The title of the chief is diya. A male chief is
622 described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[59] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[60] Handbook, 497.

262 could be shaken off [as sugar].[122] A sugar was
137 made from the compressed pulp of a shrub fruit. Many other food plants mentioned by Fages would doubtless be identifiable by a botanist acquainted with the flora of the region.

264 Two meals were taken, one at sunrise, the other in the midafternoon.

283 String.--It appears that both hemp and nettle were used for making string, for, of the two plants, Fages says one grows in a moist soil and appears much like true hemp, the other, growing in dry soil, has "leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower."

276 Tobacco.--The plant was gathered in abundance and, ground with lime, was made into a paste and formed into "cones or small loaves" which were wrapped in tule leaves and hung in the house to dry. It was taken after supper, and one could subsist on it "for three days without nourishment."

Men kept their smoking tobacco, wrapped in leaves, in an antelope horn which they carried in their headbands. A most un-Yokuts-like practice is described: after supper "they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe";[123] that is, smoking after supper is Yokuts, the single great stone pipe is not. This indeed may be a truly southern Yokuts feature.

622 Chieftainship.--Like Powers, Fages attrib-
624 utes district chiefs to the Yokuts; one might have four or five villages, each with its own chief, under the authority of a superior "district" chief. The chief is said to be monogamous, to receive tribute in "seeds, fruit, game, and fish," to counsel on punishments with the advice of his constituents. The lesser chiefs kept their superior informed of events in their villages, of civil offences, and turned offender's over to him for reprimand. "During such an act of reprimand the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.--Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

The tossed hoop and pole game he de-
526 scribes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.--Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[124]

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɛ´mɛk), "wolf" (iwe´yɛt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɛ´šɛt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for [624 advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[651] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

622 A particular and constant source of fi-
624 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

622 Informants like to refer to the chief's
556 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers (doctors, singers, winatums) involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye´'i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye´'i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn: nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn:nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778 825 304] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[293] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at [illegible]age, he went directly to the chief's ho[illegible] mat was
202 set out for him in front of the [illegible] and food was brought to him. He must ea[illegible]some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[437] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called guśta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ñed), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´´,t) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[230] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Cere-
624 mony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[230] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

624 that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa´tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Panchó spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali [winatum] after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) [825] was diya. Limik [falcon] was hiauto or war leader as was also poiyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide´tıts)[231] was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho´toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide´tič and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta´sowık (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and Ka´osuna (a Telamni).

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[231] Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelmani) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community [683] of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit, Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts); also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobonuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from the list as given by J.P.; the list is corroborated, of course, by other informants and much indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
● 624 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
571 the yate''ač or "dance managers." Not all informants agree whether this was a regular official or not; perhaps only larger tribes had need of them. They were the "bosses" of the winatums who, both male and female, were worked to the utmost in their responsibility of providing shelter, water, firewood and, above all, sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
[417] assembly space were erected long shades, with back screens if needed, under which the visitors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the hosts, the other visitors at each end; informants were indefinite as to how far this plan was followed. In the families of the winatums all members helped: the older winatums saw that there was sufficient food and generally directed activities, while their sons supplied wood and water and carried messages, and their wives and daughters prepared and cooked food. The visiting winatums, particularly those of the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts paid for their services just as they paid their own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

524 Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

● 624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač:n w:natum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father [611] in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

624 An official speaker was called di´'e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chumut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [613] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not 825 recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɜ:l: eagle
naho´'o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɜ:t: long tail cat[18]
hɔṭs: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i'o´i': roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´nhɔt: weasel
lɜ:'mɜ:k: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi´lɜ:ts: fisher [or martin]
ta´čai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´'ɜ:k: blackbird
ma´o: tree [grey?] squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɜ:n: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɜ:ts: condor
tono´hop: black bear
wehu´šɜ:t: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´'i: dove
to´nol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɜ:š: beaver
šo´'šo': kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɜ´čɜ:l: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɜ:n: acorns

[18]Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iwey:t, colloquially known as wolf.

[19]P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20]Calendrinia.

622 Čo´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk:´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´'ɪč (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate'ɪč was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] "party," the yate'ɪč "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general question.
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Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´x:l: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´y:l: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi´hi´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	so´tot: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o´č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai'ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ič). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a basket and buried them. The basket was a
[285] special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called pon:k. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´l:t, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owɨč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[804] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might have specks of white paint on their faces, or [302 439] sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 230 b] Western Mono NS 25

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and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief [i.e., not only called tia'a but respected as such]. However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as ibuk [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa´o'ič (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto´bič (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si´wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'ik, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo´tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu´ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.[166] The order is from Wa´nuk to his son Čo'o´po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča´muč, then Wa´kit, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala´ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, Hi´lčap, was selected. When Hilčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

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The secondary chiefs (tuye´yi, Michahai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

[166] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

W Y 624 were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotob:č (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

Y W 624 613 The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

W Y 624 The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

W Y 613 The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

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	Person	Tribe
	K:lmiš:t, winatum	Michahai
	Tčaod:t	Waksachi
619	Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
613	Takač, chief	Entimbich
	Wotuš	(?)
776	Hawanuč	Wukchumni
	Mosus	Entimbich
778	Čeči	Entimbich
	"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
	Kučum	Choinimni
	Hučač	(?)
	Waja, I	Wobonuch
	Kuijal	(?)
	Wilolohi	Wobonuch
	Supana	Wobonuch
	Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
	Etak	Waksachi
	Halopča	Waksachi
	Palaha	Waksachi
	Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
	Pušl:l:n, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

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"Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´sa) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´´i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

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When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

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When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nič) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

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During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Kožo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized bound-
131 aries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private
576 secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that
574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne,* quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah,* one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
● 624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals
[481] on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi,* Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the 515
water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A
second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and [578] vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally came to regard it as sacred.

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abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 221 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages. 221 [251]

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house. 361 361 364

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town. 361 114

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women. 361 364

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Wisatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him. 609 624 576

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159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

159 The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Win-*
at'-un (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
769 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each
624 tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus*,
[152] [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

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The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159 769 756 [624]

Then the Teah called, *"He'-ahn tahn'-hin."* The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed Cuksa

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.
756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he
[624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took
[755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him
[237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant. "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and tosoac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

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MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put [554] him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort. Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; 171 Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:[45]

> The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

[45] Informant, Sam Garfield.

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that were called for. On the evening of the fifth day of the annual mourning ceremony the subchiefs gave a supper to the chief. Money, baskets, and blankets which had previously been given them by the chief were returned to him at this time.

A Yaudanchi informant said:

"The tuye'i helped the tia'a at the mourning ceremony. If the tia'a put up five dollars the tuye'i put up three. If the tia'a had no money these men had to put up the rest."[46]

The Wobonuch (WM) regarded the brothers of an active chief as sub- or secondary chiefs. They had no special term for these men, whose functions were as among the Yokuts.

Both Chunut and Tachi informants denied the existence of this official in their tribe or vicinity.[47]

Some tribes had an official who took charge of the camp and ritual organization at large fandangos. He is called in English the "dance manager"; he was a kind of master of ceremonies. The Yokuts called this man the yate'itc. The Kechayi (Y) had the official and describe him as follows:[48]

The yate'itc was a kind of winatum. He talked for the tiya and he worked at arranging meals. He made all announcements for the chief and often acted as a go-between, between the chief and his people. The chief often talked to people in person or in public but he seldom made announcements to a large gathering unless his yate'itc were away. The position was inherited from the father's side but could be of either moiety. The Kechayi yate'itc, Koteon, was of the Nutuwic moiety, whereas the Posgisa yate'itc, E'ukiyi, was Tokeluwic. At fandangos or parties the yate'itc "prayed" before each meal. He said, "Come close to this food. We are going to have a good feast. When supper is over we will play and have a good time."

On the Wukchumni (Y) dance manager we have the following:[49]

This man was not called winatum. He was hired for a big fandango by the chief. The position was hereditary; it always had raven for totem. The man's duty was to keep order in camp and affairs running smoothly: he called to the people to get up in the morning, went out to meet new arrivals and told them where to camp, informed the chief of their arrival; he told people to be quiet, stopped children who were playing too noisily, or women who were quarreling or "getting mad over their cooking."

The dance manager among the Wobonuch (Y) had no special name but was called natinab (winatum), just as were the official servants of chiefs and shamans.

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[46] Tom Wilcox; see Appendix.
[47] Josie Alonzo and Mollie Garcia, respectively.
[48] Ellen Murphy; see Appendix.
[49] Joe Pohot.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[80]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[80] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Tcinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Tcinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Tcinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

[195] [624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever *its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not* deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials
756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been
572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn [577] those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

361 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se'-ro* (Spanish, *hechizero*).
592 In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the
621 instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested.
622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In
621 this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in
●624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the
621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and
622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka'-teh and Ku'-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi'-ni,
622 who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu'-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk'-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a
624 special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded
622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 201 9] Chukchansi

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
535 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [176] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonzo.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
to "go over and kill those people like birds."
252 While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
surrounded the women's camp. One man came
closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the
acorns with their teeth and thought they were
eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw
the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he
"thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a
series of stakes, with feather bunches (so´n:l)
tied to their tops, which had been set up by
the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near
by, so they returned to camp and sent the women
off. The women fled across the river [San
Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men
went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was
located, and the Monachi were found asleep.
Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save
one man who smeared himself with his comrades'
blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this
man went back to his village and reported
events to his chief. The chief was very angry;
he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a
white man and was sent up into the mountains
with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on
this side of the ridge saw him; they came down
to him and asked him who he was. When it was
time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley,
his employer warned him not to make the trip
alone. But the man was anxious to get back
home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his
horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or
trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally
designate certain trees or grass spots as hers
and would "growl" if some other woman took the
products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and
would not be taken to the chief under ordinary
circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
● [626] women did grow into family feuds, which the
chief attempted to control by counsel. There
was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of
desirable land and its concomitant hunting,
fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family
"ownership" operated to the extent that a young
married woman continued to gather vegetable
products with her own mother, rather than with
her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely
led to inheritance of such plots, even though
inheritance was not defined in set terms by
any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who
821 came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
766 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were
626 curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-
683 treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right *there now. Are* you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful *hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but* at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
181 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
[756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
622 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
756 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
[577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
182 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
622 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess. 182 622

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion. 622 [692] [623] 622 627 [203] [558]

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death. 182 626

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into [825] a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
431] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

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If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

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1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 754 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

159 754 627 One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were following him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah. Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "*Een-sis* (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to Tulamni, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at Tulamni. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

159 756 [754] When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they talked about it for a long time.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[26] 622 361 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. [623] An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627

[26] See anecdote, p. 394. [27] Informant George Dick.

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

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[36] See anecdote, p. 362.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors 182
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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 210 9] Chukchansi.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who
824 came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
766 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were
626 curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-
683 treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

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121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected
122 during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western
[101] Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxta-
121 position of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts
[642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the
[616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
131 peoples experienced the dismay previously
177 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
131 up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
177 terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them. Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
● 648 manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

[312 311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[161 36] [648 181]

[15] Ibid., 257.

[16] Ibid., 258-260.

133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late.[17]
648

133 On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

[501] I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...
The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.
The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatw:l). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi´'th:´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [443] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (t:pni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 48 c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (hatwai´´iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117] Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

[P. 56a] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y 101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another 131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine Y acorns of the black oak.

To the east the Wukchumni went into Pat- [223 wisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with 439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the [222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a short- age in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the Y above-mentioned tribes.

439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels 437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was east- Y ward, of commodities westward.

Very little that is definite can be M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe 177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant [191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village M where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat- [105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other in- formants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and cultural- ly richer Yokuts neighbors and that they dis- appeared entirely during the flux and pressure Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona´ci by the 648 Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders. In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´'ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ni,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ni by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get [224] deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were [558] laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the [756] Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was Y not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several [426] individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y 769

Reciprocity

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe M in the entire function.

769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were 648 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of 767

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.125b] Washing Mourn NS25
V M 769 648 767

them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Ciwanyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

769 648

The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" [the Wukchumni Pohots] were not there.

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
● 644 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit, Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts); also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobonuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from the list as given by J.P.; the list is corroborated, of course, by other informants and much indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
624 ficials who functioned only on such occasions, the yate'ĭ or "dance managers." Not all in-
571 formants agree whether this was a regular official or not; perhaps only larger tribes had need of them. They were the "bosses" of the winatums who, both male and female, were worked to the utmost in their responsibility of providing shelter, water, firewood and, above all, sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
[417] assembly space were erected long shades, with back screens if needed, under which the visitors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the hosts, the other visitors at each end; informants were indefinite as to how far this plan was followed. In the families of the winatums all members helped: the older winatums saw that there was sufficient food and generally directed activities, while their sons supplied wood and water and carried messages, and their wives and daughters prepared and cooked food. The visiting winatums, particularly those of the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts paid for their services just as they paid their own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants
●648 named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ła); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 143 b]
Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

649 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's 439 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

DUMNA

103 5. huku ´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka ´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če ´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če ´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a ´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo ´´omt:lao; 11, ya ´p:k'nao; 12, y:mšu; 13, ho ´suniu; 14, če ´pnao; 15, t:ne ´lao; 16, kočo ´yu; 17, ti ´če ´niu; 18, hogo ´n:lao; 19, hutu n:lao; 20, ko ´wačko ´čo; 21, taka ´tipao; 22, te· ´ninao; 23, čamx: ´nšiu; 24, pax: ´kčiu; 25, šo ´koiyu; 26, woto ´tiu; 27, co ´hono·no; 28, ča ´t:lao; 29, hotoi ´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše ´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nep:nwa ´šu; 33, šiš: ´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the
101 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
114 their name at that time was used to cover
648 native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomk:t, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomk:t and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

Then he continued his narrative:

173
● 649 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text continues Top of Page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

649 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra
[826] Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] [46]B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47]Gayton and Newman, 28.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
● 648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca'was. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them to "go over and kill those people like birds."
252 While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

433 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[626] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.N. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, N.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1606] Kechayi

619 together to gather acorns, just as the Wuk-
222 chumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

●648 In spite of the somewhat inimical rela-
439 tions with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɨ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 Few sites or localities could be named by
103 E.M.; these have not been mapped.
361

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɨč: got liquor

koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the ac-
[778] companiment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101
131 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
●648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
103 gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an•u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[649] [77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever [412] necessary for camping. There were bedrock mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, [166] for no objectionable reason, another family might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was 648 little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
727 some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

Y W 601 The husband was termed lotɔ´pnɑm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɑn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai´ɑkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´´otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

W Y [186]

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 243 b] Western Mono NS25-

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distance, was called mai´'iwɨn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[106] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɨč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[106] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

2: Kroeber E-5 (c> 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Alticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Aplau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in 131
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 361
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 159
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 648
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne.* Indian to south they called *Tucuyu.* They go from Kawatchwah south
103 to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

[648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-na'-mah.* Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah.* One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

101 When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
103 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
648 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, *"Oh-rays-teem'-bah,"* meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground. 175

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them. [291]

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about." [152 522] [481]

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies. 101 184 [161] [648]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
[361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

133 From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[64 101] settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

175 The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left be-
609 hind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp;
648 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of
648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus-
[262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of
[181 their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far
184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné, Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 Primitive tradition contains numerous mention of peoples living in continual fear of invading forces. This is the old story of humanity from the present time back beyond the very beginning of history.

The story of an invading host spread like wild-fire. In silent terror a few belongings were snatched from their accustomed places. Light packs of food were prepared and women and children fled to the hiding places about them. After the invaders were gone, these people returned, often to find their homes in ashes and all of their belongings destroyed.

Occasionally they were caught without warning and had no time in which to flee. They were then attacked in their dwellings. The tremendous confusion and hurried flight on such occasions is one of the most powerful forces in developing and controlling the instincts of primitive people.

861 White people are surprised to find that Indian children obey their parents without question and that they do not cry,
648 except upon the most exceptional occasions. These characteristics are the direct growth of the conditions which have just been mentioned. The Indians of the San Joaquin Valley were much like their brothers, the wild animals, whose young by instinct will remain perfectly quiet when hidden by their mothers, even though they are almost trampled upon. Mere anxiety on the part of the parent is infectious.

Indian children were reared upon stories that recounted the many invasions which the tribe had suffered, and which kept ever before them this peril which might at any moment envelop them. They had no way of knowing that they would be safe for any certain length of time. The lookout on a nearby peak might at any moment signal that an invading force was distant only a few hours', or a few minutes' travel.

In this way the protection of the parent was much more a real necessity to the young child, to the young man and young woman and even to grown individuals, than is the case among civilized races. Because he knows that it is made safe for him to travel to almost any place he pleases, the young boy of today does not have this feeling of dependence toward his parents. Because of this the children of white parents are more prone to disobey than the children of primitive people. Undoubtedly this close dependence and fear of a common enemy was responsible for the fact that it was seldom if ever necessary to whip Indian children.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about
302] a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
778 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit,* chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

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159 657 [461] Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes; pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

159 173 648 First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high; wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat on river take white man across water. Then lots white man come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutunutu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief, Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

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Then Tomkit talk Major Savage. He tell him, "It's summer now; it's hot; it's long way Kuyu Illik, Kings River, where Choinimne live; it long way Nutunutu Indian; lony way Chauchile Indian; long way *Kahwatchwah* Indian. Take long time see all them Indian. I think maybe take my men three, four weeks see 'em. They run long way; they sweat lots. Why you want us do this? What they gonna do that paper we got sign?" 159 173 648

I hear all this. Tomkit say, "You be next chief, Pahmit. You hear what white man say."

Then Major Savage he tell Tomkit. Major Savage, he say, "I big medicine man with big father at Washington. You haf do what I say. I hurt you if I want to. I make all your people die. I make all fish go out river. I make all antelope, all elk go 'way. I make dark. You do what I say, nothing hurt you. But you no hurt me. You shoot me with bow, arrow, I live. I do all thing I tell you 'bout. You shoot me with pistol, you no hurt me."

Major Savage have nice six shooter. My people never see six shooter before. They see rifle; they see pistol. One, two my people know how shoot 'em.

Major Savage put white handkerchief side oak tree. He load six shooter one, two, three, six bullet. He put powder; he put paper; he put bullet; he stand close tree. He shoot handkerchief, one, two, three, six time. Every time he make hole in handkerchief.

My people all stand 'round close, see. Major Savage load six shooter 'gen. We see him put powder, paper, bullet. Then he give our man. "Now, you shoot me. You shoot me; you no hurt me. You no kill me. Don't you 'fraid. You go 'head, shoot; you no kill me." Then he stand close our man. Our man shoot, bang! Then Major Savage he grab in air with his hand. He don't fall down. Our people look each other. They say he big medicine man. Then our man shoot 'gen. He shoot six time. Major Savage, he grab in air six time. Our people all come close, look. Then Major Savage hold out hand, open it. We see six bullet our man shoot. Major Savage catch 'em all his hand.

My grandpa, Tomkit, he see that. He b'lieve 'em. I see that. I b'lieve 'em, too. All my people see that. They all think Major Savage big medicine man. They all think they better do what he say.

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159 Then Major Savage he talk. He tell us, "Now you do what
173 I say. You bring chief all Indian tribe here. You bring 'em
648 here ten days now. You bring two Indian each tribe. You bring one chief; you bring one *moke* for me. I want one wife each Indian tribe."

My grandpa, Tomkit, he send men bring all Indian chief; tell all Indian chief bring one Indian wife Major Savage. Indian chief all come Kuyu Illik. They bring Indian wife Major Savage. I think they bring seventeen. I think some run 'way. I think seven stay work for Major Savage.

After all chief come Kuyu Illik, one, maybe two days, big man from Washington come with paper. Lots 'em come. I think they fifteen, maybe twenty horse-back soldier. They three soldier on four horses wagon. They stop wagon Kuyu Illik on big open place south my grandpa's house. All Indian crowd 'round, look. All chief set 'round on ground.

Some soldier take three big box out wagon. They put 'em in open place, each one up top. Then Indian get on top, way up high. He talk our people. That Indian belong our people long time 'go. When he little boy, Spanish preacher take him Mission at San Juan. At San Juan he learn read, write, talk like white man. Big white chief call him Charlie. Our people call him *Yo'-ho*. White chief talk him. Then Yoho talk us long time. He talk, 'n talk, 'n talk. He turn 'round, 'n 'round, 'n 'round on box. My people all hear him. He say we got give big Father at Washington all our land. We got go down valley, live. He say big white Father at Washington send us clothes; send us flour, send us blanket, send us horse. He say big white Father send us teacher, so our people go school like white man.

Our people no like that. They think all right send things. They no like go down valley. No acorn there; too many Indian there. They think have fight with Indian there. My grandpa, Tomkit tell Yoho. Yoho talk long time big white chief.

Then Major Savage he go wagon. He bring whisky; he bring tobacco. He tell all Indian set down, they gonna smoke. Major Savage fill tobacco pipe. He make one puff, he give pipe Indian. All Indian make one puff. All white chief make one puff.

Then Major Savage give 'em lots whisky. Then Yoho talk long time 'gen Our chief all set 'round, listen. Then they make sign mark on piece paper. *Co-toom'-se*, chief with *Chuck-*

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[142]

Pahmit in 1929, aged about 100 years, by the wall of the old stone guardhouse at Fort Miller. Pahmit helped to build this wall about 1854.

chan'-se. He sign 'em. My father, *Dawk-taw,* he chief with Dumna tribe Indians. Some people call him *Tap'-pah.* He sign 'em. My uncle, To'-mas, he chief *Kit-cha'-ye* tribe. He sign 'em. Lots Indians sign 'em. Take long time. Then white chief go 'way.

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159 Major Savage go 'way. He go Kings River. White man
173 there shoot Major Savage like our man shoot 'im. Major Sav-
age he die. Ha! Ha! Why he no catch 'em bullets?
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Then white man come; they mine gold in river. They shoot Indian. Soldier put Indian in jail; they whip Indian. They run all Indian 'way from village Kuyu Illik. They burn all Indian house.

They smooth ground where Indian house burn. They play music there. Blue clothes soldier march, march, march there. They make Indian dig dirt, mix mud; make adobe brick; make white soldier big house. White men call big house Fort Miller. They take Indian by tree over river. They hang 'em there; they cut rope and dead Indian fall in river. My grandpa, Tomkit, he tell white soldier, "You better look out." He tell white miner, "You better look out. Indian spirits no like you do this. Pretty soon bad things happen you."

Then high water come wash 'way all white man's store; wash 'way lots white man; wash 'way lots, lots Chinaman. Then pretty soon white soldiers all go away. My people think Indian spirit make 'em go. They glad. They dance. They
[165] sing. Not many Indian left. Lots Indian die whisky; lots Indian die bad white man sickness. Just few Indian left. Indian live Kuyu Illik 'gen. White miner still whip Indian; still shoot Indian.

Then by 'n by, white man all talk fight. They say long way off, white man shoot white man. Lots white man go long way off, fight. Then white soldier come back Fort Miller. This time white soldier pretty good man; they no shoot Indian, they no whip Indian too much. Some Indian work for white soldier; white soldier give 'em flour, give 'em tobacco, but Indian pretty near all gone. White soldier stay this time maybe three, maybe four years. Then all go 'way. I never see no more white soldier.

159 My father, Dawktaw, gone. My grandpa, Tomkit, gone.
My uncle, Tomas, gone. I big chief now, but no got Indian tribe. Just me; just my sister left. My sister got one boy, got one girl. I blind; I no see. I no see maybe ten, fifteen year. I got one boy; he got three, four, baby. We work hard, we don't have 'nough eat. Big Father at Washington no send flour; no send horse; no send clothes; no send blanket, like white chief say when Indian sign paper at Kuyu Illik.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu,* and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake.* I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

[103 Just a few months before I was born my father and mother
361] lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

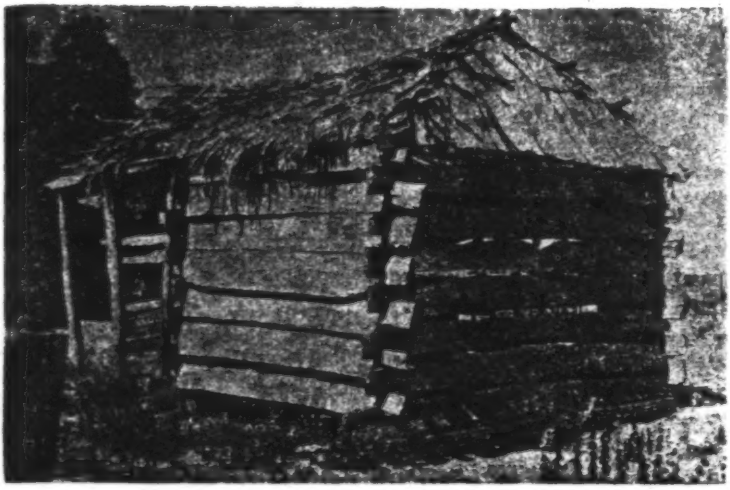
While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the [361] old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the [164] big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave [868] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I [854] do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY

THE LONEWIS

I was about six years old when we moved from Watot [159] Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about [769] two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol*, a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke*, who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne*. He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit*. One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let*.

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
166 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal
361 right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there
the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me.
[342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt
houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those
houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we
dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could
live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were
no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

We were at the camp about three months, until summer
159 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
166 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros.
648 He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the 648 mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and 159 tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There 159 were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across 648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 361 166 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

159 648 166 My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578 197] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it.. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went 361
back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

181 515 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across [609] between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 648 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 515 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine [291 302] fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels [291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 657 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sometime ago, in a public speech, one of the officials of the United States Government made the following statement: "No native people has ever been better treated by the invader and his dominating civilization than has the American Indian by the government of the United States." Probably not one person in one hundred will agree with this statement at first thought, and it is undoubtedly not true in many senses.

The official quoted probably meant that no government has ever appropriated more money for the relief of a native people than has ours. The writer believes that from this angle the statement is entirely true. There is no question but that our government has appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars for Indian relief.

J. Ross Browne, pioneer California Indian official, has very clearly pointed out in his writings about our Indians that the early appropriations, to his personal knowledge, never reached the Indian, that they were made in most instances by politicians who were anxious to provide funds for their political supporters to administer.

All will agree that if it is true that the government of the United States has actually taken care of the American Indians better than has any government cared for the natives of any country invaded by them, then there are some terrible stories yet to be told concerning the atrocities committed by other governments.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[49] 622 648 701

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened. 622 648 721

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch 622 648 728

[49] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728

tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574

The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [176]

The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622

The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769

The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonso.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

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754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aftawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and
[823] ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region.
[197] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

 [pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become [164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

131 At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

101 Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the 131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

619 In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision 592 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single 361 row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and [345] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
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11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge. 114 797

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested. 114

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated. 574 648

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

where the natives had their huts, distant from the last site, Los Alisos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Alamos], 12 leagues. Indications showed that the inhabitants had already been elsewhere many days. I ordered the company to halt, to allow the herd of horses to eat from what little the sides of the slough and swamps offered.

Knowing that the unconverted Indian named Gabriel who belongs to this Rancheria of Bubal had always been much attached to the soldiers, and with his companions had always gone out anywhere to help them, it struck me as novel that he had absented himself with his people. He [evidently?] had decided to let some other do it, and fled from our encounter. I remained considering what I ought to do in compliance with the wishes of the Superior Governor.

648 797 At 11 that day I observed with the spyglass two Indians some distance off: I sent two soldiers to overtake them, and they brought them to me in camp. After having disposed of the fear they showed, I examined them with kindliness. They declared that several Indians from Bubal (their companions) had been at the fiesta of San Miguel at the end of September, and they returned, telling that the great captain of the soldiers (thus they referred to the Superior Governor) was this time sending troops to catch and take away in bonds all the escaped Christians and unconverted [gentiles], and would kill them if they did not like it. [These natives said] that they would offer the Christians [for return], but that they would not expose those unconverted. Because of their fears some of the Christians had retreated into the interior of the lakes and swamps, and after receiving news of our coming, the rest of them had disbanded.

[They said] that at the Rancheria of Tache there arrived on the 21st three Christians from Soledad, sent with the news that we were already on the road to fall upon them, to recapture the Christians and punish the unconverted. For this reason the captain [copy of Nov. 19: *tiya*, chief] wished to catch the renegades that they had in the Rancheria and send them off. But this had been opposed and [on] their relatives the [rest of the] natives could not prevail. [They said] that they did not know where all the Indians were to be found if we awaited them, or moved to other parts.

They, with some few others, had camped together in a creek bed about 5 leagues away, where there was a little water, which could be reached on foot. After having news of our close approach, they maintained vigils, and last night they saw us as we crossed the sloughs. And finally [they said] that having been advised of our departure by the three comers from Soledad, our route on the plain was already known to everyone.

The information of finding this part of the Rancheria of Bubal at so short a distance, although in a swampy site, obliged me to surprise it, guided by these natives, and I resolved to leave for it at night.

Monday, 25.—At 2 A.M. took a route south, following the two gentile Indians, and at a distance of 5 leagues among tulares and swamps, I arrived at the side of a lake. I found the site where I had been told I would find those

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

whom I sought, but it was already deserted. We followed the tracks some 2 leagues, with the lower halves of our bodies naked, and the troop carrying rifles and shields, until we encountered them. They obtained 45 persons of both sexes and all ages. Some others who perceived us had fled, and could not be followed because of so much water, mud, and tules. 648 797

At 11 of the day I reached camp and the spot where [these people] were accustomed to live. On examination they told me that they had retreated because the two whom I had detained had not returned, and they were much afraid. All was like the recital that the two natives had made me before. [They said] that the Indian Gabriel had left for the Ranchería of Buenavista, invited to a fiesta being made by the natives. This Indian Gabriel, although unconverted, has always shown great friendliness toward the soldiers, accompanying them on previous expeditions. Although he is not a captain of the Ranchería of Bubal he is forceful, and is respected for his valor by the great numbers of people who inhabit the valleys and lakes of the tulares. Nevertheless, these natives informed me that he had much fear because of the ill treatment resulting from the expedition made three years ago [copy of Nov. 19: two years] from Mission San Luis [copy of Nov. 19: with the Luiseño Indians]. To put aside this fear I ordered Gabriel to be advised of my coming, and that I would wait for him until the 30th in the neighborhood of the Ranchería of Tontache [Chunut]. Also that he should bring with him such Christians as they had among them, and I would give them a paper of pardon for their return to the missions.

Among the 45 Indians taken was the Indian woman, Liberata, who, because of sickness, had had permission to return home to cure herself. She will return to San Miguel with the others that come. Thereafter they continued with me. This is the village of natives nearest to the missions and with greatest frequence has "made" Christians at San Miguel. Therefore I treated them with the greatest kindness, as I had been charged by the Superior, to the end of disposing of the fears which they had as a result of the influence of the runaway Christians. I told them to return to live at their sites, to go out to the lake where they [the others] were and advise them all to reunite [and live] as before. I sent them off at 2 P.M., but they told me that they would like to remain and not go out until morning to bring in their possessions all at one time. They asked my permission to send notice to Gabriel at once, and to the scattered Indians, to which I acceded with great pleasure, and 5 Indians went out in all directions.

At 3 P.M. the old captain of Bubal, Chape, and his wife arrived. He told me that while he was fishing in the lake the renegade [copy of Nov. 19: from San Miguel] Anastasio came, and he gave him the news of my arrival, and that he was freed from being captured for having run off into the water and hiding in the swamp. [He said] that, having returned to their homes, the old people who remained told him of the good treatment they had been given, and as he already knew me from having been at the Presidio, he [now] came to see me by virtue of the order which permitted them to come to me. He pre-

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648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [162] at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162] it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was 797 named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuekal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this [162 ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, 62] Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij- [36 nocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small 162]

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

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The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

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Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

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The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

[609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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648 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to
[162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this
[361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756
[342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented
[162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-
[252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the
797 objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jossps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jossps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there [887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of [361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women [437] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and [133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache, [361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback]. [162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

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648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspa had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [481] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large [147] fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told. 648

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one. [501]

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies). [361 262]

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No- [622]

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

[797] tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guahita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of [648] Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great [622] captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once [201] put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [?] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise [?], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the [162] corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is [133] without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

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on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people. 648 797

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain. [133]

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under?] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there. [143]

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

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the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancheria. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche rancheria] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *sarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the rancheria, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancheria of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

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648 797 tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

[622 888]

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of

000 *Thursday, 11.*—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaiis. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

Saturday, 13.—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and 797 at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

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[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

*161 These vouchers are included with other documents in Senate Executive Document No. 61, 32nd Congress, 127 first session, 1852 (pp. 20 to 23). Some question might be raised concerning the accuracy of the figures, but there is no indication in the correspondence of the period of irregularity or dishonesty. Dr. Ryer claimed that he had vaccinated, from the Stanislaus to the south shore of Lake Tulare, 6,154 persons.

● 648 A somewhat smaller area was covered by four of the eighteen treaties concluded by commissioners McKee, *161 Barbour, and Wozencraft[1] with the California tribes in 127 1851. These four treaties may be designated A, B, C, and N, following the order in which they are presented in the Senate Report. Under the agreements, one of the commodities which were to be furnished to the Indians by the government was blankets. The tribes included under treaties A, B, and C were to receive a total of 3,000. In treaty N (as also in several other treaties not concerned with this area) it was stated that the Indians were to receive one blanket apiece for every person over fifteen years of age, and presumably this ratio was employed universally in the issue of blankets. Under the conditions existing at that time it may safely be assumed that the persons over fifteen years of age constituted at least 80 per cent of the total population. Therefore the three treaties first mentioned (A, B, and C) must have covered 3,750 individuals. Regarding the group embraced by treaty N it is explicitly stated that "they may number . . . some 2,000 to 3,000." If we take the mean, or 2,500, then the total for the area is 6,250.

The area included under the four treaties extended actually only from the Chowchilla River to the south shore of Lake Tulare and the Kern River, whereas the territory covered by Ryer during his vaccination tour began with the Stanislaus. Within the treaty limits he vaccinated 4,449 persons. The discrepancy between his total and that of the treaties poses no difficulty since it is apparent that, as would be expected with any primitive group, fewer individuals consented to be vaccinated than made known their desire to receive gifts of blankets. Hence the figure derived from potential blanket distribution is probably closer to the actuality than the vaccination figure. If, accordingly, we correct Ryer's report of 1,705 persons vaccinated north of the Chowchilla River to conform to the ratio found south of that stream, we get 2,398. If we add this to 6,250 the total is 8,648 for the entire strip from the Stanislaus to the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.

*161 In summarizing general estimates and counts we may discard the very high values submitted by Wozencraft, Johnston, and Sutter on the grounds that they were either mere guesses or applied to an earlier period than that

[1] These treaties seem to have been concluded without proper authorization from the Federal government and were never ratified by the Senate. They were incorporated in Senate Confidential Documents, June, 1852, and remained unpublished for half a century. Finally they were ordered printed in 1905 as a Senate Reprint and are now available under the title of "18 California Treaties."

*161 A further problem of importance illustrated by our data for Bubal is the extent to which population estimates for villages were affected by local fugitivism or temporary scattering of the natives at the advent of the Spaniards. Very frequently the explorers left notations that the inhabitants of a certain rancheria had fled, or that many were absent. It seems clear that even by the year 1800 the natives were all too well aware of the purpose of the missionaries and soldiers and took measures to defeat that purpose. For this reason, remarkable as it may appear, the largest estimates are likely to have been the most accurate.

Returning now to the population of Bubal we find Martin counting "no less" than 200 children in 1804, indicating a total number somewhere in the vicinity of 1,300, although most of the adults apparently had absconded. In 1806 the same situation arose and Moraga found only 400 left in the village. In 1814 Cabot estimated that the village contained 700 people, despite the fact that some may have been missing. The apparent increase in 1814 can be very simply explained by the assumption that fewer natives had fled the village than had done so when Moraga arrived. Cabot's figure may be quite near the truth for the year 1814 since we must concede a drastic overall reduction of population in the area between 1804 and 1814. Certainly the population can never have been less than 700. The weight of the evidence at hand thus indicates that the estimate based upon Martin's account, i.e., 1,300 persons, is essentially sound.

*161 361 ● 648 Further evidence of collateral importance is derived from consideration of the location of the village of Bubal. Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 27) place Bubal on Atwell's Island, near Alpaugh, in T23S, R23E, that is, on the east side of Lake Tulare. Neither Martin (in 1804) nor Moraga (Muñoz diary of 1806) locates the rancheria with any precision but Cabot (1815) left San Miguel on October 2, 1814, and on October 3 traveled over an immense plain, arriving late in the day at Bubal, on the shore of a big lake. This can have been only Lake Tulare and the west shore thereof. The next year Ortega (1815), approaching from the north or northwest, passed through Sumtache (i.e., Chunut) and went on to Bubal, where he arrived late at night, not having been able to find the village ". . . por haverse mudado de su sitio propio. . ." Estudillo was the next visitor who has left us a detailed account of this area. On October 22, 1819, he went from near Cholam to a place called Los Alisos near the edge of the foothills of the coast range. On October 23 he went across the plain and on October 24 arrived at Bubal, obviously from the west, and found it deserted, adding the comment that the village ". . . manifesto aver ya dias q. se fueron a otra parte." The following day he pushed five leagues south through tule swamp and found the settlement on the bank of the lake although his soldiers had to wade waist deep for two leagues farther in order to catch most of the inhabitants. Apropos of this incident he says regarding Bubal: "Esta es la rancheria de gentiles mas immediata a las misiones, y la q. con mayor frecuencia se hacen cristianos en la de San Miguel."

From these accounts it is very clear that the original site of Bubal was on the west, not the east, shore of the lake and that because of the depredations of the Spaniards the inhabitants fled into the lake itself, where they made at least temporary settlements. That these became their permanent home is attested by the fact that no later than 1826 Pico stated that Bubal was situated on an island in the lake. Subsequently contemporary writers as well as the modern ethnographers agree that the principal village

*161 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

From the demographic point of view the chief justification for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter wherever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martin in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martin in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta [64B] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in bad straits, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting [622] comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of [592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear 165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . en- 731 contrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi- *161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em- 164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the 73 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

*161 Derby, only by the rancheria of Notonto which then had 300 inhabitants. The population had thus fallen to 17.6 per cent of its former value. A footnote to the decline of the native inhabitants in this region is the fact that within a year or two after Derby's visit the village of [648] Notonto was attacked by American cattlemen and farmers. The rancheria was devastated and 200 of the 300 people present were massacred in cold blood.

For the second sector of the Kings River we are dependent primarily upon the record of the Moraga expedition. Moraga and Muñoz evidently covered the river from the vicinity of Reedley to, or nearly to, the junction of the main stream and Mill Creek. The villages mentioned by them belonged principally to the Aiticha and the Choinimni. The Wechihit and the Toihicha may have been included but the Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich seem to have been overlooked. Hence the figures given by Moraga are undoubtedly incomplete.

On October 16, 1806, having arrived from the San Joaquin River two days previously, Moraga sent out two scouting parties. One went upstream and found a [361] rancheria of "como de 60 almas," called Ayquiche (or Aycayche). They were no doubt among the Aiticha; above Sanger. Here they heard about, but did not see, six other rancherias "sitas a la orillas del rio por la parte de la sierra." The other party went downstream and found three villages close together on a spacious plain along the banks of the river. They had a total of 400 inhabitants, but most of the people had fled. The "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" gives the names of these villages: Aycayche, which "according to the Indians" had 200 people, Ecsaa with 100, Chiaja with 100, and Xayuase with 100. In addition there was Capitau, which was very small and a "sugeto" of Xayuase. It had about 10 people. Apparently in October Muñoz and Moraga found only 60 Indians left in Aycayche, whereas in April they learned that it really contained 200. The difference must be ascribed to fugitivism.

The three downstream villages are credited by the "List" with 100 inhabitants apiece, but the diary states that there was a total of 400. The latter figure is more likely to be correct. Thus, with Aycayche, Moraga saw in this sector four villages and 600 persons. The other group of villages, six in number, was farther toward the mountains and no particular information concerning them is given in the diary. The "List," however, is more explicit. Under Aycayche it is stated:

> Aqui hay otras 6 rancherias que no se pudieron reconocer y son todos, segun la noticia de los indios de esta rancheria como del porte de almas de Pizcache.

Pizcache is said to contain 200 souls. An aggregate of 1,200 persons is therefore indicated or, for the entire region seen by Moraga, 1,800.

The middle course of the Kings River has been discussed in the preceding section and it has been pointed out that in the middle of the nineteenth century this region was relatively heavily populated. The accounts of several contemporary observers indicate that in 1850 or thereabouts somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000 natives were still to be found between the remnants of the Nutunutu on the west and the foothills Mono on the east. The ethnographic data supplied by Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart show approximately 25 villages remembered by informants. If we use the fairly conservative average of 150 persons per village, the total

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*161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming in by that year. Hence there is a chance of overlap. This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

127 797

*161 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abella in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

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*161 Luis Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition under the command of one Soto, whose party was attacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

●648

*161 100 Indian auxiliaries. Nothing like an equal number of natives could have withstood them. Soto's estimate may
●698 be cut in half but at least 500 warriors must be allowed, or 125 for each of the four rancherias. Now the fighting population, even in a great emergency, does not coincide with the total male population. If there were 500 warriors, there must have been fully 300 young boys, invalids, and
*161 old men who were not present. Hence we must concede a male population of no less than 800 for the four villages. If the percentage values established previously are used, the mean village size was approximately 475.

To the villages just described may be added the one seen by Moraga on the Stanislaus River in 1806, which had 200 inhabitants.

These twelve villages thus yield an average of 362 inhabitants each. Although throughout the territory many rancherias were doubtless small, it is equally probable that some were very large, approaching the magnitude of Chischa and Bubal in the south. Hence, unless in some particular instance there is clear reason to believe otherwise, 300 cannot be regarded as an excessive estimate for the average village of the delta.

In considering in detail the population of the delta (see map 6, area 13), it is convenient to segregate groups according to tribal distinctions rather than strictly according to geographical points. The reason lies primarily in the fact that the early writers and the mission records were relatively explicit with respect to names of villages and groups but were badly confused with respect to localities. In the densely populated but physiographically homogeneous delta region, with its scores of small streams, sloughs, and islands, explorers found it very difficult to establish clear landmarks by which the inhabitants might be oriented. A state of confusion has arisen of a kind to generate many controversies among ethnographers, controversies which are not pertinent in the present connection and which it is desirable to avoid as far as possible. In order to adopt a more or less uniform system with respect to tribal nomenclature and arrangement it is proposed to follow here the practice of Schenck (1926), who has made an exhaustive study of the area.

Bolbones (syn. Cholbones, Chilamne, Chulame).—This large group occupied the sloughs of the lower San Joaquin west of Stockton. Schenck, on his map (1926, p. 133) shows their territory as being bounded by the main stream of the San Joaquin River on the east and by the channel now known as the "Old River" on the west. This delineation of their habitat is supported by the diaries of Abella and Viader. Schenck classifies the subtribes or divisions of the main group as follows:

Cholbones	a group
Pescadero	a village
Jusmites or Cosmistas	a village plus
Fugites or Tugites	a village plus
Tomchom, under Fugites	a village
Nototemnes.....	a village

Although these natives are mentioned frequently in the correspondence of the period, the first recorded exploration of their area was that of Fr. José Viader in 1810. This missionary left Mission San Jose on August 15 and went by way of Pittsburg and Antioch to the mouth of the San Joaquin, whence he traveled southeast to Pescadero, ". . . la rancheria de los Cholvones." Leaving the rancheria he went on up the river. Viader's second expedition was carried out during the month of October of the same year. This time he went directly from San Jose to Pescadero, which he says was 15 leagues

	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
*161 797 Pitemis...	None	(60), 1814-1831 (98 per cent in 1814-1816)
Coybos....	(94), 1808-1826 (71 per cent in 1811-1812	None

To judge by the three separate periods in which the majority of the baptisms occurred there were three groups of people: the Leuchas, who were brought into the fold primarily during 1805 and 1806, the Coybos, principally in 1811-1812, and the Pitemis, converted two or three years later. The Leuchas were taken to both missions, but the Coybos were brought only to San Jose and the Pitemis only to Santa Clara. Abella said that in 1811 the village of Coybos had 180 inhabitants, a figure which has been used in computing the average village size. But the aboriginal population was probably greater. This view is substantiated by the events which preceded Abella's visit. In 1805 Father Cuevas of San Jose Mission went on an unauthorized expedition to the Leuchas—the best account is that by José Argüello (MS, 1805)—in search of converts.[5] He was badly treated and some of his men were wounded by the natives. This and the punitive expeditions which immediately followed no doubt accounted for the wave of conversions in 1805 and 1806. But at the same time the entire aboriginal group unquestionably suffered heavily from battle casualties and economic disturbance so that the population five years later must have been seriously reduced. It is thus justifiable to assume that originally there were three villages and that each was of average size. The population may therefore be set at fully 900 persons.

[A8]

*161 Some further information is derived from the recollections of José María Amador (MS, 1877). This pioneer, who received his facts second-hand from his father, mentions (pp. 13-15) the campaign of 1805 against the "Loechas," who, he says lived 4 to 5 leagues from Livermore. This would put them west of the San Joaquin River, south of the Bolbones, in T1S, R5E, not on the east bank as shown by Schenck. Amador then goes on to say that after the Cuevas affair the Leuchas ". . . se habian ya cambiado el rio de San Joaquin a una rancheria que se llamaba de los Pitemis." They were all captured and taken to San Jose. It is thus reasonably clear that the Leuchas originally did live west of the river, and crossed over to the east side as a result of the punitive expeditions of the Spaniards. Furthermore, the village of the Pitemis was already in existence at this time, probably at or near the spot shown by Schenck. Coybos undoubtedly was another village within the same area. This region, therefore, at the time of Abella's visit in 1807 contained the established villages of Pitemis and Coybos plus a residue of unconverted, fugitive Leuchas who had taken refuge in them.

Amador's assertion that the Leuchas were all captured and taken to San Jose is not borne out by the baptism figures, which show only 23 Leuchas enrolled at Mission San Jose in 1805 to 1806. Many more, actually 73, were baptized at Santa Clara in 1805. The total is 96, and scarcely represents the entire personnel of the group. Nevertheless, if we add the casualties of battle, disease, and exposure to those baptized in the missions, and allow for the dispersion of the remainder, the sum will amount to no less than the 300 assumed above for the Leuchas.

[5] There are numerous other letters pertaining to this matter in the same volume of the Provincial State Papers.

*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coybos.

114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distinct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. ..... 900)

*161 Ochejamnes.—This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and [131] considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 446) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsiias," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Oocheganes, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian fighting in the delta (Berryesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yunisumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relatively complete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750.

(Ochejamnes ..... 750)

*16 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherias," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 6 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, [361] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concerning tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*16 In the later documents there is little if any reference to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. ● 648 There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*16 From the citations above it appears probable that the [101] Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
●648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor [952] then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

799 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 756 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [554] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

622 chief was telling of his plans, the other chiefs, having arrived, privately agreed or disagreed. The speaker's winatum went to them, asking their opinion. If all were in agreement, they all held a low-voiced consultation about specific points, for instance, the date for a ceremony, and the decisions were announced at once by the chief holding the session (M. and J.P.).

A chief's sons or brothers might go out to hunt, but he himself did not. His winatum would see to it that hunters supplied the chief with meat, game, and fish. No informant was able to state exactly how this arrangement worked, save that the chief did not pay for what he received. Information from the South-
[65] ern Valley by Fages, and from the Northern Foothills by Powers, tells of a fairly complex and defined system of tribute-taxation, so to say, for those regions. Possibly something of the same sort operated in the Central Foothills and I failed to get a clue to it.

But whatever was received by the chief, he in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, to needy persons. It was a particular duty of the chief to see that no one was hungry or without clothing and shelter. Very aged persons or orphans sometimes had no one to care for them. The recipients of his care were not obligated to make payment in money, objects, or services,
[576] unless out of a sense of gratitude. It is in Yokuts etiquette to return gift for gift, and M.L. said that a widow, who perhaps received meat from the chief, would give a basket of acorn meal or something of the sort to the chief's wife when she found the opportunity. Such an occurrence took place within M.L.'s own family when her widowed mother, without grown sons, was dependent upon others for game.

A particular and constant source of fi-
622 nancial drainage to the chief was the payment
624 of the winatums, not merely his own, but others arriving with messages. Winatums and all visitors to the village were invited to come to the chief's home where they paid their respects, as it were, and were given a meal. A visitor who did not go directly to the chief's house was looked up by the winatum and invited to go there. A person who refused would be looked upon with gravest suspicion; indeed, no one did refuse.

Informants like to refer to the chief's
622 wealth, but his means of acquiring it are not
556 altogether clear. He received payments for ceremonial performances and kept a portion, the remainder going to the performers [doctors, singers, winatums] involved in the ceremony. Trade brought him profit also. And probably in the receiving and distributing of foods he was not a loser. The role of the chief as a
[426] gambler was not inquired into, but money-lending at high interest was a common practice of chiefs and other men who had the capital, especially before the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'itc's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'itc's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'itc received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'itc totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

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Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

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No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance. 651 541

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Noncontributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section. 769 622 476

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result. 622 541 651

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsmumi, the other two at 622

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

[177 657]

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

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BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

[167 838]

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The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf,
657 live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy
work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes;
[461] pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all
winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut
159 tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch
173 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high;
648 wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat
on river take white man across water. Then lots white man
come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutumutu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief. Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

181 515 early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, [609] and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

511 648 No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

181 515 According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and [291 302] do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels [291] went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

648 657 At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sometime ago, in a public speech, one of the officials of the United States Government made the following statement: "No native people has ever been better treated by the invader and his dominating civilization than has the American Indian by the government of the United States." Probably not one person in one hundred will agree with this statement at first thought, and it is undoubtedly not true in many senses. 648 657

The official quoted probably meant that no government has ever appropriated more money for the relief of a native people than has ours. The writer believes that from this angle the statement is entirely true. There is no question but that our government has appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars for Indian relief.

J. Ross Browne, pioneer California Indian official, has very clearly pointed out in his writings about our Indians that the early appropriations, to his personal knowledge, never reached the Indian, that they were made in most instances by politicians who were anxious to provide funds for their political supporters to administer.

All will agree that if it is true that the government of the United States has actually taken care of the American Indians better than has any government cared for the natives of any country invaded by them, then there are some terrible stories yet to be told concerning the atrocities committed by other governments.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

DIALECTIC DIVISIONS.

As stated at the opening of this paper, the Yokuts dialects were numerous, each small tribe, of which there were about forty, possessing a dialect distinct, in at least some words, from all others. At the same time the differentiation of even the most diverse dialects was not very great. Barring two small specialized groups comprising together not more than three or four dialects, all the dialects were more or less intelligible to one another. Structurally they are very uniform, and even lexically they differ more conspicuously by the use of different stems to express the same idea than by serious modifications of the same stem. Altogether the dialects, including the two specialized groups just mentioned, fall quitely clearly into two divisions, of which the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani that have been described are typical grammatical representatives. These two divisions have been called the Foot-hill and Valley divisions. 197*

The relation of these two divisions to the topography of the Yokuts territory is, when particularly considered, quite striking. As has been stated, the Yokuts occupied the entire southern half of the San Joaquin-Tulare Valley, besides almost all the adjacent foot-hills. They did not reach high into the mountains, which were held everywhere by Shoshoneans and, in the south, by Chumash. The present Tule river reservation, which is situated on original Yokuts territory, is farther up in the mountains than almost any other habitat of even the Foot-hill tribes, a circumstance due probably to the presence in the Tule river region of a well marked secondary range of the Sierra Nevada, which served as a natural dividing line between the two stocks. Within the Yokuts family the dialectic distinction between the inhabitants of the plains and those of the foot-hills is equally sharp. Not only that adjacent tribes living respectively in the valley and in the hills spoke differently, but, with only two exceptions, all valley tribes everywhere belonged to one division, and all foot-hill tribes to another. These two exceptions were, first, at the extreme northern end of the Yokuts territory, on the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers, where dialects belonging to the Valley division, but forming a well-marked subdivision, were spoken in 101 197* 657 197*

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyue) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[58] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawateanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[59]

[58] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[59] See anecdote, p. 391.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie (the chief, Tipwatswat) that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwɛl). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi´´thɛ´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [413] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tɛpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 48 b] Paleuyam:

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796
668

M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

[P. 49 b] Koyeti

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi ha´t:m) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek.
668 D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Port Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Port Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

T
Y
756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T
Y
796
668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men, two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

T
Y
[302]

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tıs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonık, although J.B. had seen Ma´mıl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
769 mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñıt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowıš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´mıts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
● 668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[**] "He went
[text continues on p. 133]

[**] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 133a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
●668 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red."
796 In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers
would go north to learn the new songs from
Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came
south, which he did once or twice later on. The
group of singers came back and held the first
dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in
Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went
"to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the
old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon.
They held no dances on the return trip. In
several subsequent years they retraveled this
route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore:
"singers from there came to dances in the foot-
hills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this
group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui,
and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and
A´pawič, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname)
(all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did
the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs
were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them
[then].

668 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
796 J.B. did not know why. There was never any
revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did
not believe the dance was a preventative of
sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the
southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living
at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a
little fellow and went with his father and
mother and boy cousin." He had three older
brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that
by no means did everyone go to the dance
"though most did because they were afraid not
to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text continued on Top of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably
brief and not always clear. The available in-
formants at Squaw Valley were inadequately
equipped in personality and language to discuss
or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory.
They were not able to distinguish clearly be-
tween events at Maštinao and those occurring at
neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages.
Neither could they get down to cases. For ex-
ample, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's
totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her
husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M.,
A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given
for the sake of complete record: only the
moiety data can be used safely as it was re-
checked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text continued in middle of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
177 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono" came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Auxly 5]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long
775 hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wɛs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwɛs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aitichа or Wechihit make this dance.

Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a'la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·'l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, e.

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe'biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya'hixo) was
769 performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (epla'oša) was
769 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were
769 lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
796 participation in the Ghost Dance has been pub-
668 lished in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su'yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo''oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Poagiss were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper.
[778] In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 Concerning the range of Chukchansi terri-
131 tory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold
Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village
103 site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[648] [77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. — A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
● 668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186 their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

[P.252.] Western Mono <25

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

W Y [775]

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 253-9] Western Mono NS25
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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telweyit, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

W Y 796 668

B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

W Y [302]

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and
[614] Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans
[616] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area.
[592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference
182 from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in
869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as
[577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as
622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made
624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives; one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
431] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

343 The ramada or shade, čɛ´niu (Kroeber, ch'iniu), was constructed of four or more posts set in parallel rows. Beams were laid between them, the whole covered with more cross poles, and finally masses of tule or willow brush were laid on top.[157] The ramada was not always in front of the dwelling house, but in the Central Foothills was as often at the side. This structure, so simple and so necessary in the summer heat of the region, has been adopted by white settlers throughout the San Joaquin Valley.

343 251 Storehouses and bins.--A prosperous family of average size had at least one storehouse erected close to their home. This was a small replica of the conical dwelling, save that it had a floor of logs raised off the ground to prevent moisture from settling in it. This form of storehouse is not to be confused with the small acorn storage bins or "granaries." In it were kept baskets, pottery, and the supplies of dried meat, dried fish, seeds, shelled acorns, and other foods in immediate use.

There were various methods of storing the major portions of the acorn crop. Sometimes pits in rocks were filled with acorns and a small, conical, grass-thatched shelter was erected over them. Or if nothing better could be contrived, acorns were stored in hollow trees. The best and commonest method of storage was in a barrel-shaped "granary" set upon a flat, water-shedding rock. Four to six uprights were held in place with horizontal split [285] willow bands.[158] This was lined with a tule or fine brush mat, and the bottom, i.e., the rock surface, packed with fine grass. When the bin was filled with acorns, a grass or tule thatch was bound around it, and a kind of conical "hat" of the same material was set atop. Such bins were usually large: a woman would have to stand on the horizontal bindings in order to reach into them. When the supply within became lowered to the point of inconvenience, the owner would tear a hole in the bottom and remove the acorns through it. (M.L.)

[674] Food was rarely, if ever, stolen from these granaries. Should a family run short of provisions, more acorns would be bought from [621] someone who had plenty or, were the family really poor, the chief would see to it that they were fed.

Dress

291 The breechclout was worn by both men and women. Usually it was of deerskin, but prefer-

[171] [157] An excellent picture of a shade of similar type is shown by Kelly (Ethnography of Surprise Valley Paiute, pl. 18, c).

[158] The Miwok "granary" shown by Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 38) has a frame work of similar type, but the Yokuts form, for at least the Central Foothill region, lacked the center post and raised conical bottom.

224 saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?].
482 At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

224 Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

231 A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt
224 foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate <u>them</u>." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

579 A man named xo'šin (M.N.'s father-in-law,
● 674 said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans."
674 About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses
[262 to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152] kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality.
[262] Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost
[484] traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

579 horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this
674 way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up
[492] here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

224 When they had horses here, they would go
492 down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a ja´quima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

579 Such raids were made occasionally in the
674 summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

226 Chukchansi people used to go down to
227 Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was
[177] used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

226 When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which
[482] was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was
[252] ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve four or five men.

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[26] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[27]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[28]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[29]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

[26] See anecdote, p. 392.
[27] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[28] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[29] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 756 674 754 There was still another way in which persons were done away with through chiefs and their shamans:

If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go [683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 622 756 572 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activities of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

[60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
756 kill any animal of that breed. One actual
animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
278 ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau'mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
556 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
266 opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de'ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai'yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo'luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto'kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

Cold: ho'sowona. This was usually not
757 treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai'y:n ho'pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tats, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She
● 683 was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a
755 Wukchumni doctor. Sukotats was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her
752 dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a
756 song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Po´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar;
753 this was called mets añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiy: ´n:l, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[59] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and t:pni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787 objects and burned them--for instance, a person in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it
828 would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by t:pni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and
● [683 died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, T:pwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in T:pwatswats' coffee. Soon after

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[59] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

624 756 Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community [683] of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

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[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

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789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

756 Shamans were feared because of their
754 ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

683 When a shaman was believed to be a public
756 menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´pat, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ·rni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa·čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. The rocks were [531] usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 130-139, figs. 51, 52.

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´č:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 galia] and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 824 766 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean, would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 626 683 The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
789 tween shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

W Y 613 825 saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778 The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756 The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha´gø) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of Y [237] crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing W Y 764 performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683 The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683 A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 244 b] Western Mono N525

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The Yokod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15], where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

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[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sick-
[276 ness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.
The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little
754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. [533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of re-
754 prisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died.
756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed
683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

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[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[81]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[81] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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MALICIOUS ACTIVITIES

754 The sinister activities of evil shamans are ever present in the native mind. The following series of anecdotes related by informants from various sections of San Joaquin valley are evidence of the baleful rôle which doctors played in aboriginal life.

A Wobonuch (WM) informant, 'Merican Joe, with George Dick interpreting, gave the following:

Cahaola (Charlie Pete) had a large family. They were living at Sief's below Mill creek. One of his girls got sick and died. Soon another had a similar attack. Cahaola got a doctor named Puca to cure her. He was a man of small stature, and "very, very mean." This was the doctor who was poisoning Cahaola's children. Puca sat down in front of the girl and cut her in several places. He finally sucked out a water weaver. It had been used as "air-shot."

Soon others in Cahaola's family died: the water insect went from one to another killing each. At last there was only one girl, Pahamo, left, and she too fell ill. Cahaola now was desperate. He came over to Kiteeyu (Dunlap) and consulted Laoteu'i (Little Dick), the Entimbich chief, telling him that he wanted to kill Puca. Laoteu'i sent him to see Hamate (Luckett). Both chiefs agreed that Cahaola was justified as it was well known that Pahamo had refused to sleep with Puca. Hence Puca was taking the usual doctor's revenge by making her sick. Puca was living over at Kiteeyu at the time with a daughter of Haipue (Samson Jack). He had two other women, one up at Hart's basin, the other in Drum valley. He always took barely nubile girls.

There had been a fandango at Kiteeyu. Someone told Cahaola that Puca was going over to Ke'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) the next day, so Cahaola went ahead on the trail to waylay him. When Puca was ready to start he sent some of his friends on before him saying that he was going down to Barton's saloon to get some whiskey and would catch up with them. Then he followed by himself.

Cahaola was waiting on the trail. He saw Haipue and some other men coming along, so remained hidden. Then he saw Puca in the distance; Puca was riding a white horse and was plainly visible. Puca drew nearer; he was very drunk and was singing loudly. The song he sang as he rode was "You can take my heart [soul, spirit] away today." He had already been informed through a dream that Cahaola was going to kill him. As he came opposite, Cahaola jumped out and shot him through the body with a .44. Puca fell off his horse and landed upright on a rock; he sat up rigidly straight. Cahaola accused him of killing his family. Puca admitted the crime and said he was glad he was going to be killed. Then Cahaola shot him between the eyes.

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When Cahaola reached home his last daughter was dying.

The activities of bad doctors among the Waksachi (WM) are best illustrated by anecdotes involving three generations of shamans.[25] Of the following, numbers 1 and 3 were told by Sam Osborn, number 2 by Josie Alonzo:

1. A group of Waksachi were living at Teitatu. There was a nice young girl there. A doctor named Wasic sent his winatum around to call a few of his shaman friends together. The winatum asked Wasic what he was going to do.

[25] See genealogy, Western Mono: Waksachi 2, Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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He replied, "I am going to kill that pretty young girl. I want these doctors to help me with some extra talismans as there is a beautiful woman at Kitcayu whom I am going to kill, too. I am going to make them sick. After they are dead I am going to skin them and stuff them like dolls. I have lots of money and baskets up at Tawatsanahahi in a big rock like a house; there is a lot of poison there, too. I am going to set these dolls up in there." 754

The wisatum was aghast but was too afraid of Wasic to object. He told the other doctors that they were to meet that night at Tawatsanahahi (eating dead person; also called Tawatsa'asot'ho'i, dead person skinned), a hill above Kitcayu which was a customary meeting place for doctors. No ordinary person dared go up there.

When the doctors assembled they made a fire and proceeded to make "air-shot" in the usual way. The girl at Tcitatu got sick suddenly and died the next day. They made "shot" for the woman at Kitcayu. She died, too. Then the doctors went home. They were warned not to tell anything on threat of being killed by Wasic.

The girls were buried and stayed in the ground two nights. On the third night about eight o'clock Wasic went to the Tcitatu girl's grave. He walked around it twice, each time stamping at the head. The girl rose right up out of the ground and stood up. Then Wasic waved his talisman, a rope of eagle down, and the girl flew into the air and came to earth some hundred yards away.[86] Then he flew himself by the same means. They moved thus again and again until they reached Tawatsanahahi. Then he did the same thing to the young woman at Kitcayu. He had to call on his friends for more talismans for this as the power of his own was worn out. When both girls were placed on the rocks the doctors assembled and skinned them. They stuffed the skins with grass and dressed the dummies in beads and quail feather earrings.

"Doctors always worked at night on such business; in the daytime they were where they belonged."

2. A man named Tukatsi lived at Kitcayu. His wife was a Wakatchi named Nellie. She became lame. The condition slowly grew worse until she was entirely crippled. Etak, a powerful doctor and the son of Wasic, was accused of causing the sickness. Etak was also accused of the death of two or three women and a man. When Tukatsi's wife died after being treated by Etak he went over to the doctor's house. Etak was just outside the door. Tukatsi shot him with an arrow. Etak began leaping all around and yelping, "Ai ii, ai ii i," just like a coyote. Tukatsi took up an axe and went after him but Etak escaped. [683]

Tukatsi met another doctor on his way home. He shot him in the eyes. This doctor had not injured anyone so far as was known but Tukatsi was beside himself and was ready to shoot any doctor on sight.

3. Haloptea was a son of Etak. He was a "mean" doctor. His sister Teeyi married a man named Koikoi'ite. They had four children, two boys and two girls. They moved over to Owens valley to live, for some reason. Haloptea made an eagle down belt and took it over to his niece. Two days later the girl died from poisoning with which the belt had been treated. Her brother died one year later. Soon after that the other two children died, and finally Teeyi herself. Koikoi was beside himself. He came over to Kitcayu to kill Haloptea. The bad doctor knew from a dream that he was being sought so he kept out of the way.

Koikoi went to Haloptea's house. Etak was there; he was an old, old man now, and blind. Koikoi shot him. Haloptea heard of this and rushed down to Visalia to get the sheriff. Koikoi was still around looking for Haloptea when

[86] This was a common feat of powerful shamans in the region.

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did not want to go directly to the village. The Wakasachi did not feel it was their business to hinder this man, but they asked him to wait until Camaka had left Tcitatu as they did not want any trouble started at the fandango that might involve other people. They also told the Gawia that the shaman had a horse and could get away easily so to be on the lookout for him. The man agreed to leave Camaka alone until after he had left Tcitatu. He went over to Badger where Sam Osborn's uncle put him up.

The following morning Camaka and his family went over to Badger, too. He made his wife and daughter look after the horses as he was afraid to be seen alone far from camp. In the meantime a Choinimni and his family had gone to Badger. They were camping there. The Gawia told the Choinimni of his affairs, and winning the latter's sympathy, the two agreed upon a plan by which Camaka might be killed. The Choinimni was paid for his part. That night the Choinimni made a big fire and asked Camaka to come over for a visit. He told the shaman to sit down on one side of the fire while he and his family and Sam's uncle sat at right angles from him. He said that thus Camaka might address them all as he was relating the latest news from down Wukchumni way. When all was arranged the Gawia leaped out from a pile of rocks behind Camaka and shot him in the shoulder. Then he rushed in and cut his throat. [683]

The Gawia still was so enraged that he wanted to go over to Camaka's camp and kill all his family. Sam's uncle and the Choinimni restrained him from doing this, pointing out that the doctor's relations were innocent and to kill them would be unjustifiable murder.

Bob Osborn tells of another Wukchumni doctor who caused trouble among the Yokod:

A mourning ceremony was being held by the Yokod at Yokol. Bob Osborn and his brother George were asked to come and bring some deer as they were hunters of renown. They stopped at Rancheria Flat over night. They got six deer on the way. They reached Yokol on Thursday. The crying ceremony ended on Saturday night and the rejoicing celebration started early Sunday morning.

Present at the fandango was a Wukchumni doctor who was accused of sickening or killing several Yokod. Several men had decided that the time had come to kill him. On Sunday morning at the moment when the mourners were all standing in a row waiting to be washed the Wukchumni doctor was standing off at a little distance. The conspiring men were ready. One of them ran down and grabbed the doctor. Another shot at the doctor but hit the man who was holding him. The doctor reached for his bow and shot several times at his assailants. Then he rushed into the nearest tule house. The men cornered him and shot him to death. Neither brothers nor other relatives took up a feud as the doctor's death was regarded by all as justifiable. [683]

A Choinimni doctor who made people sick and cured them just to get money was able to cause sickness as much as a hundred miles away, according to Josie Alonzo:

After Koswa's death a Choinimni doctor, Teokonik, came down to the Nutunuts (Y) at Kingston to cure the sick people there. At this time, Josie, her mother, and her sister-in-law with her two little boys, were working near Visalia. A winatum had come around telling them that Teokonik was going to make a visit to Kingston. The family decided that they wanted to go over to see the performance. On the morning when they were ready to start they all heard a little

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Polkoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watinihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhuss, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death. [195] [624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials 756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been 572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

572 [60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

439 It is difficult to obtain a set standard of Yokuts values
436 that white people can understand. It has also been very diffi-
487 cult to obtain from the Yowlumne an easily understood explana-
tion of such values. Perhaps the simplest of these has been that between deer skins and obsidian, a bundle of fifty tanned deer skins bringing about fifty pounds of obsidian.

In Yowlumne territory obsidian could be traded for anything, and had a very high trade value. It could be taken to Yokohl Valley and traded for soapstone, or to the West Side and traded for asphaltum. Some traders carried obsidian to the sea coast to trade for the seashells named above.

A few definite things have been learned about the value of seashells, which were the basis of most Yokuts money. One of these is that the complete shells had little value compared to the beads that were made from them. From one periwinkle, or olivella shell, at most three beads could be made and this required much labor. One tanned deerskin was worth three such beads. Beads or ornaments made from abalone, keyhole limpet, or Pismo clam shells had more value than did those made from periwinkle shells. These ornaments, or beads, were much larger than those made from periwinkle shells. From these few facts can be determined the relative values of a number of Yokuts commodities.

When the first white settlers arrived in the San Joaquin Valley they paid the Indians as much as twenty-five cents for a large, tanned deerskin. Some were purchased for as little as five cents. This furnishes almost the only data available concerning the comparative values of Yokuts and white money.

436 In 1852 a Kaweah Indian boy was brought to trial at Vi-
salia for shooting an arrow into a work ox and seriously injur-
685 ing it. For this offense he was fined fifty buckskins. The fine was promptly paid by his people. From early records and the statements of pioneers we know that an ox was at that time worth from sixty to eighty dollars. If we knew what portion of the value of the ox the fine represented we would have a ready measurement of the value of buckskins. We are probably only justified in assuming that an uninjured ox was valued at more than fifty buckskins.

439 Wahumchah's grandfather and a brother of this grand-
father were two of the four Yowlumne Yokuts who swam with
487 Padre Garcés across Kern River at the Rio Bravo Rancho (present Olcese Ranch) in May of 1776. The great-uncle lived

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[26] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[27]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[28]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[29]

●685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy. [622 735]

[26] See anecdote, p. 392.
[27] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[28] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[29] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [182] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and
[614] Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans
were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and
[616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area.
[592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference
182 from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and
869 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as
[577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and
their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as
622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made
624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess. 182 622

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion. 622 [692] [623] 622 627 [203] [558]

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death. 182 626

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugone
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [201] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26]Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27]Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.154 a] Dumna

251 175 Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 262 175 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.

From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 726 175 A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[p. 154 b] Dumna

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

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At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

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[33]Ibid., 31, 32.

[34]Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Couse, On the Trail, 287).

[35]Bunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabea (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36]Bunnell, 125.

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Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40] 622 648 701

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened. 622 648 721

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch 622 648 728

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse [726] Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsy[illegible]tized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40]

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The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened.

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The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Auklaud (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Tsobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawo, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawo. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch

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[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

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At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

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Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

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[33]Ibid., 31, 32.

[34]Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Couse, On the Trail, 287).

[35]Bunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36]Bunnell, 125.

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugone
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´ǵjiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [20] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordinary chief take any special part in battles, 624 though the account secured by Newman (see below) 726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely 726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26]Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27]Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[38] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabsa[39]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
202 anchi sent a man, who said that they would
539 fight in a certain number of days. The [Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wukchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?]

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (tsa·'ihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wukchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

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[38] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[39] Recorded in Kwalhioqua dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Hassel, Bankalachi.

726 202 539 good clubbing. In reply to further questions, the [Southern] messenger told them that his leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arrived. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They then descended to the plains and fought there. [411] They used only arrows and obsidian (tba·sip), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wukchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liína') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1459] Choinimni

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hoše´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´n:n, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hoše´mo (north); homtin:n (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´p:n (up); at:´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. h:'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´w:č: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 154 a] Dunna

251 175 Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

251 262 175 In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping tablelands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.

From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

701 726 175 A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

"He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[p. 154 b] Dunna

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of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

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"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

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[35]Dunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36]Dunnell, 125.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 160a] Kechayi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
to "go over and kill those people like birds."
252 While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi
surrounded the women's camp. One man came
closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the
acorns with their teeth and thought they were
eating. He went back and reported this Several
times he came close to spy and each time saw
the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he
"thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a
series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:l)
tied to their tops, which had been set up by
the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near
by, so they returned to camp and sent the women
off. The women fled across the river [San
Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men
went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was
located, and the Monachi were found asleep.
Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save
one man who smeared himself with his comrades'
blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this
man went back to his village and reported
events to his chief. The chief was very angry;
he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a
white man and was sent up into the mountains
with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on
this side of the ridge saw him; they came down
to him and asked him who he was. When it was
time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley,
his employer warned him not to make the trip
alone. But the man was anxious to get back
home and went anyway. The Monachi were am-
bushed along the way and killed the man and his
horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or
trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally
designate certain trees or grass spots as hers
and would "growl" if some other woman took the
products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and
would not be taken to the chief under ordinary
circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[626] women did grow into family feuds, which the
chief attempted to control by counsel. There
was a tacit, traditional ownership among fami-
lies, and in the larger sense among tribes, of
desirable land and its concomitant hunting,
fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family
"ownership" operated to the extent that a young
married woman continued to gather vegetable
products with her own mother, rather than with
her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely
led to inheritance of such plots, even though
inheritance was not defined in set terms by
any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River 648 region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
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The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[63]

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Daily Round

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264 family present ate simultaneously at meals.
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[63]Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

Y W 439 the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came Y W [574] to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´sip); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their Y use of them.) B.O. here interposed a descrip- [322] tion of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Warfare

W Y B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and 726 Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of W these hostile interludes are obscure.

Raiding for horses became a favorite ag- Y gressive activity after their introduction by [177] the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then W lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi Y never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a [556] strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped. 411 224

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal. [824]

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound. [823]

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed. 411 726

103 4. telwe´yɛt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa´šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či´
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɛtsolo´wɛn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɛt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [201] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordi-
624 nary chief take any special part in battles,
726 though the account secured by Newman (see below) indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely
726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which [727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

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[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork (Western Mono locality). This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded ● 727 was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[86]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[85] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

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727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
604 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south,
[439] probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less
[821] scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

● 728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liīna') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

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6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40] 622 648 [701]

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened. 622 648 721

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch 622 648 728

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alenso.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

Each family had an acorn granary. These 343 were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

The average granary held ten to twenty 251 sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not 251 personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of [593] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . en-
●731 contrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi-
*161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em-
164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of
173 disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

*161 16A 173 from measles, dysentery, and other contagious maladies introduced by the whites. The whole picture is one of ruinous devastation in the Kaweah delta just prior to 1816, with accompanying disorganization of the local economy and reduction of population.

The effect of war, disease, and starvation cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor can mention be made of them too often. On account of their debilitating influence the populations seen in the Kaweah delta and reported in the documents cannot possibly be overestimates of the aboriginal number. On the contrary, they undoubtedly represent too low, rather than too high, a figure.

*161 36 Reverting now to the villages reported, Moraga mentions eight places, four of them by name or other specific reference. Martinez mentions four, all by name. Cabot refers to Telame as the largest village in the Tulares. Elsewhere (MS, 1818) he states that before reaching Telame there are five rancherias, including Quiuamine and Yulumne. Quiuamine is no doubt the Quihuama of Martinez.

Telame was one village, according to all observers except Moraga (actually Muñoz, who wrote the diary). Moraga ascribes 600 people to the first Telame and 200 to the second. The first estimate, be it noted, was "segun corto computo," or according to a short count. The estimate must therefore on Moraga's own admission be increased, certainly to 1,000 and perhaps more. In view of the size of the well known rancheria Bubal, fully 1,300, Telame must have contained 1,200 persons.

In addition to the two Telames Moraga mentions a "big rancheria" one league to the east. Hence there were three villages which comprised what may be termed the Telame complex. No figures were given by Moraga for the unnamed rancheria, since it was entirely deserted. However, since it was regarded as "big," there must have been several hundred inhabitants, say 500. The total for the triad then would have reached nearly 2,000.

The Martinez description is apparently somewhat at variance with that of his predecessor. Martinez saw, cites distances for, and mentions by name three rancherias: Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto. They were located within a radius of one league of each other and must correspond to the three seen by Moraga. Gelecto was in ruins, with only the cemetery still in evidence. Hence Gelecto may very well have been the big, deserted rancheria of Moraga. Martinez gives no population data for Telame but says there were 300 heads of families in Lihuauhilame, which was, therefore, without much doubt the largest of the three. According to Moraga's figures, Telame I was the largest. Hence the concordance seems to be that Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto of Martinez correspond respectively to Telame II, Telame I and the "big" rancheria of Moraga. As pointed out previously, the total inhabitants to be deduced from 300 heads of families, under the conditions existing in 1816 was 1,200. This is twice the estimate of Moraga.

*161 An important point arises here with respect to Moraga's estimates. At Bubal, it will be remembered, Martin found evidence of 1,300 people in 1804 whereas Moraga reported only 400 in 1806. At Lihuauhilame Martinez found according to the statement of the village chief 1,200, although Moraga had reported ten years previously only 600. Furthermore Cabot, at Bubal eight years after Moraga, found 700 persons. For these two important villages therefore Moraga differs flatly with three other competent authorities by a factor of two or three. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in

Y #161 mass, I could not count them as I did those of Chischa, but there were perhaps 600 men."

He specifies the 600 men as "jovenes" and adds that there were 200 "mugeres jovenes." He then describes going behind the village to the arroyo, where he saw more than 100 "mugeres de mayor edad," washing seeds for atoles for the celebrants of the fiesta, and an even greater number of "jovenes moliendo en piedras dhas semillas."

The extraordinary care with which Estudillo conducted his investigation can leave little doubt of the accuracy of his figures. He saw 437 "jovenes de arma" in front of the village together with 600 women and children, plus 100 "mugeres de mayor edad" and more than 100 "jovenes" behind the village preparing the meal. Even allowing for some duplication of individuals the population must have reached at least 1,250. The solidity of this evidence for Chischa renders even more probable comparable figures for Bubal and the other large villages of the general area.

Estudillo saw 600 young men and 200 young women who were visitors. If we use the same ratio of young men ("jovenes de arma") to total population for these groups as for Chischa, then the 600 young men represented a total of 1,700 persons. These were all, says Estudillo, from the "roblar," or the Kaweah basin. When he arrived at the village, he was met by seven chiefs (who were already on the scene), two from Telame, one from Choynoco, and four from other rancherias of the "roblar" near the sierra. We may assume that the seven visiting chiefs were accompanied by approximately equal retinues, or 114 persons each. If two of the chiefs and 228 persons came from the Telame district and one chief with 114 persons from Choynoco (i.e., Choinok), then the remainder, 458, were from other tribes. By the same proportionality factor these represented a total of 980, or let us say 1,000, Indians. The Wukchamni and their satellites must therefore have numbered 2,250 individuals in the year 1819. Estudillo himself says that the population of Chischa and its neighbors was 2,400, but he may have included some Telamni among this number. On the other hand, the visitors to Chischa on the occasion of the fiesta could scarcely have included all the inhabitants of the villages whence they came. Some, for one reason or another, must have remained at home. Hence the estimate of 1,000 is probably under the true value.

Y [731] Now it is important that Estudillo was in the "roblar" in 1819. In view of the severe disorganization, "mortality," and "famine" of 1814 to 1816, the population of the Wukchamni must have undergone a serious decline before Estudillo saw the tribe. Despite the absence of any specific figures the documents give the impression that the reduction of population around Tulare Lake was almost complete by 1819 and that the valley tribes along the margin of the foothills had lost fully half their number. It will be proper therefore to ascribe a one-quarter reduction to the Wuchamni, Gawia, and Yokod. If we accept Estudillo's estimate of 2,400 for the year 1819, the aboriginal population for these groups would have been 3,200.

W 161 In the meantime the Mono of the upper river had scarcely been touched, save possibly by epidemics of which we have no record. It is significant that at the great gathering at Chischa there appeared, near the middle of the day, a chief with 69 men and 42 women from a rancheria called Apalame in the interior of the Sierra Nevada. These natives, probably Balwisha or

*161 axis of the valley the villages were numerous, some of them containing 50 to 100 houses or at least 250 to 500 people.

What happened to these villages is graphically told in Warner's own words.

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On our return, late in the summer of 1833, we found the valleys depopulated. From the head of the Sacramento to the great bend and slough of the San Joaquin, we did not see more than six or eight Indians; while large numbers of their skulls and dead bodies were to be seen under almost every shade-tree near water, where the uninhabited and deserted villages had been converted into graveyards; and on the San Joaquin River, in the immediate neighborhood of the larger class of villages, which, in the preceding year, were the abodes of a large number of those Indians, we found not only graves, but the vestiges of a funeral pyre. At the mouth of King's river we encountered the first and only village of the stricken race that we had seen after entering the great valley.

This was the pandemic of 1833, concerning which, in *161 comparison with some accounts, Warner's description is a model of conservatism.

It is evident that a combination of circumstances prevents us from making an adequate assessment of the aboriginal population of the lower Merced River and adjacent segments of the San Joaquin. Our density figure is about half the expected value. If we had the full facts, we could perhaps double the estimated population. Under existing conditions we can feel reasonably sure of the value given for the area between the Mariposa and the San Joaquin rivers.

MARIPOSA-SAN JOAQUIN 19,000

THE SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

The southern end of the valley, beyond Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River, can best be considered in three parts. The first is the foothill strip from the Kaweah to the Tejon Pass, which was inhabited by the Yokuts tribes Koyeti, Ysudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and Yauelmani (maps 1 and 2, area 1G). The second comprises the lower Kern River together with the former Buenavista Lake basin. This area was held by the Yokuts tribes Hometowoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni. The third includes the peripheral fringe of relatively high foothill and mountain country of the southern Sierra Nevada and Tehachapi and was inhabited by non-Yokuts people: Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, Kitanemuk, and the Tokya branch of the Chumash (maps 1 and 2, areas 1A to 1E).

Only the Koyeti are described by the Spanish authorities hitherto consulted. Moraga mentions the rancheria Coyahete with a population of 400 in 1806. Estudillo in 1819 found a rancheria, which he called Arroyo de Copaipich, with 200 and one called Canyon Agapa with 400 people. The latter may perhaps be Moraga's Coyahete. If so, the tribe had a population of at least 600 in 1819, but it must have suffered some decline prior to that year. Latta's informants were able to remember 8 villages. Moreover, the tribe was oriented ecologically [131] toward the Kaweah delta and oak forest, although it was actually situated on the lower Tule River. Thus an estimate of 800 persons would not be too much for the pre-

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*16 114 whole state was 133,000. Of these the Yokuts had 18,000, the Miwok (Plains and Sierra) 9,000, the Western Mono about 1,000, and the peripheral tribes in the south perhaps 2,000, a total of 30,000. Schenck is more liberal, since for the delta region he allows for a spread of between 3,000 and 15,000 persons. The present estimate for the same area, as closely as it can be determined, is in the vicinity of 13,000, or within Schenck's limits although toward his upper extreme.

Since the data and reasoning upon which the present figure of 83,820 is based are set forth in detail in the preceding pages there is little value in repeating them, nor will anything be gained by attempting a rebuttal to the arguments presented by Kroeber. At the same time the author may be permitted to recapitulate three points wherein he thinks many modern scholars have been misled.

1. All available information from the Spanish and Mexican sources must be consulted. To confine an argument or an estimate to a single account, such as that by Moraga, may lead to a false impression. Kroeber seems to have been thus deceived in his discussion of the population of the Yokuts.

2. It must be remembered that in the central valley, as contrasted perhaps with an area like the Klamath River, no informants speaking since 1900, and particularly since 1920, can possibly have furnished a true picture of conditions prior to the Spanish invasion in the decade following 1800.

3. The depletion of population in the San Joaquin Valley between 1800 and 1850 was far greater than has been appreciated, although the basic facts have always been recognized. Warfare, massacre, forced conversion, starvation, and exposure all took a tremendous
[75] toll of life but the sweeping epidemics of the 1830's were even more devastating. Together these forces destroyed in the aggregate fully 75 per cent of the aboriginal population.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to. 622 [431]

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory. [302] [574] [735] [576]

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps. 622 574

Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wʌti hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

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[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy.

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[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who
[164] was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 173 b] Kechayi

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were 796 always that way [south]." But in spring every-751 one wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ʼła) of drinking jimson-weed (ta ʼñai) was held each spring by the 276 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimson-weed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ʼyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes of relatives living some distance away. They [292] all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ:pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'ːč) was present: he [554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'o[illegible]." It was boiled and the liquor washed o[illegible] the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

W Y 796 276 [754] [751] take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take it at the same time as the plain people. There were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. W Y [343] Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 247] Wishram NS25

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokon:k and Pušl:l:n, who were snake doctors (te'e'li čecisu'm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya''in" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ''ɨn, maiya ''ɨn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

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with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

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Bear Dance.---According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

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Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.---This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

796 "When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
159 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
756 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
• [751] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
756 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'.
796 Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front off snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
262 from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul is used to cover all green plant foods, but is also specifically applied to all clovers, to yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yat tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard greens were cooked, and today bacon is added. Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage. A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but unidentified, was valued for its seeds which were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-purple flowers, ka´syɛn, has tiny edible seeds which are greatly prized; they are rolled into a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu, Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty roots which were roasted and eaten whole or mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower (oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There were many others which must have been well
278 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
757 translated as cough medicine) was cooked and the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
[177] plant was an introduction of the white people.
752 A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains. The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, although M.G. claimed that they did not use it ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly man who did this became delirious for a day or two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after the skin about the fracture had been scarified. Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder when his clavicle was broken. Another man at Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he was badly injured by being thrown from a horse. Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A. Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called snake's-urine (ya´hɛn tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye (a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ɛn tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-penis (po´tolo kai´´iyɛn). Two kinds of "wire grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
278 a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk when mashed and which "had no flowers," was boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites; it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta´taita´tai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[152] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t‹ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in
773 the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma t‹´pni; wile´li t‹´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ti´y‹ nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol‹lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alata´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alatana right under my knees. He said, "That's alatana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'‹tawat. The bullfrog was called a'oi´‹ts by the Tachi, but wipel‹ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to pull them out of ponds but were always told to
[262] put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.A.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Sukø´tats, who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 759 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukotats was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Bo´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiw:s (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiw:s. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-'wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special
276 songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the
[756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by
276 shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of
[752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

276 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
789 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsammi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya'ha''al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya (mushrooms)) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See P.N.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

T Y 796 276 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nak ma ana´telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´':t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T Y [55]

located, Čoiš:šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain:c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

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[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
884 that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
● [752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He
752 fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one
613 of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for
[574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to
[237] themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭı ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meāt, then they had a little party (wi ́te luni ́ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

The plant was used medicinally, especially
●752 for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anhesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

The mythological source of jimsonweed was
773 not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

<u>Mourning ceremony</u>.--This ceremony (luni ́ša)
769 lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
535 differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 158 b] Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
the decoction they ceased eating and drinking
276 entirely. Then when they drank, "one little
basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[752 181] B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co'kon:k and Pusl:l:n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

● [752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono¹." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not atrike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken [752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

756 Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an 787 animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

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[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P 208 a] Chukchansi

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
787 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

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taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

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Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ič broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

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At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

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The jimsonweed plants (taña ñib") was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki'leš and Koti'diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tušao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

W Y morning of the rite they "ran once around the
796 village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory]
they ran around the house." Then they knelt on
a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about
276 the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to
each drinker's lips. If the first dose were
not effective, more would be given. When the
drinkers fell over unconscious, they were
carried to their homes. They slept about
twenty-four hours. But when they roused from
this, they did not cure others of sickness by
brushing or in any other way perform for public
benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a
preventive "good medicine" for the drinker him-
W self.
● Y Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when
broken bones or painful injuries were treated.
● 752 The sufferer was given enough of the decoction
to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for
forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was
given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."
W The two Choinimni who died from the ef-
Y fects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. How-
796 ever, his version was that they did not observe
the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat
276 "right up to the day and drank the next morn-
ing though everybody told them not to. They
died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor
Y the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen
796 the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a
village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O.
825 at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinim-
751 ni doctors were either the instigators or cen-
tral figures. S.O. described the ritual as he
756 remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-
Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokon:k and Pušl:l:n, who were snake doctors (te'e li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya ''in" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

799 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso·o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
556 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
266 opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

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757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai´yam·t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not
treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai´y·n ho´pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tats, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukotats was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Bo´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiw:s (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiw:s. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-'wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar;
● 753 this was called mets añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ´nɛl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɛpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person
828 in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɛpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was
[683] just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɛpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɛpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

278 that T'pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and
753 pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki''at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep:s, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[30] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

[30] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both
sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pːt)
756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands,
at opposite edges, and tray face outward --
over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´'at), weasel (po´hat), or beaver (?) (waki´'as) skins
[825 fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pːk] could
753 not be used for this purpose; if it were, everyone present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tek pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he [764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal. [237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and [752] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwəs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23]Latta, op. cit., 38.

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Cokon·k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 753 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t·pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 273 E.M.'s brother, Hai·ai·´č, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´m.č (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'.č was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [164] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

753 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip.t, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čip.t fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´ʾus, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 769 especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they 775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

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[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

Each captain had an official messenger,
624 called wina´tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair
755 into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

1: Gayton E-8 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 244 b] Western Mono NS2E

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The Yckod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

W
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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob¹) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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[774]

There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 245 a] Mono NS25

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

W Y [755]

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y [789]

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

W Y 789 791

Rain-making

There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mik and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[32]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

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[32] See anecdote, p. 394.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802
192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

●753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

755 feathers (so´n:l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso´o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p:l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though [428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a
756 person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were
825 going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[6]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they ac-
556 cumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One
778 of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he'u´te'ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[6] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
266 afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
●754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: tomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not
treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "[illegible]d by the padres and smells good," when she [illegible] these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" [illegible] form between her eyebrows, but disappe[illegible] she "comes to life." Recently the child fel[illegible] pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy[illegible]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´t:ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot:ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

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[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Bo´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal NS22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of
754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju´´ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost every-
539 thing. Then he played the chip and pole game with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 [776] A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ̂nhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the [754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

787 "What a man dreamed he kept right on him": he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 Although theoretically any one might seek power by this means, and the dream was its only
778 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other
787 occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɛn].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɛč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 Supernatural power (tɛpni) bestowed by the
778 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´´ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɛč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 a] Wukchumni

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, 292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'et) skin.

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (l:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen.
845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was
789 clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[256]

Airshot.---Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan,
056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.---The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form
778 of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ·pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.---The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[256] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Tokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

756
789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

756 Shamans were feared because of their
754 ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

683 When a shaman was believed to be a public
756 menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´pat, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Kośowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Kośowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

756 7. J.B. accused Čokonɨk, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonɨk used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainɨč). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chumut informant, also accused Čokonɨk of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho'toi), [778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainič), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainič) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
787 it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

596 11. The only case known to my informants
613 of a water creature serving as a family totem (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
825 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter" (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
276 time they were expected to awake several women would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
533 mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
755 person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
276 said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
787 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796/ betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication
864 that the ritual was an induction into anything, and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a
[262] poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
[752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
769 one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[261]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonočɨm who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonočɨm, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[262] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´tɨč) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonočɨm approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[263] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonočɨm danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[261] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[262] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Wakaschi, if any Western Mono tonočɨm were present.

[263] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wɨs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (sam:s), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´y:n wa´tiy: to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´l:t a´mam hača´ka':č" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭ:pni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭ:pni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his t:pni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 190 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Cokon:k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 753 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t:pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 273 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai':č, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

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796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono [439] and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair
755 into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

754 tail at the sun, at the same time laying an-
755 other animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she fell asleep, and she began to get better. About
[147] a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 768 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case. "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of [791]

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who
824 came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
766 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were
626 curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-
683 treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
tween shamans, which was so important an ad-
789 junct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 241 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abetter of his supernatural helpers.

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The Yokod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka ̌čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps W Y [789] in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

Rain-making

W Y 789 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the 791 weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mɨk and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

[276] The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little ● 754 thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. [533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 754 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. 756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was 159
just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh- 756
moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used 778
to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-pahs,* taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone.

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the 159
person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the 755
pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that.

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife 159
were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in 756
the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them.

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He 159
had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* vil- 754
lage at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The
754 Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

159 One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were follow-
754 ing him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah.
627 Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "*Een-sis* (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to Tulamni, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at Tulamni. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

159 When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian
756 Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop
[754] the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they talked about it for a long time.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[52]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

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[52] See anecdote, p. 394.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[53] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

754

Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[54]

[825]

[53] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[54] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

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MALICIOUS ACTIVITIES

754 The sinister activities of evil shamans are ever present in the native mind. The following series of anecdotes related by informants from various sections of San Joaquin valley are evidence of the baleful rôle which doctors played in aboriginal life.

A Wobonuch (WM) informant, 'Merican Joe, with George Dick interpreting, gave the following:

Cahaola (Charlie Pete) had a large family. They were living at Sief's below Mill creek. One of his girls got sick and died. Soon another had a similar attack. Cahaola got a doctor named Puca to cure her. He was a man of small stature, and "very, very mean." This was the doctor who was poisoning Cahaola's children. Puca sat down in front of the girl and cut her in several places. He finally sucked out a water weaver. It had been used as "air-shot."

Soon others in Cahaola's family died: the water insect went from one to another killing each. At last there was only one girl, Pahamo, left, and she too fell ill. Cahaola now was desperate. He came over to Kiteeyu (Dunlap) and consulted Laotcu'i (Little Dick), the Entimbich chief, telling him that he wanted to kill Puca. Laotcu'i sent him to see Hamatc (Luckett). Both chiefs agreed that Cahaola was justified as it was well known that Pahamo had refused to sleep with Puca. Hence Puca was taking the usual doctor's revenge by making her sick. Puca was living over at Kiteeyu at the time with a daughter of Haipuc (Samson Jack). He had two other women, one up at Hart's basin, the other in Drum valley. He always took barely nubile girls.

There had been a fandango at Kiteeyu. Someone told Cahaola that Puca was going over to Ko'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) the next day, so Cahaola went ahead on the trail to waylay him. When Puca was ready to start he sent some of his friends on before him saying that he was going down to Barton's saloon to get some whiskey and would catch up with them. Then he followed by himself.

Cahaola was waiting on the trail. He saw Haipuc and some other men coming along, so remained hidden. Then he saw Puca in the distance; Puca was riding a white horse and was plainly visible. Puca drew nearer; he was very drunk and was singing loudly. The song he sang as he rode was "You can take my heart [soul, spirit] away today." He had already been informed through a dream that Cahaola was going to kill him. As he came opposite, Cahaola jumped out and shot him through the body with a .44. Puca fell off his horse and landed upright on a rock; he sat up rigidly straight. Cahaola accused him of killing his family. Puca admitted the crime and said he was glad he was going to be killed. Then Cahaola shot him between the eyes.

[683]

When Cahaola reached home his last daughter was dying.

The activities of bad doctors among the Waksachi (WM) are best illustrated by anecdotes involving three generations of shamans.[53] Of the following, numbers 1 and 3 were told by Sam Osborn, number 2 by Josie Alonzo:

1. A group of Waksachi were living at Teitatu. There was a nice young girl there. A doctor named Wasic sent his winatum around to call a few of his shaman friends together. The winatum asked Wasic what he was going to do.

[53] See genealogy, Western Mono: Waksachi 2, Appendix.

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He replied, "I am going to kill that pretty young girl. I want these doctors to help me with some extra talismans as there is a beautiful woman at Kiteeyu whom I am going to kill, too. I am going to make them sick. After they are dead I am going to skin them and stuff them like dolls. I have lots of money and baskets up at Tawatsanahahi in a big rock like a house; there is a lot of poison there, too. I am going to set these dolls up in there." 754

The winatum was aghast but was too afraid of Wasic to object. He told the other doctors that they were to meet that night at Tawatsanahahi (eating dead person; also called Tawatsa'asot'ho'i, dead person skinned), a hill above Kiteeyu which was a customary meeting place for doctors. No ordinary person dared go up there.

When the doctors assembled they made a fire and proceeded to make "air-shot" in the usual way. The girl at Tcitatu got sick suddenly and died the next day. They made "shot" for the woman at Kiteeyu. She died, too. Then the doctors went home. They were warned not to tell anything on threat of being killed by Wasic.

The girls were buried and stayed in the ground two nights. On the third night about eight o'clock Wasic went to the Tcitatu girl's grave. He walked around it twice, each time stamping at the head. The girl rose right up out of the ground and stood up. Then Wasic waved his talisman, a rope of eagle down, and the girl flew into the air and came to earth some hundred yards away.[56] Then he flew himself by the same means. They moved thus again and again until they reached Tawatsanahahi. Then he did the same thing to the young woman at Kiteeyu. He had to call on his friends for more talismans for this as the power of his own was worn out. When both girls were placed on the rocks the doctors assembled and skinned them. They stuffed the skins with grass and dressed the dummies in beads and quail feather earrings.

"Doctors always worked at night on such business; in the daytime they were where they belonged."

2. A man named Tukatsi lived at Kiteeyu. His wife was a Wakaachi named Nellie. She became lame. The condition slowly grew worse until she was entirely crippled. Etak, a powerful doctor and the son of Wasic, was accused of causing the sickness. Etak was also accused of the death of two or three women and a man. When Tukatsi's wife died after being treated by Etak he went over to the doctor's house. Etak was just outside the door. Tukatsi shot him with an arrow. Etak began leaping all around and yelping, "Ai ii, ai ii i," just like a coyote. Tukatsi took up an axe and went after him but Etak escaped. [683]

Tukatsi met another doctor on his way home. He shot him in the eyes. This doctor had not injured anyone so far as was known but Tukatsi was beside himself and was ready to shoot any doctor on sight.

3. Haloptea was a son of Etak. He was a "mean" doctor. His sister Teeyi married a man named Koikoi'ite. They had four children, two boys and two girls. They moved over to Owens valley to live, for some reason. Haloptea made an eagle down belt and took it over to his niece. Two days later the girl died from poisoning with which the belt had been treated. Her brother died one year later. Soon after that the other two children died, and finally Teeyi herself. Koikoi was beside himself. He came over to Kiteeyu to kill Haloptea. The bad doctor knew from a dream that he was being sought so he kept out of the way.

Koikoi went to Haloptea's house. Etak was there; he was an old, old man now, and blind. Koikoi shot him. Haloptea heard of this and rushed down to Visalia to get the sheriff. Koikoi was still around looking for Haloptea when

[56] This was a common feat of powerful shamans in the region.

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754 the latter returned with the sheriff who made Koikoi a prisoner. Haloptca went home and buried his father. Koikoi was taken to Fresno and then to San Quentin. He died there.

Doctors were generally feared by the Wukchumni (Y) as elsewhere. Mary Pohot told the following incident as a specific instance of a prevailing condition:

When Mary was a young girl she lived with her aunt. The old lady had a new blanket for which she had paid twenty dollars. A doctor knew about this and came to the house demanding that it be given him. He threatened to make everybody in the house sick. The old lady was frightened. The doctor gave her $1.50 for the blanket and went off with it.

That evening Mary's uncle returned. His wife told him what had happened. The old man was furious; in spite of his wife's protests he went to the doctor and demanded full payment. The doctor just laughed at him. He said, "All right, I'll pay," and gave the old man two worthless baskets. This kind of thing happened all the time.

Another Wukchumni informant, Jim Britches, told of his own experience at the hands of a bad Patwisha (WM) shaman:

A Patwisha named Tcitcĕn was Jim Britches' stepfather. Tcitcĕn was a "big" doctor. When Jim was quite young, perhaps ten years old, his mother, Tcitcĕn, and himself were living at Naranjo (Wukchumni territory). Tcitcĕn disliked Jim; he wanted to kill him. He sent $10 up to Little Dick at Kiteeyu asking him to help kill Jim. Little Dick refused. Then Tcitcĕn went ahead with his own power and made Jim sick. The boy became delirious.

Just at this time there was to be a big fandango at Ironbridge, near Naranjo. A powerful Choinimni doctor, Puclilin, and his winatum, Pony Dick Watun, came down for the celebration. Jim's mother sent for Puclilin to come treat her son. When he arrived Puclilin asked Tcitcĕn why he, who was a big doctor, did not cure Jim. Tcitcĕn demurred, saying that he had tried but had not enough power.

Jim's mother was weeping now; she had given up all hope of her son's recovery. He was very sick; he had pains in his chest, at the back of his neck, and between the eyes. Puclilin cut in these places and sucked at the wound. He sucked out hard lumps of blood. Jim began to get better at once. Puclilin knew all the time that it was Tcitcĕn who had been making Jim sick. It was only because he was a very powerful doctor that he dared to cure Jim.

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The activities of a Wukchumni doctor among the Gawia, and his resulting death in Waksachi territory, were described by Sam Osborn:

A Wukchumni doctor, Camaka, killed several Gawia. He wiped out a man's entire family until there was no one left but a little boy, the man's father's sister's son. The man could stand it no longer, so he went to some white people and traded his little cousin for a gun. This was the first Indian in this region to possess a gun. Someone told him that Camaka had gone up to Tcitatu for a fandango. The Gawia followed him and camped in Eshom valley about a mile above Tcitatu.

Bob Osborn, who was the chief's son, Sam Osborn, and two other men saw the camp and went out to ask the Gawia what he was doing there. The man told them what had happened to his family, that he had come up to kill Camaka, and hence

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did not want to go directly to the village. The Wakuachi did not feel it was their business to hinder this man, but they asked him to wait until Camaka had left Teitatu as they did not want any trouble started at the fandango that might involve other people. They also told the Gawia that the shaman had a horse and could get away easily so to be on the lookout for him. The man agreed to leave Camaka alone until after he had left Teitatu. He went over to Badger where Sam Osborn's uncle put him up.

The following morning Camaka and his family went over to Badger, too. He made his wife and daughter look after the horses as he was afraid to be seen alone far from camp. In the meantime a Choinimni and his family had gone to Badger. They were camping there. The Gawia told the Choinimni of his affairs, and winning the latter's sympathy, the two agreed upon a plan by which Camaka might be killed. The Choinimni was paid for his part. That night the Choinimni made a big fire and asked Camaka to come over for a visit. He told the shaman to sit down on one side of the fire while he and his family and Sam's uncle sat at right angles from him. He said that thus Camaka might address them all as he was relating the latest news from down Wukchumni way. When all was arranged the Gawia leaped out from a pile of rocks behind Camaka and shot him in the shoulder. Then he rushed in and cut his throat. [683]

The Gawia still was so enraged that he wanted to go over to Camaka's camp and kill all his family. Sam's uncle and the Choinimni restrained him from doing this, pointing out that the doctor's relations were innocent and to kill them would be unjustifiable murder.

Bob Osborn tells of another Wukchumni doctor who caused trouble among the Yokod:

A mourning ceremony was being held by the Yokod at Yokol. Bob Osborn and his brother George were asked to come and bring some deer as they were hunters of renown. They stopped at Rancheria Flat over night. They got six deer on the way. They reached Yokol on Thursday. The crying ceremony ended on Saturday night and the rejoicing celebration started early Sunday morning.

Present at the fandango was a Wukchumni doctor who was accused of sickening or killing several Yokod. Several men had decided that the time had come to kill him. On Sunday morning at the moment when the mourners were all standing in a row waiting to be washed the Wukchumni doctor was standing off at a little distance. The conspiring men were ready. One of them ran down and grabbed the doctor. Another shot at the doctor but hit the man who was holding him. The doctor reached for his bow and shot several times at his assailants. Then he rushed into the nearest tule house. The men cornered him and shot him to death. Neither brothers nor other relatives took up a feud as the doctor's death was regarded by all as justifiable. [683]

A Choinimni doctor who made people sick and cured them just to get money was able to cause sickness as much as a hundred miles away, according to Josie Alonzo:

After Kosewa's death a Choinimni doctor, Teokonik, came down to the Nutunutu (Y) at Kingston to cure the sick people there. At this time, Josie, her mother, and her sister-in-law with her two little boys, were working near Visalia. A winatum had come around telling them that Teokonik was going to make a visit to Kingston. The family decided that they wanted to go over to see the performance. On the morning when they were ready to start they all heard a little

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754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets aṅṭu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motsa's friend.[87] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepia, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[87] See anecdote, p. 405.

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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Hümtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipai (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

[195]
[624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials
756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been
572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

572 [60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

278 Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:
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She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aštawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and [823] ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. [177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods
757 failed.[62] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[62] See anecdote, p. 397.

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mĭnimon	kiolĭn	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[62] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo:

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[572]

1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the rancheria named Solit. She was married to Kaiyětsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch?). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matuk tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[62] See anecdote, p. 396.

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The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather headdress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wepis did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wepis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

[775]

6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him ṭoṭi (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or ṭihlthai (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutai'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

622

The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore ranchería. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and 671
this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal 671
basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public 626
good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for 754
chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends 181
to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the 754
constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but 181
at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about 756
by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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181 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely,
756 or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure
181 after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness
754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead
[756 us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted
626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen
622 that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired
756 a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public
[577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use
182 of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as
622 such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

1: Gayton E-6 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbɔ´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with
823] supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of waṭa´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[36]

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[36] A Palligawanap John Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Polmh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
787 manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of
[548] difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talis-
778 mans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭ'pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n:tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain:tc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

755 feathers (so´n:l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p:l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though [428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84]See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tɨts,
683 who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s
755 cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a
752 Wukchumni doctor. Sukotɨts was called. She
756 sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Ho´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
poisoned by it: she lived a little while after
756 making the cure, then "turned yellow all over
and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiw:s (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiw:s. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 419] Chunut

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[9] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little partres
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

9 [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 102a] Wukchumni

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that [343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či ''up, či ''up, či ''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

[787] The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, 292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (ahe'ot) skin.

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lɪmɪk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his
755 family totem), which he used to cure a woman in labor. It was used like the falcon head. He
845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainɪč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

756 7. J.B. accused Čokonɨk, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokonɨk used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ainɨč). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napas [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokonɨk of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

● 755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ı lkın. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epıs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring 825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Mishahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

789 825 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, [301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder 301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.
821

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the [823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

536 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
276 time they were expected to awake several women
533 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi· uka´naka tañá´ya lu´lhe' lula´lhe'
Arise. Drink tañai. Walk! Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
● 755 person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
276 said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
787 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gon)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yes) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
● 755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was dif-- ferentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Semti´was.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Semtiwas (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

755 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šiš na´mit)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešiš namit dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wit) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Si´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samıs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yın wa´tiyı to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lıt a´mam hača´kaıč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

● 755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭıpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭıpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tıpni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipeč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

te·p·n i te'i (t·pni)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 170 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon:k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.
753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her
755 dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t:pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Hai´ai·:č, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.
273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

● 755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai´'i kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bx·n, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owɨč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

754 Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

753 The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

754 The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

754 2. N.W. herself was made sick by her
755 father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal

754 tail at the sun, at the same time laying an-
755 other animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

755 When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she fell asleep, and she began to get better. About
[147] a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was be-
768 lieved that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing
[791] shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only [illegible] whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was [illegible] Gold, but not the Krohns.

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena´oša[170] in water.

W Y 845 755 In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y 844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´l:č). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

W Y [853]

W Y 846 [856] [777] [237] The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o´di) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te''ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

W Y [824]

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

W Y [606 153]

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 241 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

W Y 755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 787 276 755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "M.čk.t [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ain.č (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winitum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps W Y [789] in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

Rain-making

W Y 789 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the 791 weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mɨk and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tuŝao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [625]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 533 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sick-
[276] ness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.
The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little
754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig.
[533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of re-
754 prisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman
756 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died.
When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed
683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded
[755] instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused
[754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they
[171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 757 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and barter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
● 755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance, they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is 198
crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

[234] The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took [755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him [237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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177
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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
[775] What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch,* the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
769

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Teh-nih'-pahs,* taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone. 159 756 778

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that. 159 755

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. 159 756

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would 159 754

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality [574] extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was [439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. [778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[25]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was
778 then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
439 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such [755] ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[25] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as
826 follows:[22]
614

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

[787]

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended
796 by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[23]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

[755]

[782]

622 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission.
344 If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[22] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[23] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure if the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[52]

The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion 753 into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

[52] See anecdote, p. 394.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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754 the latter returned with the sheriff who made Koikoi a prisoner. Haloptca went home and buried his father. Koikoi was taken to Fresno and then to San Quentin. He died there.

Doctors were generally feared by the Wukchumni (Y) as elsewhere. Mary Pohot told the following incident as a specific instance of a prevailing condition:

When Mary was a young girl she lived with her aunt. The old lady had a new blanket for which she had paid twenty dollars. A doctor knew about this and came to the house demanding that it be given him. He threatened to make everybody in the house sick. The old lady was frightened. The doctor gave her $1.50 for the blanket and went off with it.

That evening Mary's uncle returned. His wife told him what had happened. The old man was furious; in spite of his wife's protests he went to the doctor and demanded full payment. The doctor just laughed at him. He said, "All right, I'll pay," and gave the old man two worthless baskets. This kind of thing happened all the time.

Another Wukchumni informant, Jim Britches, told of his own experience at the hands of a bad Patwisha (WM) shaman:

A Patwisha named Tcitcēn was Jim Britches' stepfather. Tcitcēn was a "big" doctor. When Jim was quite young, perhaps ten years old, his mother, Tcitcēn, and himself were living at Naranjo (Wukchumni territory). Tcitcēn disliked Jim; he wanted to kill him. He sent $10 up to Little Dick at Kiteeyu asking him to help kill Jim. Little Dick refused. Then Tcitcēn went ahead with his own power and made Jim sick. The boy became delirious.

Just at this time there was to be a big fandango at Ironbridge, near Naranjo. A powerful Choinimni doctor, Pucllilin, and his winatum, Pony Dick Watun, came down for the celebration. Jim's mother sent for Pucllilin to come treat her son. When he arrived Pucllilin asked Tcitcēn why he, who was a big doctor, did not cure Jim. Tcitcēn demurred, saying that he had tried but had not enough power.

Jim's mother was weeping now; she had given up all hope of her son's recovery. He was very sick; he had pains in his chest, at the back of his neck, and between the eyes. Pucllilin cut in these places and sucked at the wound. He sucked out hard lumps of blood. Jim began to get better at once. Pucllilin knew all the time that it was Tcitcēn who had been making Jim sick. It was only because he was a very powerful doctor that he dared to cure Jim.

[755]

The activities of a Wukchumni doctor among the Gawia, and his resulting death in Waksachi territory, were described by Sam Osborn:

A Wukchumni doctor, Camaka, killed several Gawia. He wiped out a man's entire family until there was no one left but a little boy, the man's father's sister's son. The man could stand it no longer, so he went to some white people and traded his little cousin for a gun. This was the first Indian in this region to possess a gun. Someone told him that Camaka had gone up to Tcitatu for a fandango. The Gawia followed him and camped in Eshom valley about a mile above Tcitatu.

Bob Osborn, who was the chief's son, Sam Osborn, and two other men saw the camp and went out to ask the Gawia what he was doing there. The man told them what had happened to his family, that he had come up to kill Camaka, and hence

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754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the [755] skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without [756] cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was [755] there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets añṭu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motsa's friend.[37] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepia, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[37] See anecdote, p. 405.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, [756] but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 31b]

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, imcluded some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tipˈknıts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

756 Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (koˈlıat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called anıˈčwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

> The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

616 Moiety affiliations do not limit the walat talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's
756 hawk (pohiyon) can be dreamt of by anybody. So could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

756 Those persons who did not want to possess ṭ·pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

756 One night a white spider (kolok· ´lwoi metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came back to her. The spider said, "you are going
787 to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na ṭ·pni (I am not ṭ·pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto ´ho
not I prostitute, [to go around]

om na lowai ´tna
not I male sexual partner

hina´ na na·as toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na·as heho´ma topo´lṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 787 [548] Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful manner, as if to convince herself and any unknown power behind the dream, that all was well. [A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 787 778 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long period of time. He secured walaṭ, the talismans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walaṭ always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with ṭ'pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walaṭ, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walaṭ kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n'tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´ṭwal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain'tc), the lake people the second part (walaṭ).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

755 feathers (so´n:l or wača´m) to brush off the illness, and his talismans. Eagle-down strings were worn wrapped around the body. Special walaṭ, such as animal heads, were pressed against the patient's body and held up in different directions while the doctor prayed to the supernatural helper it represented. A powerful doctor was able to suck out sickness without making any incision.

When Poso'o was in the process of curing a person he never ate or drank, nor did he sleep. He would bathe, walk about in secluded places, and converse with his walaṭ or with some animal who would tell him what to do. A cure usually lasted two days: the first "call" was made in the evening, and was for the purpose of diagnosis. Then the shaman consulted his supernatural assistants, as above, and return to effect the cure at noon of the following day. It was then that he announced the cause of the sickness and fell to work with cutting, sucking, and brushing. If he were treating a wound which was dirty, he would blow on it, lick it thoroughly, and spit onto a tray (tsa´p:l) covered with sand. Sand, saliva, etc., were dumped on a fire.

A doctor of standing had an assistant (añutun winatum) who looked after his paraphernalia, prepared the medicines if any were to be administered, dressed the shaman in his ceremonial costume and painted his face, and removed the sickness, which was squeezed or spat onto a tray. The doctor's winatum, like the chief's, had Dove as his family totem.

756 A doctor's paraphernalia were burned on his death; they were not inherited even though [428] the man had a son who was a shaman. Neither was there inheritance of his ritual methods. A shaman would probably have one son who would be a doctor: it was somewhat expected, but there "was no rule about it" and it "all depended on his dreams."

A family in need of a doctor would get together what they hoped would be a sufficient sum and send it to him with a request for his aid. The doctor did not have to accept; but if he wanted more money he would not demand it then but would wait until later on, when curing was under way. The mercenary attitude of shamans was emphasized as usual by J.A.

If a doctor did not want to cure a person until all his money was gone, he'd let him stay sick. If he didn't get enough money he'd let the patient die.

[754] A bad doctor might shoot a white feather into you; only he could remove it. An evil chief would pay a doctor to affect an enemy with sickness which he would not cure.[84] "When a tiya was jealous he had a doctor do his killing for him. Any doctor could work for any tiya."

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[84] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a person sent for a doctor other than the one who
756 had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were
825 going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they ac-
556 cumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One
778 of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he'u´te':ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[85] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
266 opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

<u>Illnesses and Treatments</u>:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not
757 treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, Mo´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiw·s (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´t·ts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukot·ts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi´´in or Bo´´iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

755 the ground toward wainus. She cut and sucked
752 out the scorpion poison. But she herself was
756 poisoned by it: she lived a little while after making the cure, then "turned yellow all over and died."

J.A. heard her sing the song many times; usually it varied somewhat but its essence re-
756 mained the same. Her talismans of supernatural power were an eagle's head, a weasel skin, the heads of a baby coyote, a prairie falcon, and a Cooper's [?] hawk. She wore many beads strung on eagle-down cord (pisesan) about her neck and wrists. The coyote's head hung on one of these. It "caught the sickness" which then would be squeezed off its nose onto a tray for exhibition. When curing, she sat in front of her patient and held onto his head, meanwhile calling on her dream helpers. She "went around to fast and dream just like a man."

755 Once J.A. was very sick with chills. Two beautiful girls with flowers in their hair came and stood at each side of her feet. They told her to ask God what she should do. Soon a little baby came and sat near her; it was sucking its fingers; she could hear it crawling about in the leaves. No one came to help her. Finally she made her way over to Poso'o's (Bob Bautista's) house. He cut her on the back of the neck and at each temple and sucked. She got better soon. A girl there cooked some atole [flour and water] for her which she ate.

When she was a young woman, J.A. had measles, "she nearly died." Her mother sent for Sapagai who came and brushed her off with his hand feathers. The sickness, which "looked like insects," he squeezed off the feathers. He cut and sucked at the top of the sternum. She recovered soon after.

756 Sumtiwis (Bob of Bobtown) and Tutya (Pony Dick Watun) are the only doctors left (1929). The former diagnoses by holding both wrists of the patient. About a year ago J.A. suffered from bad headaches; she went up to Sumtiwis. He cut over the inner extremity of each eyebrow and sucked out blood and a little white pointed object from each incision.

Poisoning

278 Another kind of injury caused by doctors is that called poisoning, but neither it nor
753 the shamans using it are distinguished by any special term. The poison itself is called añta-wa, from the same word root as shaman (añtu). Poisoning is thought to operate by means of actual contact with poisonous substances which may be put on any object which the victim is likely to touch, or the poison may be administered in food. Yet it is thought to be invisible. Symptoms of poisoning are severe swelling of parts (thought to have been touched by the poison) and the vomiting of blood. J.A. gave

278 753 that T'pwatswats' wife was killed by a shaman. He had come to where she was sleeping and pulled the blankets off her; she resisted him; she was pregnant at the time with a posthumous child and was very angry. The rejected shaman poisoned her immediately after.

Then another maternal uncle, Ha'tna (Frank) died soon after this. His daughter, Tsai'iyat (Nancy), who did not want to sleep with a certain shaman, was killed after he had killed her father. The bereaved widow and mother then moved down to Porterville to escape the persecution which followed the family.

J.A.'s aunt, Yuki'at (Mary), went down to the Tule River Reservation where a tiya named A'nats gave her a large handsome basket which proved to be poisoned. Yuki'at's forearm and mouth swelled up from handling it. As there was no doctor at Pisras at that time, she died.

Kanti, the Tachi chief, was poisoned by some other tiya. He got sick at his stomach and his legs swelled up.

Wep'is, J.A.'s brother, stepped on a stick and sprained his ankle. His leg swelled up and he vomited blood. Naha'at, a Choinimni doctor, cut and sucked his leg but it did no good. He was sick all winter and died in the spring. J.A. considers this a case of poisoning.

P.D.W. is in the hospital (1929). Somebody put out poison for him to sit on, "just to find out if he had power enough to cure himself." [The truth is, he went over to Friant to cure some one there and suffered exposure in the recent storm.]

Specialized Shamans

756 While the lake tribes do not seem to have had specialized doctoring, i.e., weather shamans, snake-handlers, as strongly developed as in the southern foothills, they possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers in the foothill regions. The emphasis on Bear shamans who were also transformers is probably another indication of the cultural alignment of the lake tribes with those to the north -- Chukchansi, Miwok -- rather than to the east. It is from Kroeber and Gifford that the present Tachi data are derived. The bit of Chunut information from J.A. concerns the Tachi; she did not recall any Bear doctors among the Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol gathered at Pisras.

Kroeber gives the following information on Tachi Bear shamans.

> Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans other than as exhibitors of their powers is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.[90] ... The Tachi ascribed to their bear doctors, and of course,

[90] This statement obviously does not apply to the Tachi or other lake dwellers who rarely, if ever, encountered bears in their territory.

756 especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped and roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors.[91]

A man became a Bear doctor by the same methods -- bathing, fasting, dreaming -- by which one acquired tʼpni power for other purposes, according to Kroeber's anecdote.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.[92]

J.A. was told of a Bear shaman by Juana, her Tachi "aunt" (mother's cousin).

A man was called Piwaʼsa, a name referring to his Bear shamanism, although his real name was Ahoʼni. He had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear." He had a knife and killed anyone who came to kill him. When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear; he told Bear that he was his friend; Bear became his dream helper (puʼus). All bears are classed as Nutuwich but this does not mean that the man belonged to that moiety. [616]

Gifford reports on a Tachi shaman:

In the genealogical information obtained, but two shamans are mentioned. Halhalis is the older. He was a Nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. He was a čipni shaman, one who had derived from a dream the power to turn himself into a bear. His son Čoiiwai became an ordinary curing shaman (anču).

One shaman, Soloʼlo, known to J.A., specialized in ghost scaring: this practice was called aneʼtapʼn wʼpʼl. He was said to have learned this from dwarfs; he just sang. He was not [sic] paid for his services.

Another man got special gambling power from his father's cutting flint, which he kept as a talisman. This made him unbeatable (yamʼnʼl).

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[91] Handbook, 516-517.

[92] Ibid., 514-515.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta´ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´' elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (ṭ·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´ṭ·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (ṭ·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kto). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). 756b These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the [752 Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787 it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 The decoction was made by the leader or
276 one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the
[756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and
276 anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of
[752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about
[752] two weeks and then he died." He became swollen
and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Notsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č:k, who
756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
825 snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toič:k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič:k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Hutsemni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; 534 the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´wəs, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya'ha´'al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing,[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´čot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

[a] [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (ṭuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...

At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself.
[766] It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[152] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

● 756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had hešwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dances. - Anal'yst]

756 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´pıt) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi,
535 Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

765 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[102]

[102] Handbook, 501.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
535 the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl: ´l:n was an old man who could make that
[825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ´šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´m:č or wa´tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds
and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two
539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na kɔ´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na kɔ´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

769 special mourning singers (ahe´nıč) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa´'ič) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´tek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, [293] was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

769 On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony the doctors' contest (he´swas) took place in midafternoon. There was no preliminary or 756 little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´mın, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (ṭo´hot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Čiau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pɛt) and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

756

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´´at), weasel (po´hɔt), or beaver (?) (waki´´as) skins fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pɛk] could not be used for this purpose; if it were, everyone present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

[825 753]

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769

The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tɛk pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is Tɨpɨ´knɨts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči´ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonočɨm, but not all were transvestites. The apparent
767 women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´´no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao´wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye´mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (h:twai´'iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117]Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

KOYETI

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539
756

One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

756

Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci´čɛn, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551]

Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kum or do conventional dance steps.

756 himself and was shot at the end." The doctor who resuscitated huhuna was Toi´´is:k, but D.F. does not know if he was the one who "killed" him.

276 D.F. saw jimsonweed (ta´nai) taken at Fort Tejon; this was done in the early spring. Mashed jimsonweed roots were steeped in water and the decoction was drunk after about eight days' fast. It was taken by members of both sexes who were at least sixteen years old. But men and women did not drink it together. There was no "retreat" during the fast; the drinking

T Y 159 father and is older than F.M., now lives up at Onyx.[126]

T Y ● 756 Mayemai, the shaman, lived at Sototlo; there was another one whose name is not recalled. Poi ´´in, the shaman mother of Watisti, was a Bankalachi.

T Y 221 The village broke up during the summer, the families combining in groups of twos and threes for summer camps in the mountains. Little circular brush corrals were built for shelter. They remained out one or two months while the women gathered seeds.

T Y When F.M. was about eighteen years old they moved up to Tule and later, with others, to the present reservation.

621 131 F.M. named a few sites, the location of which I was unable fully to determine. Sototlo village, on Deer Creek, he locates six miles south of Tule River junction, which places both it and another Bankalachi village, Čena´wa in Bokninuwad territory if we follow Kroeber's map.[127] Another village, ´´nawao, was east of Čenawa. Tonočim (transvestite) is the name of a little hill just above F.M's house on the present Tule River Reservation. The rock quarry, near the Monachi Golf Club, is at a spot called Toi´yo, which F.M. says refers to eagles' nests that were there. The first reservation, called Tule by all the Indians who refer to it, was at what is now Houghton's Corner on the eastern outskirts of Porterville.

STRUCTURES

T Y 342 Houses at Sototlo were conical, never gabled. There was no ring at the apex, as in conical houses farther north: the smoke "just went out where the brush came together at the top." When tule (pu´muk) was obtainable, sewn mats for covering were made of it. Usually large grasslike "brush" called kana´sats was twined into mats some 3 to 4 feet long and about 3 feet deep: the rows of twining were about 12 inches apart. It took six to eight mats to cover a house. The fire was in the center; the fireplace had no special name. The "brush" house was called ya´wal ti´´i; that covered with tule, pumuk ṭi´´i.[128]

T Y [354]

T Y 343 The sweat house was a single-post affair. The earth was excavated for about two feet. No side walls were attempted.[129] The radiating roof poles were tied to the top of the center pole. After interstices were filled with "brush," earth was thrown over all. There was

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[126] See Voegelin, 7.

[127] Handbook, pl. 47. F.M. claimed ignorance of any people called Bokninuwad.

[128] This informant, like most dwellers at the Tule River Reservation, speaks Yauelmani.

[129] Cf. neighboring southern California sweat houses (Kroeber, Handbook, pls. 56 and 60).

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

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796 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers
276 would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

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752 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days,
276 was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

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● 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´telhɛn).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´ʼɛt) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

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mentioned.[135] The "bullets" may be placed anywhere, as on a tree, and "they go off by themselves," or they are put in the mouth and spat out.

When the Shamans' Contest was made at Tule there was a "center position." In the last one held there the female shaman, Poi'ɛn, held this, and was blinded as a result during the contest.

Poi'ɛn's father, who was a Bankalachi, was not known as a professional shaman: "he might have had some power." She was the only woman doctor known to F.M. and S.G., save one now living on the south fork of Kern River; she was known to the Chunut, J.A., as Sukotɛts. She "thought about power [tɛpni] day and night until she dreamt." She married Ceče'ɛs, who was Watí'sti's father; but F.M. knows nothing about him. Her supernatural helper was not known to F.M.; she did not "handle" snakes. She taught Watisti all she knew; when he became a professional doctor she accompanied him, danced and sang, and received part of his payment. She was known as a "good doctor," was never suspected of killing anyone. Her son, however, achieved a bad reputation and, after her death, was finally killed in vengeance for the death of Wu'ni, a Yaudanchi chief.[136]

She once visited Wukchumni at Lemon Cove, where she cured S.G.

He was "poorly"; he had no specific pains, but his nose bled constantly and he had to stay in bed. Poi'ɛn was visiting there; she came to cure him. She did not cut, merely rubbed. She "called on all the big hills asking for their help." She had a "chicken" hawk's head and eagle-down string as talismans. These she dipped in a basket of water on which eagle down had been sprinkled. Then she rubbed them

[135] This may be a reason for the reluctance about name-mention encountered here, but not elsewhere among Yokuts informants.

[136] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

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756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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668 At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum, Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted their faces: popular patterns were, for men,
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[302] two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

756 It is to be noted that the infamous shaman Watisti and his mother were among those at Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam [watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make [535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Garfield sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances" for an account of this entertainment.) No other dance or ritual was ever given at summer camps. J.B. said that they all returned to Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that there visitors could be accommodated and the location was secluded from encroaching whites. [177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no place to pasture horses; all the land was taken up by whites."

621 Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
512 call only three families. The chief there was Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the couple continued to live with Biseti's mother because "his father had gone to live with another woman." In another house lived an old man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife, Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet another woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi. The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai; his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named O´mo. L. said they had no children "because Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulaba].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. Another chief, Ke´wič (John Davis) lived there, and in a third house were relatives of Jim Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano. Later Walai moved out there; and this chief Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who previously lived at Diapnuša.

At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister, female parallel cousin (called elder sister), her older brother, and her maternal grandmother all lived in one house. When her father was alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in a house of their own. Her father's mother, father's brother, and father's sisters all [361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establishments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers, or cousins, would build their houses close together." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
222 gathering trips towards the plains. They would stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
423 have special places to hunt food, anyone went with anyone else just as they wished." [A slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that women quarreled over their claims to berry and seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true doctor who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 Subchief.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye'i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye'i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

624 756 [683] Shaman-killer.--The person designated by this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi' auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 624 Clown.--There was no official clown among the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 616 [184] Division of the populace into totemic moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, although they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

The spatial arrangement at a mourning
574 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and
769 recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

The second manifestation of this tribal
619 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
769 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich ac-
616 cording to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe, totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
756 follows:
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Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´sːš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
756 in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

561 hiam pahata mukıs: growing girl, 8 to 10 years

hiam pahata wu´h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years

goi´yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years

witıp mi´tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years

hiam pahata mitač mukıs: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years

pahata gu´tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)

moho´do gu´tum: old man, 50 or over

modo´´o mu´kıs: old woman, past child-bearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc.; and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

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[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

787 "What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
778 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

756 Although theoretically any one might seek
778 power by this means, and the dream was its only source, there was a tendency for shamanism to
787 "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɪn].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɪč (from ana´natswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

787 Supernatural power (tɪpni) bestowed by the
778 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´´ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɪč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 a] Wukchumni

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778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew
825 (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like
[237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ţ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

● 756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, 292 feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form
778 of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

756
789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

756 Shamans were feared because of their
754 ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

683 When a shaman was believed to be a public
756 menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´paţ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Čihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:rni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 130-139, figs. 51, 52.

539 778 825 [P. 113 b] Wukchumni

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain.c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; [752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 237 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagledown cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 7. J.B. accused Čokon:k, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokon:k used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ain:č). He was well paid with money and baskets.

755 8. M.P. lived with her maternal grandmother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shamàn who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokon:k of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainıč), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainıč) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
[237] of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
596 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
825 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɛ́lkɛn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɛs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Nohoʼno, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring 825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face [302] black, the other side white. Both men had their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Tepo´sa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were al- 765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be [756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment 534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or 765 four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the time being. J.P. said that in the old days 541 "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

The name "war dance," which has become 552 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam 535 or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

552 hostile intention was ever associated with this
536 dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 The wa´tiyod was a dance performed by shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and
556 for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying
[534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač´am) in each hand.
[302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle
[303] down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

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koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 [756] [184] M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

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...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill;
[534 J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with
237] him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle (wa´hıd or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´mıš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the [756] Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but Y [426] might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y 769 **Reciprocity**

The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was Y M regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were 769 648 767 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking
535 their own two sticks together and whistling a
high repeated note. They began to look for the
money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a
winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the wina-
tum could not find it so they had to dig it out
themselves." M.L. said she was frightened
when they drew near her. All the money they
found they kept in little skin sacks which hung
over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a
shaman (on this occasion, Šá´maka, a Wukchumni)
entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down
on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave
him a tray (tai´'iwan) and a winatum built a
fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his
hand feather bunch (sonıl) over the fire, then
held his tray up to the sun to get airshot.
Then he exposed it to the audience so all could
see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The
winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and
"asked him if he wanted to die by it." The
Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough."
So the shaman strengthened it, and on second
inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray
was returned to the shaman, he banged it vio-
lently on the ground twice. Each time a
Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried
them to one side, and immediately the host
spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate
victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind
their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, re-
vived his two compatriots, and, making airshot
at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman,
who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman.
The Huhunata received all the money thrown on
them, but from this they had to pay their
singers who had been singing for them through-
out the performance. The local chief paid his
own shamans for their part. J.P. said the
affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

● 756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
789 was called gokosyu ñıt. It was a more or less
spontaneous affair and, if held at all, pre-
769 ceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The
entrants in this were said to be "warming up"
for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman
might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this
little contest a single powerful shaman would
sometimes take on two or three lesser ones.
This trial also permitted novices to test their
skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (he´šwaš) was held on
the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

789 769 [616]

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the
[152] tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
769 one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[261]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonočɨm who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonočɨm, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[262] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´tɨč) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonočɨm approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[263] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonočɨm danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[261] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[262] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonočɨm were present.

[263] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the
426 payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ıšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'ıšna mayın; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ıšna mayın; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely
● 756 because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other
789 informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kesyu´ñıt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyıč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kıč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
535 Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´m:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana´n:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[88] "He went
[text continues on p. 133]

[88] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´ć:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

● 756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was 276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ·n´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal),
[754] and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwəs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (hɛ´šɛš na´mɛt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hɛšɛš namɛt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɛt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɛ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24]A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25]Latta, op. cit., 40.

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day.[1] the Huhuna Dance
in the afternoon, after which the usual games
535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hɛ´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
● 756 herent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušlɛlɛn and Kaplɛlɛn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplɛlɛn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´wɛts nao´šs, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[1] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony. — Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
EP 156 b] Dumna

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, 616 which does not agree with more reliable information from the neighboring Kechayi. 825

Tokelyuwich, west

to´hɜ·l: eagle
wohe´šut: cougar
a´luwots: crow [blackbird?]
ho´toi: raven
humi´x: jackrabbit
na´čoč: rattlesnake
te´´ɜ·l: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki´: king snake
oi´u'i: roadrunner
tono´l: a large, red, wildcat
te´pok: beaver
u´´wok: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa´hat: crane
ši´kol: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi´´ina: horned owl
po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho´´o: bear
čai´čai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope´l: gopher snake
koto´nɜ·č: gopher snake, Gashowu
o´čoč: magpie
upla·li´: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha´´ɜ·t: otter
šo´kok: kingfisher
če´ha: dog
hots: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (tɜ´pni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana´ts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te´´is; B.W. claimed a ´ntu was the Gashowu word.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samıs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yın wa´tiyı to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lıt a´mam hača´ka´ıč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭıpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭıpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tıpni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipeč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si· li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

ṭe·pːn i te'i (ṭːpni)

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name
821 is Ya´ol:č, makes the [illegible] noise. "He can hit anything and smash it [illegible] He is mean. He makes all the big rain[illegible] [illegible]en he hears the cries of a dog on eart[illegible] [illegible]o is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 <u>Jimsonweed ritual</u>.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

●756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
778 guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "pana´nıt a´mın časa´šti (coming his help-
er; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days [total, six]. The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a´nuṭun ti´ša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 A distinction was made between the doctor
789 (a´ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as
[535 dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty
778] of ṭɛpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon:k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 755 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 753 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

769 755 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

● 756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was ṭ:pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 157 273 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai':č, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mač (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ač was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [64] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

422 753 E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipıt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipıt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 756 Plain people who did not seek to become doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 774 787 E.M. could not define the nature of dream experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n t:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 173 9] Kechayi

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ıč, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body
[786] "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
● 756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʿn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni´ǎa) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owʿč ano´ǎa) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty («pla´oša) was reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

[177] The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance; abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 768 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing [191] shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken [752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

756 Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an 787 animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

756 meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him
787 to go home. She then filled up his hole with stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

787 The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a
224 certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild
825 deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 M.W. said he had an aunt who received power from Deer. Once when she was a young
825 girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
●756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
787 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

Y 756 825 count may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

M 756 825 J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

Y 756 825 J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

[150] This family, N.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

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[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

756 galia] and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who
821 came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
766 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were
626 curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-
683 treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
tween shamans, which was so important an ad-
789 junct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people can't see. When a doctor wants to see some-
787 thing away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
787 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young [887] person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates [184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 426 There was no money exchange for interest (lakına´nıč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 239 a] Western Mono 25

W Y 756 778 doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɨ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɨč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

W Y 787 [869] Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bunıt, Waksachi).

W 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking tıpni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

W Y [606 153]

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

W Y [755] 756 continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

W Y [754 156] Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

W Y 755 756 The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

W Y 755 [237 778] The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

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[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

W Y 755

dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627

If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 727 276 755

1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tapni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is <u>you</u> who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year [hibernation period], he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he <u>was</u> following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

[That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.]

<u>Flying Power</u>

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ana´mac_pa´´anao na mum ia´´ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

W saw what he thought was a dog coming along the
Y trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immedi-
613 ately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both
825 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W The talisman in most common use by Micha-
Y hai people with supernatural power was the
778 eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W
Y The following very general information on
756 shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha´gɛ) might get
Y his power from "most anything." When he cured,
[237] he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
Y analogue.
764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought
W justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent,
683 then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's
W death.
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A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village [near the present site
683 of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP. 245b Western Mono 525

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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

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Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

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At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

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796 take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take
276 it at the same time as the plain people. There
[756] were more men than women partakers: the men
[75] "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta ñai wa ´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating.
W Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over
Y and fall down." They were carried, by persons
[343] assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokon:k and Pušl:l:n, who were snake doctors (te'ˑ'li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya´ :n" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ´ɨn, maiya ´ɨn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) *went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays,* and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

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with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

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Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

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Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokut: NS29
[P. 248 b] Western Mono NS25

W Y 796 541 men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and Il‹´pča. (Il‹´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'‹č, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

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B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Y 535 Pleasure Dance.--This dance (h‹ Ž‹šnə´n‹č) was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 249 Western Mono NS25

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535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

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535 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to
522 various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how
W to do it right but they'd get in and play too
Y if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that
[831] he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

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Y This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any
756 other time, was presented by outsiders who were
789 hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahun ile´hič (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

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[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had W Y [426] to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak:na´n:č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
cine men. They were not performed by participants following an
●756 anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [625]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to
756 bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

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out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity Chungichnish or any equivalent. 171 177

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: 776 177 [782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüüshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, "maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes 756 192

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756 used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about 192 two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

778 Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

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756 778 787 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

[823] The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

> Whose is this fish to shoot?
> Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

[539]

> The other says: Run in the brush;
> Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

> Again he comes, 787
> Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

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A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 539

> Listen to me,
> Mayemai!
> There in the east
> I shall emerge
> Twirling
> My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

> The earth quakes.
> See my eagle
> Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

> Whirling in front of you,
> It is mourned for,
> The rope of our world

> I am coyote,
> We are coyotes.
> The earth told them,
> The earth said:
> You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:

> What am I?
> I am coyote.
> I am of the water.
> What am I?
> I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

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755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method. [276]

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little 754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) [533] A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 754 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. 756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

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The Chukchansi know of a female shaman who on being killed and buried emerged from the ground in the shape of a bear and walked off unmolested. The Tachi ascribe to their bear doctors, and of course especially to those of their neighbors, the faculty of surviving repeated killings in their bear shape: the medicine man merely returns to his home the next night as if nothing had happened. A famous shaman of this kind was at San Luis Obispo in mission times, they declare. Once he was trapped or roped, in his animal form, and had the misadventure of being dragged in to fight a bull. This tale seems to include the Chumash among the tribes that believed in bear doctors. 756

While the valley Tachi bear doctor might dance over a patient, the Choinimni and Yaudanchi had a public dance of such personages, held outdoors. The exhibition is described as harmless in effect, and the dancers were paid, but the purpose of the demonstration, except as a demonstration, is obscure. Obviously the ceremony falls into the same class as the *Ohowish*, *Heshwash*, and rattlesnake stepping rites already mentioned. The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a headband of eagle down and a claw necklace, or skin around the loins, that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. The step was a short stiff leap with a heavy land. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe. [302 292] [535]

RATTLESNAKE SHAMANS.

The Chukchansi, among whom the public stepping ceremony was lacking or slenderly developed, nevertheless had shamans who cured rattlesnake bites. The poison was sucked out with a bone whistle, pointed, however, at the sun, and not at the bitten part. The poison was then displayed as a salivalike string—no doubt from the shaman's own mouth—and put away in a basket to be kept by him. The connection of rattlesnake and sun has already been alluded to as regards the shaman's spirit. The Yaudanchi rattlesnake doctor extracted gopher teeth by direct sucking: as the snake feeds on gophers, it retains their teeth to inject as poison. 752 755

Rattlesnake doctors are said to have received only moderate fees, as contrasted with the bankrupting payment to the Yuki shaman; and rattlesnakes are declared to have been killed, though reluctance to do this is so great among most other California Indians that it may be supposed that even among the Yokuts a common man would not lightly perform the act. 756 171

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WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 789 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern [778] tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the Cali- [428] fornia archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

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Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-ch me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

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796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

796 "When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
159 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
756 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
[151] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

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Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live.

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on downfeathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. [522]

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159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
756 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'.
796 Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*.
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

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"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down. 159 756 796

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit." 159 755 796

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds a few details which are related below: 159 756 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too. [302]

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 756 796 198 [533 192]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to
796 know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't
198 understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

539

O, Chochin witche pah
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah - - - - - - yah!
(Everyone hear me).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159
769
[133]

This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the Wukchumne called it Ho-hu'-no.

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs. [535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 769 756 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne*. The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159 769 756 [624]

Then the Teah called, *"He'-ahn tahn'-hin."* The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed · Cuksa

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will,* the rattle, or clapper.

756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he
[624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took
[755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him
[237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

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775 again on the pesasin string and traveled six days toward the south and the rancheria where his parents-in-law lived. Then he hid in the brush until after almost everyone at the rancheria had gone to sleep.

When all was quiet the husband crept quietly to the house where his parents-in-law lived and called to them. He could hear them crying softly inside. When he called they stopped crying and answered him. They were overjoyed at his return and stopped crying.

Upon being asked where he had been he said, "I have just been walking around the country. I must hide. Fix a place for me." A small lean-to was built on the side of the house. In this the husband hid. By morning no one could tell that the house had been changed at all.

In the morning the people at the rancheria were all surprised to see that the parents-in-law did not cry. They were so happy that the people knew the husband had returned. The people kept asking about him. He was just inside the thin tule partition and could hear everything that was said.

For five days and nights the husband hid and listened to the people inquiring about him. Then he could endure it no longer. He came out and told all the people to come together around the fire and he would tell them where he had been and all that he had seen. The people all came and listened to the husband's story.

Just as the husband finished talking, a rattlesnake, who was there as a watchman for Tihpiknits, bit him and he immediately fell dead.

That is how the Yokuts came to know where the dead people go and what they do in Tihpiknits Pahn.

YOIMUT'S STORY

THE GHOST DANCE

159 All of the Indian tribes around Tulare Lake had good
756 Doctors. Some doctors were just *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo). They could give people medicine and help them a little. But they could not help very much. Some of the doctors were *Trip'-ne* [had supernatural power]. They could do anything. They could make it rain. They could make anyone die. They could change themselves into coyote, bear, or eagle. We were always afraid of Tripne Doctors. We were not afraid of Ahnutru Doctors.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-pahs*, taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone. 159 756 778

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that. 159 755

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. 159 756

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would 159 754

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 754 sniff and smell at the Tachis and sing songs about them. The Tachi would get sick. Finally they would die.

159 754 627 One of the Tachi got sick because the doctors were following him like coyotes and smelling him. He told Tumnah. Tumnah said, "All right, we will get our bows and arrows and go over and kill him."

They got some stone pointed arrows that they kept especially to keep away the Indian doctor's magic. Stone [obsidian] pointed arrows are Tripne. They used these arrows sometimes to shoot bad doctors.

Tumnah went with the other Tachi over to Nutunutu. Some of the people there saw them coming. They ran and told the doctor that some people were coming to kill him. He did not believe it at first. He was lying on his bed in his house.

But when the Tachi came to his door he saw that they were going to kill him all right. He did not say a word. He jumped up and held his rabbit skin blanket in front of him. He started waving the blanket and singing and dancing to stop the arrows and to use his Tripne power. Most of the arrows went through and hit him, but not hard enough to kill him. The Tachi kept asking the doctor how he liked it. He kept answering, "*Een-sis* (good)."

The Tachi kept shooting arrows into the doctor and asked him, "Is that sweet?" He answered, "It is sweet." Finally one Tachi shot him with a pistol. He shot the doctor through the middle and he fell down and died.

Before I was born my father and mother were staying on Buena Vista Lake at the old village of *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne). They saw an Indian doctor killed there because he had killed some people. Afterward my people lived at Fort Tejon and went back to Tulamni, but all of the Indians were gone.

When I was grown I was at Tejon Ranch and heard some of the Indians there tell about the Indian doctor being killed at Tulamni. I have never been there. I would like to see it, but I am almost blind.

159 756 [754] When I was about seventeen years old some *Mono* Indian Doctors came from across the mountains to the east and talked to our doctors for a long time. They were worried because so many Indians had been dying. Our doctors wanted to stop the dying because they had been blamed for lots of it. So they talked about it for a long time.

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The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we). 159 756 769

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley. [103]

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek. [103]

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpikntis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We [535]

[text continues on p. 249]

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Wakachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wuhchumai (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Wakachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Wakachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shader around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured his magical "air-shot" (toiyue). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when
756 he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit
541 and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious.
574 Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary
622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis
556 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more
574 likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or
651 Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the
541 description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[50]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[50] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:12, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[51]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[51] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[82]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

[82] See anecdote, p. 394.

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754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon. [755] They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without [756] cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Teukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Teukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a headache and nose bleed. [755] Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Teukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Teukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets afitu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'lk, Motsa's friend.[87] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'lk. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'lk lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'lk got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'lk became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[87] See anecdote, p. 405.

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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

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756 a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

754 Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

683 Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhuna, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

[195] [624]

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

756 The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

622 The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials
756 of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been
572 more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyus) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[58] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahki (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[59]

[58] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[59] See anecdote, p. 391.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and
754 would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization

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[60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment." 622 572 756

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made. 756 769 572 622

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants 619 648

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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181 756 If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely, or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness 181 754 just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted [756 626] as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

182 622 756 Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public [577] expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

182 622 The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

[756]

The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not 539
witeep but witep. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of te for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that 533
his father said to him: 539
756
142

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

muyèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (persons)

pĭwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (persons)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form bĭwacĕ and Tulamni blawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'al dupit·
where this shoot fish!

wi xi min ta wateam ahādad
well, this year that feather-hand-ornament is-putting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xulònon
(index of meat-thing)

teuyuak ma ha tala tsaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (ruins)

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; [166] frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a [648] constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 756 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [354] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Marriam and d'Azevedo, 1957. 615:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or ~~1/4~~? The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may paʔa seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo paʔa seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke way na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made his small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

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At length he came to the end of the cave. It was a new and strange land which he had not seen before. After looking around, he came upon the doctor sitting steadfast as a stone and looking straight before him. After a time the doctor looked up and asked Sapagay, "What are you doing here? How did you get in? You must have some sort of power to get past my guardians." Sapagay told him of the charms he had used and the doctor approved of them. They were the right charms for the man who wanted doctor power.

Sapagay looked about and saw that there was no one around. He said, "This must be a very lonely place; there are no other people here." The doctor replied, "You don't seem to like it here; why did you come?" And he continued, "I will show you the people who live here." So he called, and a long line of deer came out of the black mountain to the west. Sapagay thought to himself, "These aren't real people, but just deer from the woods." But the deer came and formed a circle about him and lost their horns and hooves, and turned into beautiful girls dressed in string aprons, beads, and clamshell ornaments. The doctor then addressed the girls, "Now give him your songs that he may have doctor power among his people." And the girls taught Sapagay their songs so that he could use their secret power.

When Sapagay learned all that he could, he asked the doctor how he could get back to his people. The doctor told him that the guardians would be asleep when he returned through the tunnel. And then Sapagay returned to his people and became a famous doctor who was called to all parts of California to cure the sick. (3)

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.* In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremonials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans'
[796] contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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*The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear. and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 ~~776~~ 791 <u>Rattlesnake shamans</u>.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 <u>Exhibitions, competitions</u>.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

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●756 in red and white stripes (see section on Dress
789 and Adornment). Then they came back to a level
[415] place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind
791 a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot,
T missed opponent, spectators standing near by not
Y in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

Although most of informants said this was
756 doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only sha-
789 mans, but persons having power from visions en-
791 tered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used
T in these contests:

One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon;
173 in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that
756 game; the white man saw when they shot each other.
789 "Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't
791 believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

222 Several vegetable foods were identified
from growing specimens by J.A. The word to´mul
262 is used to cover all green plant foods, but is
also specifically applied to all clovers, to
yellow mustard, and, as bitter greens (ki´yıt
tomul) to brown mustard. Clover (ho´lom) was
eaten raw while young and tender. Mustard
greens were cooked, and today bacon is added.
Fiddle-neck (ka´lu) and filaree (po´halo) are
eaten with salt grass while in the tender stage.
A plant, known by its Tachi name ya´hal, but
unidentified, was valued for its seeds which
were mashed and eaten. A plant with reddish-
purple flowers, ka´syın, has tiny edible seeds
which are greatly prized; they are rolled into
a ball and eaten as we would candy (undoubtedly
red maid, Calandrinia). Grass nuts (tsa´lu,
Brodiaea) were valued for their small nutty
roots which were roasted and eaten whole or
mashed into flour. A yellow prairie flower
(oto´hon) was used in some way as a food. There
278 were many others which must have been well
● 757 known and used. Horehound (ohoi´yon toi´yu,
[177] translated as cough medicine) was cooked and
the liquid drunk for a cough. J.A. said the
752 plant was an introduction of the white people.
A Mexican introduction is "five spot" or
spotted mallow (malpas, Spanish), the leaves of
which are cooked, mixed with castor oil, and
used as a poultice for pleurisy or kidney pains.
The mashed roots of jimsonweed (Datura) were
used as a poultice on broken bones, or on any
excessively painful injury, by the Tachi, al-
though M.G. claimed that they did not use it
ceremonially. The Chunut used it ceremonially
and as a medicament. J.A. reports that the
mashed leaves were put on sores. An elderly
man who did this became delirious for a day or
two, but recovered. For fractures a poultice
of mashed jimsonweed roots was tied on after
the skin about the fracture had been scarified.
Such a poultice was applied to Motsa's shoulder
when his clavicle was broken. Another man at
Pisras drank a decoction of jimsonweed when he
was badly injured by being thrown from a horse.
Any person, not necessarily a "jimsonweed
handler," used the plant medicinally.

137 A few other plants were identified by J.A.
Blue lupine, not used for anything, was called
snake's-urine (ya´hın tuyu´hun). Bird's-eye
(a gilia) was called owl's-eye (tukla´lai´ın
tsa´tsa), and owl's-clover was known as coyote's-
penis (po´tolo kai´´iyın). Two kinds of "wire
grass" which grew in water, one coarse, the
other fine, were called ka´pi and o´´wun (the
words for knife and balsa).

757 The Telamni, T.W., reported that toyo´ho,
a plant with flat green leaves which gave milk
278 when mashed and which "had no flowers," was
boiled and the liquid applied to snake bites;
it reduced the swelling. The plant grew in
Cutler's field in Drum Valley.

372 Firewood was difficult to obtain. Dried
313 weeds and tules, eked out with willow, were the

412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached. A slender pestle of stone was used with it.
[438] These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[66]
323 Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134 was sometimes shaped with the fingers into little dishes (ṭipe´kıl ki´wıs). It was chief-
757 ly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

No detailed description of basketmaking
285 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important state-
438 ments concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

In the collections of the University of
285 California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

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[66] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of [249] Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever [757] they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly de-
616 scribed several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwıca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ıš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

526 Shinny (ko´nwıč) was played only after a
616 mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
266 afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not
treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No´hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" [a possible case of rape?]. Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwɨs (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 683 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko´tɨts, who lived down at Tule River Reservation.[87] She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice. J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] 755 752 756 A black scorpion bit Tsomoi´yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a Wukchumni doctor. Sukotɨts was called. She sat down before the patient and talked to her dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna´ha la na we·ta´
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye´wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta´ puku´lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi''in or He''iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the [756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of [752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752- For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
825 snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´wes.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Hukzammi in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

T Y 534 known. The clapper (tawa´tw·l) and cocoon rattle (sa´nač) were used. The musical bow was known to the Southern Yokuts, Choinimni Yokuts, and probably northward throughout the foothills as it is reported from Western Mono, Miwok, and Maidu.[131]

T Y 224 411 Hunting.--F.M.'s father was a fine hunter; Cougar was his dream helper. When F.M. was about fifteen years old, his father took him hunting. Sinew-backed bows were bought from Pitanisha (Tübatulabal) living near Kernville. But plain bows of elderwood [? he claimed] were made at Sototlo. Arrows were of button willow tipped with a white-oak point, or of obsidian if for deer.

T Y 224 The deer disguise was made of the complete head, antlers, and skin. The head was stuffed with grass. The wearer leaned on two sticks to imitate the animal, and with them would crash about in underbrush to simulate fighting deer.

Bears were lured out of their caves by a fast runner, and shot by two or three good hunters waiting in ambush.

After the killing of an especially large deer or bear, the animal's head was sprinkled with eagle down. F.M. never heard of selling bear paws or skin to someone with a bear totem. He thinks bear was not a totem animal for any one at Sototlo.

In dividing up a carcass, the man who took the skin did not receive any meat. Men did tanning of hides.

T Y 223 The pigeon booth from which birds were snared is probably native to this region, as well as northward along the foothills, although that seen and illustrated by Holmes was on the Tule River Reservation.[132]

T Y 276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (so´gon) was drunk with lime. The preparation was like that elsewhere: the cakes of dried leaves were pounded with a small mortar (koi´wes) and pestle (pa´lwi), crushed shells (ta´sep) were added, and water was stirred in. It was taken in the evening by persons of either sex who were at least twenty years of age; the purpose was to aid dreaming. Crushed tobacco was smoked in a cane pipe (ha´la) or an elderwood pipe (wi´se´ta, elderwood). Tobacco was made in the usual two cake forms, so´gon and politsi´na, but of the latter F.M. could only say that it was stronger and molded in the usual cylindrical shape.

T Y 372 Tinder.--Oak balls contained a shreddy, corklike substance called y·´ska, which was used as tinder in making fires and lighting pipes.

T Y 278 757 Medicine.--Redwood sap (ta´nal) was shaved up in a pot of hot water. A person with a wound which bled profusely steamed himself with this under a blanket; a woman who had given birth also used it in this way. A little of

[131] Ibid., 419, 542; Barrett and Gifford, 250; Wobonuch Western Mono, herein, Pt. II.

[132] Anthropological Studies, pls. 31, 32.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y 796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T Y 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

292 and shells added to the effect.[164] Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for [426] instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

The feather skirt was called čo´niš (M. 292 and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.[165] 237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi´''ats) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se´ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.[166]

In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills 293 (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walat) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weaselskin bands (sau´nat). These carried special supernatural power. Weaselskin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.--Three colors of paint were used by 302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho´yan, J.B., M.L.; red color, pači´kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa´wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ocher or cin- [177] nabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi´an) was a grey earth which [757] turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[164] The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

[165] Kroeber gives chohum; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

[166] See also, ibid., 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. [437] Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

757 278 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

Ša´'apeš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with ša'apeš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka´ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To´pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka´watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta´mak was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui´sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipit has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogən) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [189] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´wıš) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'upıč. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

<u>Pipes</u>.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dkıd) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The [757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no´mčin, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčin, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not [551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´was) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805] 177

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'ati (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni´'udi (another) was added; thus, ni´'udi komo´d:s (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a´h:t (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no´či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta´naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tam:k were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with 431 them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like
[237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
● 757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
[752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limın) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni´ša) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising
[616] the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owıč ano´ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

Medicines

278 824 757 [177] Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono¹." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

278 area was covered with dry wormweed which was
824 then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in
757 his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 A man could carry one deer by means of a
482 tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

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taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

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Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ıč broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

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At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

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The jimsonweed plants (taña ´ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki´lıš and Koti´diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] B.O. said it grew plentifully at Tuläo, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

[276] The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little 754] thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. [533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 754 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. 756 When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

755 This last practice was an entire deception. The tube used was about six inches in length and had a hole in the center about three-fourths of an inch in diameter. It was sometimes made of stone but was often made of a hollow elder limb.

The cut was made on the body of the patient at a point where the pain was most severe. A small object, sometimes the tail of a lizard which would still twitch, a small piece of arrow point or a thing of like nature was concealed in the hand or mouth of the medicine man.

The medicine man placed his mouth at the end of the tube and by sucking caused the blood to flow from the cut quite freely. When this was accomplished, the tube was removed and the bloody tail or arrow point exhibited as the article which was causing the pain.

278 But all of this practice was a last resource. The Yokuts Indians along the Kaweah river still gather and trade and bar-
757 ter among themselves plants, roots, and herbs. These are used for every conceivable human ill, including rheumatism, cold in the chest, sore throat, coughing, nose bleed, and countless others. One of the common plants used as a medicine was eaten in such quantities as to be classed as a common article of food. This was the wild sweet, or purple, clover.

The writer has seen in one Wukchumne camp no less than twenty wild foodstuffs and home remedies, all of which were used at various times throughout the year.

The following incomplete list of food and medicinal plants used by the Wukchumne Yokuts will indicate how extensive was this practice and will also point out to those informed in practical medicine how well the curative qualities of the various plants was understood by these primitive people.

278 Buckeye	*Top'-pong.* Fruit ground, leached, and eaten.
192 Blackberry	*Mah'-min.* Dried in cake form.
Brodiaea, Golden	*Chang'-ke.* Bulbs eaten.
Brodiaea, Minor	*Hawt-naw'-we.* Bulb eaten.
Clover, sweet	*Che-tot.* Eaten raw, with salt from salt grass.
Cherry, bitter	*Shup.*
Fern, Common	*Loy-yo.* Root used for medicine.
Fern, Brittle	Used as medicine by Dunlap Indians but name not known.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of 152
intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was 182
deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any 787
other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle [757]
was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its 182
natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor 155
importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition 182
not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as; the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

5: Gayton E-5 (19[illegible]7) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

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The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

278 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the
754 leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aftawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that [823] would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. [177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but
757 the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher
777 of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802
192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild 262
sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. [231]
Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the [171]
Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the 825
rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved [773]
among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed 757
by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there 164 was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɨs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɨs [262] (lake trout), poi´yom (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɨt (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´ñaš) was "used by 482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɨ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´yɨn) at bedrock 252 mortars (tinɨl), using a large pestle (če'; 412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɨm (ti´pɨn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gɨn. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɨlao, pipe of cane [sikɨl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɨš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu´či; cexɨ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this purpose there were large flat-bottomed baskets 484 called te´wɨč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the dance would, if possible, be moved into a large [742] dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who [439] may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin 481 River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death. 758 824 756 683

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand. 755

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[531] They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.
825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina´tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´ĉ:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier times. However, in a sudden excess of confi- [778] dence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ič). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a basket and buried them. The basket was a
[285] special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponik. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lit, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 196 b] Chuckchansi

Death

763 764 When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators [152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty [157] minutes. There were four official singers who [481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by [177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the [178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cremated, according to Powers.[125] The old crema- [766] tion place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from [431] relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] P. 383.

W Y 561 192

moa ˈbi hu ˈu ˈpi na ˈnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ˈbi ti ˈkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu ˈu ˈpi tu ˈamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ˈbi na ˈnany·p: man forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi nana ˈpi ˈ·p: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi moa ˈbh·l·p: old man
moa ˈbi hube ˈči ˈ·p: old woman

Death

W Y 763

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ˈkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ˈči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

W Y 764

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Eptimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ˈlšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ˈlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao ˈi ˈči (person dead); pučo ˈn tao ˈi ˈči (man dead); muti ˈhoi tao ˈi ˈči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ˈnoluč (tawa ˈtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-na showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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888

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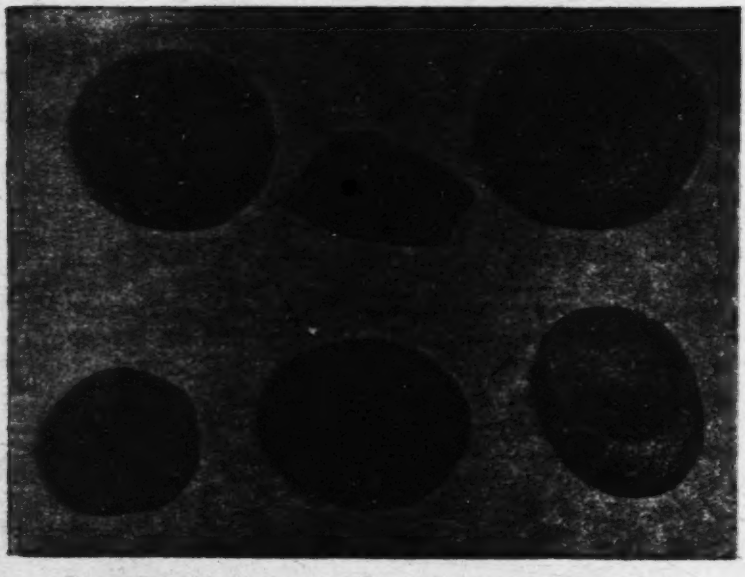

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 342 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

● 764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no [838] established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño´čem (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

765 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony,
764 known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyaknan, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

You go to another land
You like that land
You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tipı ́knıts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

756 Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko ́lṭat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called anı ́čwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

> The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´weked, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [177 657] reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 285 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 838] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other-764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is Tapi´knits; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the after-world.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči´ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonočim,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

321 412 Deer bone awls (poa''uk, M.L.; ap''up, M.P.) were wanted by all women who made baskets and, as there was no tabu on their use for any convenient purpose, others owned them as well. About three sizes were wanted, ranging from 3 to 6 inches.[194] They were made by men from deer fibulae (see pl. 1, floor center).

324 412 An assortment of obsidian blades, also made by and bought from men, was wanted for cutting meat, scraping foodstuffs and basketry materials, and cutting hide.

428 [584] 285 431 Women came by these possessions in a variety of ways. When a boy's family approached a girl's family with betrothal gifts, a burden basket was frequently included as this was an object of value and a type which a young girl could not make for herself. By the time she was betrothed, however, a girl usually had already made herself smaller twined and coiled ware of the seed-beater, winnowing tray, and sieve types. Her mother or aunts (of either side of family) would make her additional baskets, particularly the twined cooking basket.

428 [764] [437] Girls or women inherited from their mothers many of these household utensils; but it was said that "there weren't so many of these" (M.L.) by the time a few things had been put with the corpse and the rest were divided between daughters and claimed by the mother's sisters. Again it was impossible to formulate a rule whereby these objects were gotten or inherited. Women bought utensils and tools from each other and also from men. A woman's husband was expected to supply her with meat and skins. The latter included deerskin for the dress apron and, if the man were a poor hunter and could not procure them himself, he might even buy the deerhoofs used as a decorative fringe on the apron.

Medicines

757 278 The two plants used for poisoning fish (yaoha and tadad) were also used medicinally. The first, for chills or headache, was mashed in a poultice; the second was boiled for use as a steam bath for chills or to soothe the vaginal tract after childbirth.[195] Neither plant was actively poisonous as fish stupefied by them did not need any special treatment before being eaten.

Black paint (ka'di'an) was mixed with grease as a salve. It was applied to sore

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[194] Thirteen awls collected by Dr. Barrett from Michahai, Choinimni, and Chukchansi territory, now in the University of California, Museum of Anthropology, range in size from 3 inches (1-10839) to 7 inches (1-3997). Three unfinished awls from Drum Valley (probably Chukaimina or Michahai) are 5 3/8, 5 1/2, and 7 3/4 inches (1-10850, 1-10838, 1-10837).

[171] [195] The Miwok used vinegar weed (Trichostema lanceolatum Benth.) as a steam treatment for "uterine trouble" (Barrett and Gifford, 174).

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tonoč̌ːm) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonoč̌ːm) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 All Wukchumni informants stated that it
767 was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´'ɨs, who was cremated
[766] by his two wives, Mawo´kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku´do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tump-
286] line and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinɨmniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the
767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija haj:t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal.
[237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with t:pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´c:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the 767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., 773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on 302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier times. However, in a sudden excess of confi- [778] dence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream 787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was 276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yeš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lal (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lak (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nan homoti
823 (to go south); to´xal (west; toward the plains): toxal tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxal pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tal (directly down, also downhill); tanan atal (to go down); atal tunulao (down hillwards); ti´pan (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); tipan wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mat (to run); witi´nat (to fall down); haswa´nat (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lat (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswa´nat (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his rela-
tives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40]Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41]Dunnell, 122.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ıč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponık. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lıt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 <u>An unusual burial</u>.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
[562] members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mıč (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ıč was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [564] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipıt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipıt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. 323 Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe šokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] 171 [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Tumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then 764 when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators [152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty [157] minutes. There were four official singers who [481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by [177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the [178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre- [766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old crematio place was g'o´wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its [431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] P. 383.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there 775 [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. 796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 galial and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

W Y 561 192

moa ˈbi hu ˈu ˈpi na ˈnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ˈbi ti ˈkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu ˈu ˈpi ɔu ˈamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ˈbi na ˈnany·p: man forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi nana ˈpi ˈ·p: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi moa ˈbh·l·p: old man
moa ˈbi hube ˈči ˈ·p: old woman

Death

W Y 763 W Y 764

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ˈkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ˈči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ˈlšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ˈlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao ˈi ˈči (person dead); pučo ˈn tao ˈi ˈči (man dead); muti ˈhoi tao ˈi ˈči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ˈnoluč (tawa ˈtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 237 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 764

Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

W Y 783

All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočɨm, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 767

Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nɨl (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

W Y 775 539

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibɨ´knɨč).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 244 a] Western Mono N. 25

W saw what he thought was a dog coming along the
Y trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immedi-
613 ately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both
825 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W The talisman in most common use by Micha-
Y hai people with supernatural power was the
778 eagle-down cord (pisesán). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W The following very general information on
Y shamanism was given by B.O.
756 A man who was a doctor (poha´gɛ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured,
Y he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of
[237] crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
● Y analogue.
● 764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought
W justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent,
683 then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's
W death.
Y

A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village [near the present site
683 of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"The Indians of this country finding their food where they lived were not nomadic. They were not disposed to range, and seemed unaccustomed to intrude upon the ground which usage probably made the possession of other tribes. 175

"Their huts were easily built and permanent; the climate was fine, they lived mostly in the open air, and when they died they were not put in the ground but up in the branches of the trees. The climate is such that a dead animal left on the ground simply dries up and only the eye gives knowledge of its presence. [164] [132]

"The springs and streams hereabout were waters of the *Chauchiles* and Mariposas Rivers and the Indians of this village belonged to the Chauchiles tribe.

"On some of the higher ridges were fields of a poppy which, fluttering and tremulous on its long thin stalk, suggest the idea of a butterfly settling on a flower, and gives to this flower its name of *Mariposas*—butterflies—and the flower extends its name to the stream. [137]

"The encounter I had here with the Indians was a premonitory symptom of the contests I afterward had with the State and Federal governments when the place became my property.

"We were only sixteen men. Keeping in the oak belt on the course I was pursuing would bring us farther among these villages, and I would surely have lost the cattle and perhaps some men and horses in attacks from these Indians. In the morning therefore I turned down one of the streams and quickly gained but a little distance on this course when an Indian was discovered riding at speed towards the plain, where the upper San Joaquin reaches the valley.

"Maxwell was ahead and not far from the Indian when he came into sight and knowing at once that his object was to bring Indians from the river to intercept us, rode for him. The Indian was well mounted but Maxwell better. With Godey and two of the Delawares I followed. It was open ground over rolling hills and we were all in sight of each other, but before we could reach them a duel was taking place between Maxwell and the Indian—both on foot, Maxwell with pistols, the Indian with arrows.

"They were only ten or twelve paces apart. I saw the Indian fall as we rode up. I would have taken him prisoner

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They were also placed over the eyes, ears, and/or 436
mouth of the dead, as Ichow stated, "So that dead person could 301
see, hear, talk good in *Tihpiknits'* (keeper of the hereafter) 764
Pahn (land)." Such use of Tahp has been found in some of the most ancient burials discovered in Yokuts territory, which indicates that it had long been valued by the ancestors of those people.

The most valued of all Yokuts money was made from the 436
shell of the famous Pismo clam. Most of this Pismo clam shell- 439
money was probably traded through Cuyama Valley from Canaliño neighbors to the southwest. Tejon informants have stated to me that the word, *Cuyama,* was the Canaliño name for the Pismo clam shell and that the Cuyama Valley was the channel through which these shells were traded to the Yokuts. Curiously enough, clam-shell ornaments are less common in adjacent Yokuts territory than they are farther north in Chunut Yokuts territory. My informers concerning the above were Rosa and Ramon Hino and Juan Losada of Tejon Canyon. Wahumchah, one of the last two living Yowlumne Yokuts, has told me that his tribe obtained their clamshell money through the Cuyama. Wahumchah's father and grandfather were both traders and his observations along these lines should carry more than ordinary weight.

I have heard no claims made that Pismo clam shell-money 436
had any curative or preservative powers, only that it had great 764
value as money. This is borne out by the use made of it in Yokuts burials. It was almost always placed in the mouths of the dead. *Yoimut,* an aged Chunut, once stated to me, "To pay them bad fish-people to let the dead person cross that narrow bridge to Tihpiknits' Pahn. They put it in the mouth so that dead person don't lose it and he sure to have it when he get to Tihpiknits' Pahn."

The Pismo clam ornaments were of three standardized 436
shapes and had holes drilled through them. Discs were made 321
in sizes from more than two inches in diameter to less than one- [531]
half inch. The edges of most of these were decorated with incised geometric forms in several designs. Indications are that the incisions were originally rubbed full of asphaltum. This bright black material contrasted strikingly with the white of the clam shell and made them the most spectacular and impressive forms of stone or shell money, or ornaments produced by the Yokuts.

[i.e., spangles and ornaments of abalone shell.-Anabs]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh,* of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts rain doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
778 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
484

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 484

one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

764 [766] 587 765 [177]

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civilization", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

775

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aboriginal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

773

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

526 The pole and stick game (aiki´w:č) was for
616 men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai´wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

The pole and tossed hoop game (hole´w:č)
[164] was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telwey:t and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

Matching lines was a game played by two
[165] men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[50] This she called k'a´nal (she gave aiki´w:č as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai´'iwan) or another straight willow (sala´'am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota´'al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai´yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[51] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno´lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms
221 which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

[50] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[51] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to
[838] my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño ˇčˑm (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

●765 764 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony, known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyakman, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

> You go to another land
> You like that land
> You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´šot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
536 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

a [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

[P. 41b] Tachi Chuwut

535 not always have words"; they probably were of
517 the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined
574 in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (ṭuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes
[302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 At another time J.A. made brief reference
616 to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwas). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above,
[766] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic
[152] and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heśwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 429] Tachi

756 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (ǒo ˈpːt) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi,
535 Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

766 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[122]

[122] Handbook, 501.

291 available. Large tules were pulled into strips;
286 they and whole small tules were pounded with a wooden stick on rock (usually the bedrock mortar where good working space was provided) until softened and pliable. Any of these materials, when made into aprons, was twined along one edge with willowbark string (ša'). One row of twining held the fibres together; a second, below the first, included the bent-over ends which had been turned down on the outside. Both rows of twining continued into a twisted two-strand belt. When asked why two aprons were made rather than one continuous skirt, M.L. said the back "wore out too fast"; hence the replaceable sections.

292 On dress occasions aprons of deerskin (ki'nap) were worn, sometimes put on over the fibre aprons (fig. 8, b). The front apron of deerskin was edged with deer hoofs which rattled prettily. Not all women could afford these. M.L. spoke proudly of having such an apron which her mother had made for her first puberty ceremony. Women whose husbands were poor hunters or had other vocations bought deerskin and hoofs for themselves.

291 The basket cap (waki'nuts) was always
285 coiled, of a shape similar to the small individual mush basket. It was used only when carrying a heavy load with the tumpline (M.P.).
[482] While the cap is said to have been invariably coiled, a museum specimen (U.C. 1/2958; no provenience other than Yokuts) is a small, diagonally twined "bowl" (7-1/2" x 8" diameter at rim, 4-3/4" deep), palpably old and undoubtedly a cap. Its rim is bound with buckskin and is patched with buckskin at a point where a tumpline would have worn it. It is patterned with a wide band of double zigzag at the edge and a band of single zigzag near the base. There is no other piece like it in the Yokuts collection and it is presumably introduced from an outside source, possibly Miwok or Pomo. The attempt to preserve it by repair even suggests that it might have been valued because of its oddity among the Yokuts.

301 Ear ornaments (po') were differentiated from men's only by having two long strands of beads added; they were then called yau'wakan.

302 Women's hair was long save during the
[765] period of active mourning, when it was singed close to the head if grief were deep, to the shoulders for a lesser bereavement. Like men's it was parted in the middle and, at work, was tied at the nape of the neck, but the front hair was usually singed off to form bangs. Both sexes washed the hair with soaproot suds and brushed it with soaproot brushes.

[237 On special occasions eagle down was stuck
381] on the bangs and fore hair with soaproot glue.
292 An ornamental headband (hoči'n) worn by women was woven of fine milkweed string by the usual "sewing" technique for belts and had beads introduced to form a diagonal pattern. The band was 2 to 3 inches wide, long enough almost to

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 107b] Wukchumni

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´nič, and another known mother, Tu´nič. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonočim was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočim. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočim were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočim were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

Mourning was marked by singeing off the
●765 hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

765 set the date for it. This reciprocal group was called gu'ui just as is the reciprocal tribe in the public Annual Mourning Ceremony.

On the day set the relatives-in-law, headed by one of their group, brought meat and clothing. With them came two or three singers (ahe´nəč). The singers performed morning and evening, and the chief mourner, his relatives, and any others of his tribe who wished all wept [152] in accompaniment. This performance was called paho´tət and continued all night. Sometime during the night money was collected from the mourners by a winatum and the next day was taken to the reciprocants.

The next morning the washers' winatum got large baskets of water, and the visitors washed the faces of the chief mourners, combed their hair, and dressed them in new clothes. These chief mourners would be the immediately bereaved and close relatives, e.g., a man and his children mourning a dead wife, or parents and siblings mourning a dead child, etc. Thereafter the faces of less closely related mourners -- cousins, aunts, grandparents, etc. -- were washed.

Then a general feast was held, games were played, and one or two shamans might dance during the evening. The shamans were given money frequently in order to keep them dancing. Sometimes a woman or two would dance with them.

Thereafter the initial phase of mourning was over. A widower was free to remarry, [587] though many men did not do so at once. A widow was expected to remain single for at least a year. Any deeply bereaved person continued to maintain a depressed demeanor and refrained from meat until the annual mourning celebration was held. During the mourning period a woman busied herself making baskets which she gave to the relatives-in-law who washed her. She continued this industry in preparation for the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

Age Categories

561 From M.L.. Her distinctions are not very satisfactory from the point of view of European culture. My impression is that for Yokuts the span of life is, roughly, in four parts: birth to adolescence, adolescence to mature manhood (say 20 years), manhood, and old age.

wi´təp, wi´tipəč: baby, baby boy; any child under 3 years; literally, little one
gu´tum witəp: baby boy
mo´kəs witəp: baby girl
hi´am paha´ta witəp gutum: now little male, i.e., boy [here referred specifically to Mason García, aged 5]
witəp mu´kəs: little female, i.e., girl
hiam pahata gutum: now male; i.e., man [here referred specifically to Felix García, aged 10]

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face black, the other side white. Both men had [302] their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-night dance after a mourning ceremony were al- 765 ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be [756] sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment 534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or 765 four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the 541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam 535 or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´ĉ:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛn´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kuluŝao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aŝ, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 <u>Pleasure dance</u>.--A dance (he´šiš na´mit)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., heŝiŝ namit dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wit) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Si´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 <u>Jimsonweed ritual</u>.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24]A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25]Latta, op. cit., 40.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ıč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponık. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

● 765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lıt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.---To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could
753 see people moving around there, although they
775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its short-
302 ness indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

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[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

W
Y
526

ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.--Two men would play this game (ho'o´tuš, Michahai; na'a´ñapai'šıt, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki´no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.--This game (nahai´witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both parthers' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.--This game (ai´kaš, Michahai; nahai´wıtho·pims, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

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Dice game.--This was a woman's game (hutču´ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.--This game (hana´ošiko, Michahai; nai'a´nwıt, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP.244 a] Univ. Calif. Publ. Mono N° 25

W saw what he thought was a dog coming along the
Y trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immedi-
613 ately after, they met Pušlıln and Ko´'o (both
825 Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušlıln said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušlıln replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the
Y eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat
778 comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W The following very general information on
Y shamanism was given by B.O.
756 A man who was a doctor (poha´ge) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured,
Y he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of
[237] crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing
W performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts
Y analogue.
764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought
W justifiable. There was no special person for
Y this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman
756 would go to their chief for advice and consent,
683 then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

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Y A mourning ceremony was being given by the
765 Yokod at their village [near the present site
683 of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

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The Yckod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka ̌čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chapter 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilization, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

517 533 Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

517 534 [765] Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

171 184 181 The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

171 181 It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have
824 them point out the plants which came with the white man and those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother,
765 husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *ku-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in
172] this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Over the cheeks was applied a mixture of powdered charcoal and pine pitch. This badge of mourning was sometimes allowed to remain in place for approximately one year, or when a yearly mourning gathering and dance was held. This painting was done to accentuate the dirt which accumulated under the eyes while the mourners were constantly crying and could not wash. 302 765

The women, and men, too, sometimes perforated their noses (*tong-ok-e'-en*), and thrust through the openings a long slender piece of bone, or hardwood (*tong-ik'-un*) or the rim from an abalone shell. These ornaments were often six inches in length and are said to have added a note of sternness to the naturally impressive, dark-visaged natives. 304 301

Tattooing varied with the various tribes throughout the valley. They called it *ship'-ah wah'-shud*. It was accomplished by making cuts in the skin with sharp chips of stone and rubbing powdered charcoal into the cuts. 304

Tattooed designs consisted mostly of straight lines, both solid and composed of rows of dots. They occurred on the chin, across the cheeks from the corners of the mouth, and sometimes on the forehead. Each tribe doing this is said to have had its own distinctive design. 304 531

Women pierced their ears, (*pu'-wah he'-un*), and wore suspended from them beads, seashells, and other small ornaments, to a greater extent than did the men. Strings of beads were also worn about the neck and suspended with, or wrapped about, the hair. These beads were made of steatite, or of seashells, appearing white, or blue and bluish black. 304 301

Painting (*ship'-ah ush'-uh*) was probably common among the valley Yokuts tribes. Balls of paint have been found in graves at such widely separated points as the Los Baños Creek in western Merced county, the Alamo Solo in northwestern Kern county, and Grizzly Gulch in eastern Tulare county. They included three colors, red (*haw'-yow*), white (*huh-so'-sid*) and black (*wow'-won*), red being most common. 302 172

Several craniums have been found having the marks of paint upon them. As the flesh decayed, the color on the skin was deposited on the cheek bones. The colors used in these cases were red and white. There was some difference between the use of these ancient cosmetics and those applied by present white women of the valley. The Yokuts painted the face red

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their
304 nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed
[184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo.
[302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It
386 came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and
438 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted
[765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain
[438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
372 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 587 not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [177] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[765]

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[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

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The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

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Having had news from the Choynocus that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinocu.

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The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

[609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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764 All Wukchumni informants stated that it
767 was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´ˈɨs, who was cremated
[766] by his two wives, Mawo´kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku´do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tump-
286] line and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinemniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭɨpni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the
767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ˌč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponˌk. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lˌt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa ́čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

756 Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
[562] members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing
764 further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124] The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125] p. 383.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who
821 came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean,
766 would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were
626 curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-
683 treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 232 a] [illegible] NS25

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Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

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Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 587 not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [177] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Port Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´wekɔd, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present [177] reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, 657 strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

Pottery she had seen, but never saw any-
323 one make it. Her mother made only baskets. One
285 woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[167] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the 838 grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other-
764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 46 C] Paleuyami

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonoč:m,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not
586 essential at marriage, constancy was expected from a wife. The husband was entirely within
837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse
[584] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As
[181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and
[767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono´čim) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonočim) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

All persons who came to visit the bereaved
[431] at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 767 All Wukchumni informants stated that it was the women tonočɨm who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´ɨs, who was cremated [766] by his two wives, Mawo´kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku´do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočɨm were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 286] The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočɨm by means of tumpline and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočɨm said, "I have carried you, čoinɨmniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭapni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočɨm and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the 767 mourners washed the tonočɨm and paid them for their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočɨm were transvestites is a moot point.[247] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[247] The native word, tonočɨm, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´nıč, and another known mother, Tu´nıč. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
767 838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonočım was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočım. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočım were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočım were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y [756] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

Y [426] This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

Y M 769 648 767 The pairs of Wukchumni and Wakzachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

V M 769 648 767

them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiw·ñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

769 648

The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" (the Wukchumni Pohots) were not there.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 127 a] Wukchumni

769 Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a group of professional mourning singers, the
767 tonočam, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved.
152 According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

[I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . . .[279]

769 Effigy-making.--The first two days of the week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and
532 Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[279] Ibid., 73.

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of one that was knocked out." If any of the magic
769 ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonoč:m who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč:m, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´t:č) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonoč:m approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonoč:m danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonoč:m were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and
767 thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. When the dance ended the tonočam retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is
[783] purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners
[152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´ć:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is an´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ɩč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cremation fire and carried the corpse to it. Every-
767 one came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called pemɩk. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Wojɩ´lɩt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

The chief of the mourning family's com- [622] munity decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were [621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

W
Y

The Transvestite

838 [767] The male transvestite (tono´čɨm, Michahai; tai´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

W
Y

[787] 767] The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočɨm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W
Y

[773]

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

W
Y
[767]

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

W
Y
561
192

na´na hua´čiči: newborn boy
hu´´pi hua´čiči: newborn girl
na´nači: boy about two years old
si´i´sači: girl about two years old
hua´wuha na´nači (or si´isači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na´nop na´nači: boy five to ten years old
hu´u´pi mo´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa´bi na´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 2366] ~~Western~~ MONO NS25

W Y 561 192

moa ˈbi hu ˈu ˈpi na ˈnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ˈbi ti ˈkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu ˈu ˈpi ˈtu ˈamoge: young woman having borne children
moa ˈbi na ˈnanyːp: man forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi nana ˈpi ˈep: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ˈbi moa ˈbhːlːp: old man
moa ˈbi hube ˈči ˈep: old woman

Death

W Y 763

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu ˈkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a ˈči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

W Y 764

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu ˈlěu mai (burn person, cremation); luku ˈlěu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao ˈi ˈči (person dead); pučo ˈn̄ tac ˈi ˈči (man dead); muti ˈhoi tao ˈi ˈči (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo ˈnoluč (tawa ˈtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 237 a] Western Mono N525

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[375] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers. [783]

All the duties connected with the burying W Y of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočim, and ghosts of the dead were 767 their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´ni:l (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba´wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tib: 'ni:č).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

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[375] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

W Y 769

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

W Y [767 783] 574

W 769 574

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

W Y 769 524

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao´šiko).

W Y 769 184

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Wakachi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 250 b] Western Mono VS 25

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Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

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During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi'e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´milıt. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u´narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´'i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. 624 [361] [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hinuta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the Great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
[775] hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, *"He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,"* the Lonewis is over They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn.* Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

●768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could
753 see people moving around there, although they
775 did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said
302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

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[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.
825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 768 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of [791]

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

[P. 237 b] Western Mono NS25

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point B.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Weh-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule cherwnish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and sats.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*1917 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes [101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [768 in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the 551] universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word 193 denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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*197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however,
177 the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in
*197 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree
193 is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead.
551 This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and
768 cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of
193 the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly un-
192 changed from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t·i, varied occasionally to t·e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt·im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ïnu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
NS29 Yokuts NS29

551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [782] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was between tribes, secondarily between moieties. 616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this 619 relationship likewise were called gi''i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Wakzachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuw:s (little ceremony), or one said of it teya´o wa'ha´l tsume´lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu´w:s was held for the purpose of making plans.[306] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye''i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakn:'n:ts, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[307] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia''a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu´lw:s) lasted six days. Each day for four days

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[306] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[307] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

769 special mourning singers (ahe´nıč) sang in the early morning and evening; there were criers (pa´´ıč) also. Everyone who felt like it would join the singers and criers in their activities, which were of short duration. The singers would put out their hands and the mournful sounds ceased. During the six days of the affair men could play pole games, but no other games.

J.A. gave the order of rituals for the Annual Mourning Ceremony thus: huhuna (Huhuna), guksai (Guksai), heswas (shamans' contest), ma´tek pa´hat ("big" cry), tsumo´lwas (ceremonial washing), hatim (pleasure dance with women participating), and kam (doctor's dancing with songs).

On the third day the Huhuna Dance was given. The performer, who was not a shaman, [293] was dressed entirely in a full-length costume of feathers. A net closely covered his face and head, and to it were affixed two abalone discs which covered the eyes, and two feather horns resembling an owl's "ears." He had a bone whistle in his mouth and carried a little stick (see fig. 8, c). He went around the dance space and found money. (J.A. says he could see in spite of the shell discs, i.e., naturally, not magically.) A winatum had built a fire, and by it a doctor prepared his shot to kill Huhuna. It appeared to the spectators that Huhuna was unaware of his fate: they wept. When the doctor propelled his invisible shot and Huhuna fell unconscious, a winatum carried him aside. The doctor sucked out the shot, spat it on a tray; the winatum burned the intrusive matter. On Huhuna's revival the weeping ceased.

The people who were giving the mourning ceremony paid Huhuna [and the doctor, presumably]. When J.A. was a little girl she attended a Tachi (?) mourning ceremony where Tsewa (Joe, a Tachi of Nutuwich moiety) performed the Huhuna Dance; she does not know who the doctor was. Another time, twenty years ago, she saw the dance at Tule River Reservation; and again she saw it at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley (Wukchumni territory) where it was followed by a Guksai Dance. Inferentially it appears it was not normally part of a Chunut mourning ceremony.

769 On the fourth day of the mourning ceremony the doctors' contest (he´swas) took place in
756 midafternoon. There was no preliminary or little contest as there was in the foothills. The contest began with the making of airshot (tu´yus sa´mın, airshot make). In the dance space, which had no special name or enclosure, the doctors' winatums had built fires for each doctor. Soaproot (ṭo´hot) and "some other root that has little spines all over it, from the lake" were put on the fire to make the shot, but nothing visible resulted. At Pisras, and also at Ciau (Kingston) three doctors were on each side and, in the center, one powerful

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´p:t)
756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´´at), weasel (po´hat), or beaver (?) (waki´´as) skins fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´p:k] could
[825 not be used for this purpose; if it were, every-
753 one present would have pains and sickness.) These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´t:k pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called wɨkči wɨs and made the sides yɨt ka yɨt (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´osɨl. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("mɨm tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu munɨn").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hatɨm) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oto´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not tɨpni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Waksachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´lenɨn. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identi-
[616] fy them. The Waksachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hiletʿts, a great talker.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is Tɨpɨ´knɨts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči´ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonočɨm, but not all were transvestites. The apparent
767 women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

T
Y
[P. 50 e] Tubatulabal NS22

159 member.[125] His father (name "not recalled") was a chief's winatum: Dove was his lineage totem, Cougar his dream helper. He died when F.M. was about ten years old. F.M. says he too was a chief's winatum: he took Eagle as his family totem because of his chiefly descent on his mother's side, and Coyote was his dream helper. F.M.'s father had one sister who, he says, had no children. F.M.'s full brother was killed in "a big fight" at Kernville when the informant was about twelve years old. A half-brother, Esteban Miranda, who had a Pitanisha

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[769
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[125] This informant was one of the few who observed name tabus on the dead.

i [i.e. Frank Manuel. - Analyst]

622 The methods by which chiefs and shamans coöperated to their mutual benefit has been treated at length elsewhere.[227] For the Wukchumni, S.G.'s remarks will serve as a summary statement.

622 539 556 754 The chief (tia'a) always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money, he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the chosen victim belonged to another tribe, he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking him to have his doctor kill that man. If the chief accepted the money, he had his doctor start the process of sickening and killing the rich man. The money received was divided between the doctor and the two chiefs. Doctors who killed in this way made sure that the patient would finally send for them by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

We usually had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

622 756 A chief could himself be a shaman, as was J.P.'s grandfather, who was a snake-handler. But there is no instance of a chief being a regular curing shaman, the true <u>doctor</u> who cured or, when bad, caused sickness.

624 769 <u>Subchief</u>.--The Wukchumni and Yaudanchi had a type of secondary chief (tuye''i) whose only function seemed to be to assist the head chiefs of a tribe at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Although three informants stated that the position was hereditary in the male line, they could not say what members of a subchief's family were called by the term tuye''i, whether or not there was an invariable lineage totem (as Eagle for the chief), or specify any other duties than those mentioned below.

S.G. said that the tuye'i was a kind of secondary chief; the position "went in families" and could be held by either sex. The subchiefs "came behind" the tia'a and made up the deficit amount of money if there was a shortage in meeting the expenses of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Young male tuye'i of about ten years of age or over contributed.[228] If something happened to prevent a chief from presiding at the mourning ceremony, the subchiefs managed it and were the first served at meals. On the evening of the fifth day of the ceremony, the subchiefs gave a feast for the head chief or chiefs at which they presented these men with the money, baskets, and blankets.

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[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] This seems excessively young, for Yokuts culture does not provide a means of accruing money at such an age; 20 years would seem more probable.

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s seg-
616 regations of related animals (see below) had no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokelyuwič and nutuwič were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokelyu´wič. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dikao and da´tu idikao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
[769] mony. Even then the grouping was not followed when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and
769 recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
769 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich ac-
616 cording to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe, totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
756 follows:
616

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´sːš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 When J.B.'s attention was called to the fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 124 a] Wukchumni

796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

●769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal schedule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or [556] Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women, [426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount [426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´nıč and followed an established method. 431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected 437 as the recipient; but this tribe was not the tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´'us. (The

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 124 b] Wakchamni

769
431 normal rate of interest was at 50 per cent,
tu ~nwis.)
437 To return to the original contributors of the sum, each one who had put in an amount, say $10.00, had to agree to provide an equivalent amount of food or gifts ($10.00 worth) which would be received by the recipients at the end of the ceremony. In other words: in terms of value, no profit was made on either side; in terms of materials, the hosts received money in exchange for commodities. The money was required to pay the washers, singers, winatums, huhuna dancer and accompanying shaman, the participants in the Shamans' Contest, and entertainers on the final day of celebration, and, above all, to pay for the food provided and consumed throughout the week. The recipients who received the commodities could sell them on the spot if the transactions were possible. All informants agreed that a great deal of side trading went on during, and on the final day of, the ceremony. Naturally, the opportunity was unparalleled throughout the year.

At the inception of a mourning ceremony then, a sum of money was made up by the mourners, chiefs, and investors of the host tribe and taken to another tribe by a winatum. Before setting out, the winatum was given a meal and a payment by his chief: in return the winatum made a slight gift to the chief, which might be money, food, or clothing. At the village to which he was sent the winatum was received as usual by the chief and given a meal. An assemblage was called, the purpose of the visit announced, and the money distributed to those tribal members who wished to accept it, knowing the obligation it entailed and the "gifts" they might expect in return. The chief of the recipient tribe was responsible for the personal accounts, as it were, of his fellows. That is, at the ensuing ceremony, the return of the money with its interest and the receiving of gifts from the hosts were carried out between the chiefs (by means of winatums). The individual sums were not collected until the last day of the ceremony (the day of the washing ritual) when they were presented in toto to the host chief, or such was my understanding.

The tribe approached as recipient was not obliged to accept. If it were deemed advisable by the chiefs, subchiefs, and others to decline, this was done, or a compromise might be suggested, i.e., that they take part of the funds and that the remainder be sent to another tribe. Even if accepted the money could yet be returned within six days if on further consultation the recipients felt they could not meet the obligation. If this happened, the sender's winatum was sent to take back the money; the recipient winatum did not take it but took only the message to the sender chief explaining the situation. When, as a result of this, the sender's winatum went after the money, he was paid by both parties for the service.

Y 769 431 437 When the funds were accepted, the recipients had the opportunity to indulge in trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of actual money, it was equated in commodities. Y [224] [558] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y [756] Another method of raising money was for the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

Y [426] This whole method of money exchange was not necessarily carried out between tribes, but might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Reciprocity

Y 769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe in the entire function.

Y M 769 648 767 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi families who stood in this reciprocal relation were named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.125b] Washo Mono NS25
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them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiw:ñyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

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The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" (the Wukchumni Pohots) were not there.

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit, Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts); also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobonuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from the list as given by J.P.; the list is corroborated, of course, by other informants and much indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions, the yate´´ič or "dance managers." Not all informants agree whether this was a regular official or not; perhaps only larger tribes had need of them. They were the "bosses" of the winatums who, both male and female, were worked to the utmost in their responsibility of providing shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the assembly space were erected long shades, with back screens if needed, under which the visitors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the hosts, the other visitors at each end; informants were indefinite as to how far this plan was followed. In the families of the winatums all members helped: the older winatums saw that there was sufficient food and generally directed activities, while their sons supplied wood and water and carried messages, and their wives and daughters prepared and cooked food. The visiting winatums, particularly those of the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts paid for their services just as they paid their own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

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769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the
walk I took [around the village], and about
600 women and children all placed before this
161 village. Across the front of the ranchería I
[361] counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which
makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back
432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of
mats and willow branches. In front of the
ranchería were guests, all separated, where I
directed myself along with the captains who ac-
companied me. Each of them were in little
groups; thus men, women, and children were
presented to me, and it was not possible to
count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less
than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of
Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more
than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
the atoles of the guests, while younger ones
[252] were grinding seeds on stones as is their
custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of
their neighboring friends who were found as-
sembled, presented in number some 2400 persons,
all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in
hiding, and later over one hundred visitors
came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned
525 upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play
shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting
distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the cere-
mony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps
owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the
period has been equated with weekdays so that
the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the
washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration
on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests be-
gan arriving, and the bereaved families spent
their time making the effigy dolls; on the
third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the
Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a
minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was
to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday)
the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the
burning of effigies; and on the seventh day
(Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The
native feeling was that the effigy burning and
subsequent washing and celebrating all con-
stituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is
not illogical as the events continued from
Saturday evening until Sunday evening without
break for sleep or rest.

769 Ritual weeping.--Throughout the week a
767 group of professional mourning singers, the
152 tonoč·m, at dawn and at sunset sang mourning songs accompanied by wails of the bereaved. According to M.P., on these occasions the bereaved took out the effigy dolls, the gifts of money and baskets, and exhibited them by carrying them to the assembly fire. The singers and mourners all moved with a special dancelike step as they alternately sang and wept. The singers sang; then their leader held his hands forward palm down as a signal to cease, at which the mourners immediately broke into wails of grief. As soon as this was over, the effigies and treasures were retired to the special hut in which they were kept.

The informant M.L. maintained that the singers and mourners gathered outside the village for this ritual expression of grief, and Estudillo's encounter with a mourning chief retired from his village corroborates her statement. (Practices may have differed.)

> [I] continued eastward [from the Choinuk] and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives . . .[49]

769 Effigy-making.--The first two days of the
532 week of the mourning ceremony (Monday and Tuesday) are devoted to the construction of the effigy dolls (woi´doš). These are made by women, one image for each person mourned. The basis of the doll was a cross of wood, the upright staff of which was about 5 feet long, the horizontal about 2-1/2 feet tied on about 18 inches from the top. "It must be high but not too heavy to carry when dancing" (J.P.). In old times the covering of the frame, making a sort of solid body, was of fine tule matting, more recently of calico. If the effigy was of a woman, a little basket cap was put on the head. Each image had quantities of beads hung about the neck, and especially made baskets with beads woven into them hung from the arms, back, and front. When finished, the effigies were placed in a specially constructed house at the assembly space and covered with blankets. While the mourners were thus engaged, the chief of the reciprocant tribe came and talked to them and they all wept in response. Here also were placed all the gifts and offerings for the final night of crying.

Huhuna Dance

769 On the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was given. This

[49] Ibid., 73.

769 would be on the third day if on the fourth there was to be a preliminary or informal contest between shamans, as was usual if the ceremony was a large and impressive one. Otherwise the Huhuna Dance was reserved for the fourth day and "nothing special" happened on the third other than the morning and evening singing and display of dolls and gifts. J.P. said that the Huhuna Dance might be given any day and repeated, from the very outset, if people wanted it, but certainly this was not the customary [541] practice. The Huhuna Dance could be performed at any time out of its ceremonial context and was a favorite method for both entertainment and money-making at any season of the year.

M.L. gave the following account; in so doing she particularly had in mind a performance at a mourning ceremony given by her father-in-law, Muṭoñi, at Diapnuša. A few interpolations are from J.P.

769 A Huhuna Dancer was not a shaman (añtu)
535 (although he might be) but had Owl (hutu'du)
[613] for a family totem. M.L. thought this "went in families but had to be dreamed about as well" [as being the family emblem]. She thought all tribes had the dance. Although it was a regular part of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, "it [541] could be done at any other time if a man wanted to make some money or other people wanted to see it." The shaman who entered at the end might be "any kind," provided he had the power of making airshot. M.L.'s stepfather, who took part in the dance at Diapnuša, was a Rattlesnake shaman. A Huhuna of any tribe could engage in the affair during the mourning ceremony, i.e., he was not necessarily of the reciprocant [gu'ui] tribe. But the killing shaman was always of the host or local tribe. The usual costume consisted of an ankle-length, [237] sleeveless dress of netting covered with eagle, crow, buzzard, and o'owits [?] feathers. On the back were little sticks painted red and so strung together that they rattled as the wearer danced. A headdress of netting covered with owl feathers had two little peaks to resemble an owl's head. The eyes were not covered, although J.P. and S.G. said that abalone shell [293] discs were sewed over the eyes on a net which covered the face. On each wrist hung a swinging bunch of feathers (so'n:l). The man held an eagle bone whistle in his mouth, and in each hand carried a slender rod about eighteen inches long (fig. 8, c).

At this dance at Diapnuša two Yokod men were the Huhunata (pl.). They went off to opposite sides of the village to don their costumes. While they were gone, money provided by the local chief was hidden in various spots around the assembly space -- in a sack of acorns, in the crevice of a shade, or in the ground.

One or more singers accompanied the dancing performance.

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Ša´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´´iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (ɔonɪl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
789 was called gokosyu ñɪt. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, pre-
769 ceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hɛ´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 128 b] Wukchumni

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.);
789 the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am
769 inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal
[616] alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yos), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!". During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the
[152] tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
769 one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[281]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonočɨm who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonočɨm, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[282] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´tɨč) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonočɨm approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[283] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonočɨm danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[281] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[282] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Waksachi, if any Western Mono tonočɨm were present.

[283] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. 767 When the dance ended the tonočim retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is [783] purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners [152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

●769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 783 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large, deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those [285 171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs. [301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. [465 431] The washers were each paid a small sum (about 25 cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 613] During the washing and dressing at least two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning. They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, [237] with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of [262] the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

During the afternoon the host chief and
769 his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the
426 payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ɨšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

While daylight lasted the shamans of the
769 host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony
769 was curtailed and confused. It is given merely
756 because it differs in what may be some signifi-
789 cant respects from the descriptions by other informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kasyu´ñɨt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyɨč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kɨč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money could have them go into this fight if they
756 liked."
789 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´m:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the cere-
mony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief,
[481] mourning families, and others proceeded around it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:š) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[204] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[204] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what ciroumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

●769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ła); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

796 mourning or for mother (epla´oiša); Shamans' Contest (heša´oišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiya´la); [rattlesnake, te´´el]; shaman's pleasure dance (ka´mkm).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

769 Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 136 b] Chukaimina

769 Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, Chukaimina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.

Mo. said her father, Maka´na, participated
786 in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pušlıan. "They had little whistles to call the snakes." She never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M. told her."

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭı ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ́te luni ʼʼa) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent [616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

● 769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ʼʼa) lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
535. differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

[P. 151b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day,[1] the Huhuna Dance
769 in the afternoon, after which the usual games
535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
756 (hɛ ʼwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušlɨlɨn and Kaplɨlɨn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyɛš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplɨlɨn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha ʼna. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta ʼwɨts nao ʼsa, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[1] [i.e., of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day, the ritual washing (ɛpla´o'iša) was performed.
783 The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" cov-
184 ered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon·k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.
753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her
755 dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t·pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai'·č, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.
273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limɨn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

●769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni ˜ša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´ow·č ano˜ša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (epla´oša) was reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could
753 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there
775 [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said
302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

231 Pets.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

769 184 The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

769 A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said N.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

769 burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

[767] Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took [184] place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

[622] The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a [184] general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were [621] small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

[787] Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they [184 426] should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
535 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

769 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers wit-
293 nessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were
[171] made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

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[134] Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135] Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136] Powers, 388.

[137] Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138] Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

W Y 561 192

moa ´bi hu´u´pi na´nop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moa ´bi ti´kinana: young man twenty to forty years old
hu´u´pi ɔu´amoge: young woman having borne children
moa ´bi na´nany·p: man forty to sixty years old
moa ´bi nana´pi´·p: woman forty to sixty years old
moa ´bi moa´bh·l·p: old man
moa ´bi hube´či´·p: old woman

W Y 763 764

Death

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with sa' cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (lu´koluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (a´či) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

W Y [769]

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

W Y [192]

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tu´lšu mai (burn person, cremation); luku´lšu mai (bury person, interment); mai tao´i´či (person dead); pučo´ñ tao´i´či (man dead); muti´hoi tao´i´či (woman dead).

W Y 764 767

Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šo´noluč (tawa´tsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

W Y 769

"Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´´i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

W Y [783] [571]

W Y 769 624 783

When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

W Y 769

When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nač) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tynor and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

W first giving them money, the women followed
Y giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had
769 large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Next morning, just after sunrise, the
Y washer or washers took baskets of hot water and
[783] washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one
W was made more elaborate.
Y There was no money exchange for interest
719 (lakana´nač) connected with the smaller ritual,
426 save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W The acquisition and uses of supernatural
Y power were so well understood by S.O. that he
756 could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O.
778 and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of W Y [426] money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lakına´nıč, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182] [196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

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The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

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The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

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No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao´šiko).

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Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

[197] At this time B.O. used the Wakaschi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 250 b] Western Mono VS 25

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Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

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During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´mil:t. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u´narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

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The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

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The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´ńčai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

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B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

W returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated
Y again before sundown. During these days S.O.
769 and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was the end of our sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu'i, i.e., the
W reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe
Y for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited,
[578] owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi nik, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a
W basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O.
Y for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But
769 S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking,
783 telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this "was the last of that fandango."

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[556] The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

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W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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765 came to him, would buy himself free with a larger amount. Among all the Yokuts, parents and spouses were subject to this fast, and sons, daughters, and grandparents exempt; some tribes extended the practice also to brothers, sisters, or near relatives by marriage. [171] Burning the hair short in mourning is a practice which the Yokuts share with all Californian and many other American peoples. As is also usual, men sacrificed less of this adornment than women. The central Californian custom which required a wife to pitch her face and not remove same for a year or until the next annual mourning ceremony, has been reported only from the Chukchansi. The Yaudanchi mourners merely refrained from washing or scraping their face during the briefer period in which they ate no meat.

764 The body of the dead was not only bewailed but sung over and danced for by the bereaved and the professional mourners or *tongochim*. After each song the latter clapped their hands and the relatives, still standing up, resumed their crying.

The Tachi held a more elaborate ceremony, known as *tonochmin hatim*, "Tonochims' dance," on the occasion of the first gathering [293] after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called *yakeyaknan*, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

769 Toward the end of summer an annual public mourning ceremony was held, called *lakinan*, *lakinanit*, or *tawadjnawash*. This undoubtedly had the greatest hold on the minds of the Yokuts of any of their rituals. It continued for several nights on lines similar to the crying, dancing, and singing over the unburied dead, the *tongochim* taking the same part. The last night ended in a spectacular climax with a destruction of property in honor of the departed, plus special features that varied from tribe to tribe.

Among the Yaudanchi, the mourners, who have been indoors or under a shade while the *tongochim* have been dancing, notify the lat- [532] ter, through the official herald, of their coming. They then approach carrying frames or figures dressed to represent the dead. Standing inside the circle of singing *tongochim*, they sway the images as if to thrust them into the fire that burns in the middle. At the end of each song the *tongochim* clap and the mourners burst into wails. After daybreak the figures are finally burned, and beads, baskets.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
159 names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne*. Indian
103 to south they called *Tucuyu*. They go from Kawatchwah south to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

[648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah*. Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah*. One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

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Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made [261]
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers 302
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and 484
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

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to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [251] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the sur- 224
round. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding 825
the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or profes- [533 sional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual cere- 769] mony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224
methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

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159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave
[868] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I
[854] do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

I was about six years old when we moved from Watot
159 Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about
769 two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol,* a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke,* who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne.* He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit.* One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let.*

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

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159 There was a big brush shade around where they danced.
769 The company camped under this shade. It was a long shade. The place inside was about 100 steps across. There was a big fire in the middle. It was down by the creek west of the "Fish" Rice house a little way on the south side of the creek just south of where the roads cross now. The old cemetery was just north across the creek.

The Winatun worked for the chief and told the people
[624] where to camp when they came. There were lots of tribes
[574] there. I remember people from the Tachi, Yokodo, Chunut, Kaweah, Choinok, *Wolase, Wukchumne, Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Wuksahche, Nutunutu, Wowol* and *Telumne* tribes.

The Winatun gave each people their grub when they came. They had some grub along, but the people at Sulawlahne had to give all of the meat and most of the rest of the grub. We bought cows to eat from "Fish" Rice. I remember that there were two cows hanging up at once. We had some deer meat, and antelope and elk too. Our hunters killed a lot during the week of the Lonewis, but we had to have lots of beef besides. This meat was to eat after the Lonewis was over.

Pleas Work was there with his Indian Wife. She was a
[551] *Pahd-wishi*. Her name was *Haw'-nick* (Measuring Worm). She was a very pretty woman, but we were afraid of Pleas. He was a bad man. He killed lots of Indians. He only stayed two days. We liked it better after he left.

Our *Chumlus* (Choom'-loos) had all of our clothes to put
[302] on us after we washed. My mother had painted her cheeks with black paint and had cut her hair off when my father
[317] died. We got the black paint [graphite] from a hill by the place you call Stokes Mountain. We burned it before we
[152] used it. We cried almost all of the time until the Lonewis. All of the time after my father died we did not eat any meat until
[262] after the Lonewis was over.

My mother had paid our Chumlus the money for the
[551] clothes. Mother had not changed clothes since my father died. We had not spoken my father's name. After the Lonewis was over the Chumlus had to wash us and put our clean new clothes on us. Then we could all be happy again.

As soon as we camped, my mother began fixing the man to burn in the fire at the Lonewis. She had saved her money for a year and had bought a good suit of clothes at Mr. Sweet's store

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"Old Brin," an aged, blind Wukchumna, showing a typical Yokuts head of coarse, heavy black hair bobbed in mourning, also a terribly embarrassed granddaughter. Photo, taken about 1900, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

in Visalia. She paid sixteen dollars for it. She had a good hat, shoes, socks, and underwear.

Mother stuffed the clothes with tules and fastened them together so they looked like a man. She painted the face. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 she got out the fine baskets she had made to burn, and all of
769 father's things she had saved. Then she was ready for the Lonewis.

If some man lost a wife they fixed some clothes like a woman and burned it. If they lost a little boy or a girl they dressed it up like a boy or girl. For a baby they fixed it on a baby cradle and burned it. In the old days they made these people to burn out of tules and dressed them with beads and a man's breech clout or woman's skirt.

The morning of the second day the Teah sent his *Win-*
159 *at'-un* (messenger) to tell all the people to come together. He
769 talked to them for a long time. Then the people from each
624 tribe talked. They told about their dead people that they had been crying for. They told who they were and when they died. They told about how good the dead persons had been. By that time it was afternoon. They ate acorn mush and talked until about four o'clock. Then they all went back to their own shades and sat down.

Soon the Winatun came around to tell them to build their fires and get ready for the dancing and singing. He walked around the camp yelling this so everyone could hear. Then they all got ready. They built fires and got ready to dance all night.

The Winatun built a big fire in the middle of all the fires. It was made of dry oak and burned until the Lonewis was over. It was about twenty feet across. Some of the people carried wood for it almost all of the time.

159 At sundown everybody was ready. Nobody talked. Every-
769 thing was quiet. When we could just see *Ne'-waw Chi'-tus.*
[152] [the evening star], Tepwuhtra, the Teah, stood up in front of his fire. We all watched him. He called in a loud voice, "*He'-ahm tahn'-hin* [we are ready]." In a little while everyone was crying. Then they began to dance.

Most of the people danced around their own fires. Some danced around the fireplace for a while. They were singing to the big fire where they were going to burn their baskets and things. Then they went back to their own fires.

Most of the people sat close around their own fires and cried. They would rock back and forth and cry for awhile. Then they would sing. After awhile they would get up and dance and some of the others would sit down and cry and sing.
[539] This was one of the songs they sang:

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769
[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach. [533] [302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die. 159 769 292 237

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together. 159 769 293

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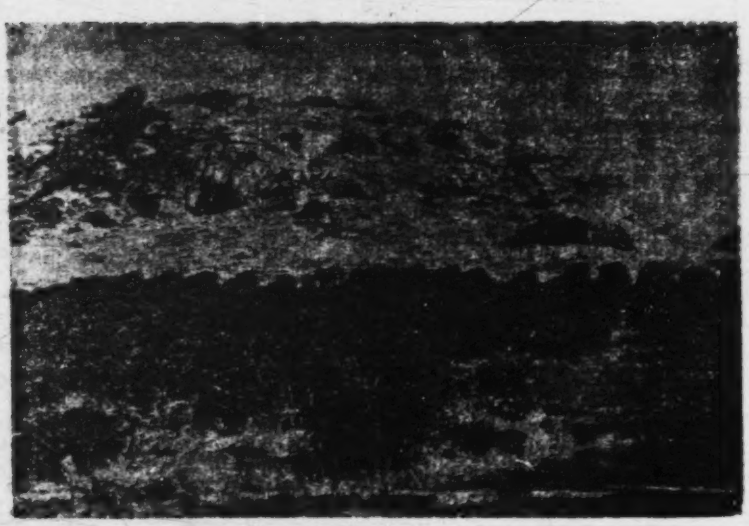
[133]



This grey, granite-strewn hill about two miles east of Woodlake, resembles the Yokuts blue heron clown when he had fallen during his dance, so the Wukchumne called it Ho-hu'-no.

Hohuno never spoke. He called, "Ho-hoo'-no," and whistled low. He danced light on the tips of his toes. He almost seemed to float around without touching the ground. He made shivers run up our backs. [535]

People hid things and Hohuno found them. They would put beads in the grass, or under something. They hung some in a tree. Some they buried in the ground. Hohuno danced and whistled around the fires, going to one person and then another calling, "Ho-hoo'-no." He would dance backward and forward until finally he would point to where something was hid, and call, "Ho-hoo'-no." Then they had to give him what he had found. He found everything they had hid.

159 769 756 The third night the Indian doctors had a fight called *Hes-wus* [a sham battle]. This fight was by doctors who were both *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Trip'-ne*. The *Ahntru* Doctors doctored people with medicine. They did not know as much or do as many things as the Tripne Doctors. The Tripne Doctors were very strong [supernatural]. They could do anything, make anyone die, change into coyote, bear, or eagle, or make it rain.

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The *Winatun* made the fires for the doctors. They made seven fires, three in a row on each side and one in the middle. They then went to tell the Teah that everything was ready. Everyone could see this from their camp fires. 159 769 756 [624]

Then the Teah called, "*He'-ahn tahn'-hin.*" The doctors came out in pairs and went to their fires. An Ahntru Doctor went to the middle fire. He came from the Teah camp. All were dressed in their feather skirts and feather headdress. All were painted and had their magic things along. Each one had *Chapet* (Chap'-peet), the Tripne flat basket tray.

Near the middle fire was a high pole set in the ground. It was as high as a house. On it were tied baskets, strings of beads and other rich things. They were for the dead people. Each doctor would sing his song and shake his rattle. Then he would swing his Chapet in the air and put it over first one shoulder and then the other while he was singing. Then he would slap it on the ground quickly. It made a loud noise. Some of the doctors could make some of the baskets fall from the pole with this noise. Only the Tripne Doctors could do this.

They sang this song: [539]

Ha-lahl'-mo hah'-hah hah'-hah

(Repeated four times.)

While they sang they danced to the center fire, stamping the ground with the same foot together and slapping the Chapets over their shoulders and against their sides.

The sun is just going down. They hold the Chapets up to the sun edgeways. Then they turn and dance back to their fires. One of the doctors slaps the Chapet on the ground and picks up something to shoot from his Chapet. Some get an arrow point, some a rock, some a bullet or something he can throw hard. He rubs it around the edge of his Chapet to make it Tripne.

They do not sing or talk while they do this. Everybody keeps quiet. They pass the Chapet around them at the waist and walk around their fire getting ready to fight. Then one slaps his Chapet on the ground and shoots at another doctor. Maybe the doctor falls down or he sits down. If he falls down he is dead [unconscious] and the Winatuns pick him up and carry him to his camp and he is done. He does not fight anymore. [He revives and watches the rest of the exhibition]. [624]

While the doctors were fighting, *Cuksa* (Cook'-sa) played around them. The Teah told him when to go in. The Winatun [624]

dressed Cuksa.

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159 dressed Cuksa. He wore an Ahntru headdress and skirt. In
●769 one hand he carried *trah-waht'-will*, the rattle, or clapper.
756 Cuksa sang and went around among the people. He made lots of fun doing like the Tripne Doctors did. At last the doctors began shooting at him. He fell down and his people carried him back to his camp. The doctors doctored him and he finally came alive again. The people gave him some money. He was only to make fun.

The middle doctor shot at those at the ends. When he
[624] killed one, the Winatun took him to the other side and the doctors there doctored him. If he was not hit bad they took
[755] it out, an arrow point, acorn, rock or something. [these objects were introduced by sleight-of-hand] Then he went back to fight. If he was hit bad they took him to his camp.

There were a lot of helpers called *Chamum Maets* (Chah'-mum ma'-ets). They walked around those fighting. They yelled and disturbed the other side. Each doctor had his own Chamum Maets. They had to pay these helpers.

The middle doctor spread *saw-nil* [eagle down] around him
[237] on the ground where the other doctors had been shooting at him. Then he brushed it up. The sawnil is Tripne and he took out of it [by sleight-of-hand] the things the other doctors had been shooting at him.

The fight was kept up until only one doctor was left. The outside people all paid the doctors while they were fighting, even after they had been hit. They gave them beads or arrows for pay. The doctors made lots of money that way. I saw all of this twice, once at *Sulawlahne* at the "Fish" Rice Ranch, south of Farmersville and once at Tule River Reservation.

The fourth night was when we came out with the clothes
159 stuffed like the dead people. About midnight they were
769 brought out and carried around and pointed at the big fire for two or three hours. All of the time everyone was singing

[539]

Ah-hah'-nah
(We sing)
Yoo'-e uh'-la
(You are going to burn)
We-ah'-ah hah
(We are crying)
(Repeated indefinitely)

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They took the stuffed clothes back into the house this fourth night. They did not burn them. Then some of the people sang and cried and danced until the next night. 159 769

The fifth night about midnight they brought out the same stuffed clothes and marched around and around the fire singing the same song. But this time they threw everything in the fire.

Just before they burned everything the Winatun threw small dry oak limbs on the fire to make a big blaze. Then the chief called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and they threw everything in the fire, almost all at once. The fire was almost covered up with stuffed clothes, baskets, and things that had belonged to the dead people.

The Ahanich (professional singers) had the right to catch anything they could as it was thrown on the fire. If they caught it, or could grab it out of the fire before it was burned, it belonged to them. Sometimes they got a whole suit of clothes, sometimes they got good baskets. [533]

It was all right for the Ahanich to keep the clothes and wear them. But they had to get them to their camp before the person who threw them in could catch hold of them. If the Ahanich was caught, he had to give the things back to the person who had thrown them in and then that person could keep them and use them, or wear them. They did not need to be burned if the Ahanich caught them or took them out of the fire.

When the things were first thrown on the fire there was a good chance to take some out without getting burned. But in just a few seconds everything was on fire. We stood back and tried to throw the things over the Ahanich's heads into the middle of the fire.

I remember that one Ahanich caught a fine basket, one like they made just to burn. He ran for his camp. The lady who had thrown it in caught him, but he pulled loose and ran on. They quarreled about it and the Teah took the basket and threw it back in the fire.

By daylight everything was burned up and only a few people were singing and crying around their own fires. They kept that up all day.

My mother worked hard to get the money to buy the clothes to burn in the fire for my father. She washed for the Blankenships and for Mrs. "Fish" Rice. But you white people do the same thing. You save money and dress dead people in good clothes. You spend lots of money for coffin.

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Jennie, an aged Wukchumne, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a Chumlus at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
●769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes
and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the
[775] hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch,* the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
769

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, *"He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,"* the Lonewis is over They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn*. Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Mono Indian Doctors said that if we held a big new kind of dance at Eshom valley we could stop all of the dying and could bring back all of our dead people. So our doctors and our Teah (Te'-ah, chief) agreed to help. They called this new dance *Heut Hetwe* (He'-ut Het'-we). 159 756 769

At the Eshom valley Heut Hetwe we were to see all of our dead people. *Tih-pik'-nits,* the bird person who was keeper of the hereafter, was to bring back to us our fathers, mothers, uncles, aunts and our grandparents. Then no one was to die anymore. That was why all of the Indians went to Eshom valley. The white people thought they were going to fight. They did not want to fight. They were not going to hurt anyone.

When we went to Eshom valley my people were living about three miles south of Farmersville at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My people called that place *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). The Teah there was *Teep-wuit'-trah.* He belonged to the *Wowol* tribe. He was uncle to my mother. He took us to Eshom valley. [103]

It was a nice place in Eshom valley where the dance was held. The Indians used to go there to gather clover to eat. There was always a nice field of sweet clover there in the spring. We called Eshom valley *Chetutu* (Che-tut'-oo), or clover place. There is a creek in the valley. The dance was made near a water hole in the creek. [103]

The Eshom valley dance was the biggest dance I ever saw. Indians came from everywhere, some from Tule river and Deer Creek, some from Lemoore and some from Kings river. We went horseback from Sulawlahnne. It took us two days to go there.

The chiefs who had charge of the dance told us that we must not get angry or be mean to one another at the dance. We were to keep dancing all the time. Only the little children could sleep. If anyone did not dance he would die or turn into a rotten log of wood.

The chiefs also told us that we must bathe in the creek every morning. When the *Win-at'-un* (messenger) called we were all to run to the creek and bathe. They told us that we were going to dance the same dance that the dead people dance in *Tihpikntis Pahn* [Land of the Dead].

We danced in a big circle at Eshom valley. Sometimes everybody danced at once. We held each others' hands. We [535]

[text continues on p. 249]

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance. 159 756 769 [535]

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this: [533] [292] [539]

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes. 159 769

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 That night we stayed among the brush and rocks after we
769 had gone a couple of miles from the camp. Then we went on farther until we found a good place to hide in a canyon this side of Kings River. We stayed there almost a week, until we almost starved. Some people killed a little game and one bear. We ate the bear meat. That was all we had, even the little children.

After we had been hid almost a week some white people came and told us that no one would hurt us. So we came back to our own camp and got ready to go home. We never finished the Eshom valley dance.

When we came back to the San Joaquin valley we were almost completely starved. I remember that the first thing I had to eat was ripe peaches. They were the best peaches I ever ate.

We had a good time at Eshom Valley, but we were sorry we did not see our dead people. Lots of our people had been dying and we wanted to see them.

Several months after the dance at Eshom Valley my people decided to have another dance. They had not finished the dance at Eshom valley. They thought that if they had another dance and finished it the dead people would really come back.

[103] The second dance was held at the old village of Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. We danced for six days and nights there, but never saw any of our dead people. After that we knew the Indians from across the mountains had been fooling us. So we did not have any more of those Heut Hetwe dances to bring back the dead people.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT CAMP LIFE

159 In the old days, before white people came to Tulare Lake,
342 my people had three kinds of houses. Two houses were made of tules. One house was made of poles and dirt. I never saw but two of the dirt houses. The Indians stopped making them before I was born. When I was about ten years old my mother took me to camp at a place about four or five miles south of the Buzzard's Roost. It is about three miles from Waukena. It was the place on the creek by the big ditch where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. When we went to the place there were a lot of Indian dirt houses there. Almost all of them had fallen down. We went there when you white people were having a big war [the Civil War].

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

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796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the 769 private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, offi- 796 cial status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

622 As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance. 651 541

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section. 769 622 476

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result. 622 541 651

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsnumi, the other two at 622

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622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some
[614] of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five
622 different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to
623 be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary
769 type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.'"[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonso.
[42] Merisan Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

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On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

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In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

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[43] Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*

[44] *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

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Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

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Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

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182 and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present
177 study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

177 The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political
182 and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were
622 the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western
769 slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamate, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

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The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

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773 while the crow made the west one. Little by little, as they dropped in the earth, these great mountains grew athwart the face of the waters, pushing north. It was a work of many years, but finally they met together at Mount Shasta, and their labors were ended. But, behold, when they compared their mountains, it was found that the crow's was a great deal the larger. Then the hawk said to the crow, "How did this happen, you rascal? I warrant you have been stealing some of the earth from my bill, and that is why your mountains are the biggest." It was a fact, and the crow laughed in his claws. Then the hawk went and got some Indian tobacco and chewed it, and it made him exceedingly wise. So he took hold of the mountains and turned them round in a circle, putting his range in place of the crow's; and that is why the Sierra Nevada is larger than the Coast Range.

This legend is of value as showing the aboriginal notions of geography. In explaining the story, the Indian drew in the sand a long ellipse, representing quite accurately the shape of the two ranges; and he had never traveled away from King's River.

769 While in Coarse Gold Gulch, it was my good fortune to witness the great dance for the dead (*ko-ti'-wa-chil*), which was one of the most extraordinary human spectacles I ever beheld. It was not the regular annual dance, but a special one, held by request of Ko-lo'-mus-nim, a subchief of the Chukchansi; but it was in all respects as strange, as awful, as imposing an exhibition of barbaric superstition and barbaric affection as is afforded by the formal anniversary. Not to my dying hour will the recollection of that frightful midnight pageant be effaced.

First, it will be well to explain that among the Yokuts the dance for the dead is protracted nearly a week. The first two or three nights, while they are waiting for the assembling of the tardy delegations, are occupied only in speech-making, story-telling, etc., until a late hour; but during the last three nights they dance throughout the night until morning, and on the third night, about daybreak, they burn the offerings consecrated to the dead. This happened to be the first of the last three nights, hence no burning occurred, but in every other respect it was complete, and all the

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exercises were conducted with more energy and with fuller choruses than they would have been after the Indians had become exhausted. 769

When Tueh, the Indian interpreter, and myself entered the camp it was already an hour after nightfall, but there were yet no indications of a beginning of the dark orgies that were to be enacted. We found about three hundred Indians assembled, in a place remote from any American habitations, and encamped in light, open booths of brushwood, running around three sides of a spacious quadrangle. This quadrangle had been swept and beaten smooth for a dancing-floor, and near one of the inside corners there was a small, circular embankment, like a circus-ring, with the sacred fire brightly burning in the center. Kolomusnim and his relatives, the chief mourners, occupied the corner-booths near this ring, and near by was Sloknich, the head-chief of the Chukchansi, by whose authority this assembly had been convened. Here and there a fire burned with a staggering, sleepy blaze just outside the quadrangle, faintly glimmering through the booths; at intervals an Indian moved stealthily across the half-illuminated space within; while every few minutes the atmosphere was rendered discordant and hideous, as indeed the whole night was, during the most solemn passages, by the yelping, snarling, and fighting of the hordes of dogs. [231]

For fully half an hour we slowly sauntered and loitered about the quadrangle, conversing in undertones, but still nothing occurred to break the somber silence, save the ever-recurring scurries of yelps from the accursed dogs. Now and then an Indian slowly passed across and sat down on the circular embankment, while others in silence occasionally fed the sacred fire. But at last, from Kolomusnim's quarter, there came up a long, wild, haunting wail, in a woman's voice. After a few minutes it was repeated. Soon another joined in, then another, and another, slowly, very slowly, until the whole quarter was united in an eldritch, dirge-like, dismal chorus. After about half an hour it ceased, as slowly as it began; and again there was profound, death-like silence; and again it was broken by the ever-renewed janglings of the dogs.

Some time again elapsed before any further movement was made, and then Sloknich, a little, old man, but straight as an arrow, with a sharp face

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769 and keen, little, basilisk eyes, stepped forth into the quadrangle and began to walk slowly to and fro around its three sides, making the opening proclamation. He spoke in extremely short, jerky sentences, with much repetition, substantially as follows:

[539] "Make ready for the mourning. Let all make ready. Everybody make ready. Prepare your offerings. Your offerings to the dead. Have them all ready. Show them to the mourners. Let them see your sympathy. The mourning comes on. It hastens. Everybody make ready."

He continued in this manner for about twenty minutes, then ceased and entered his booth; after which silence, funereal and profound, again brooded over the encampment. By this proclamation he had formally opened the proceedings, and he took no further part in them, except in a short speech of condolence. By this time the Indians had collected in considerable numbers on the embankment, and they kept slowly coming forward until the circle was nearly completed, and the fire was only visible shooting up above their heads. A low hum of conversation began to buzz around it, as of slowly awakening activity. The slow piston-rod of aboriginal dignity was beginning to ply; the clatter and whizzing of the machinery were swelling gradually up. No women had yet come out, for they took no part in the earlier proceedings. It was now quite ten o'clock, and we were getting impatient.

Presently the herald, a short, stout Indian, with a most voluble tongue, came out into the quadrangle with a very long staff in his hand, and paced slowly up and down the lines of booths, proclaiming:

769 "Prepare for the dance. Let all make ready. We are all friends.
539 We are all one people. We were a great tribe once. We are little now. All our hearts are as one. We have one heart. Make ready your offerings. The women have the most money. The women have the most offerings. They give the most. Get ready the tobacco. Let us chew the tobacco."

[195] This man spoke with an extraordinary amount of repetition. For instance, he would say: "The women—the women—the women—have the most—have the most—the most money—have the most money—the

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women—the women—have the most offerings—the most offerings—give the most—give the most—the women—the women—give the most." [539] [195]

He spoke fully as long as Sloknich had done, and while he was speaking they were preparing a decoction of Indian tobacco by the fire. When he ceased he took his place in the circle, and all of them now began to sip and taste the tobacco, which seemed to be intended as a kind of mortification of the flesh. Sitting along on the embankment, while the nauseous mess was passing around in a basket, and others were tasting the boiled leaves, they sought to mitigate the bitter dose with jokes and laughter. One said, "Did you ever see the women gather tobacco for themselves?" This was intended as a jest, for no woman ever touches the weed, but nobody laughed at it. As the powerful emetic began to work out its inevitable effect, one Indian after another arose from the circle and passed slowly and silently out into the outer darkness, whence there presently came up to our ears certain doleful and portentous sounds, painfully familiar to people who have been at sea. After all the Indians in the circle, except a few tough stomachs, had issued forth into the darkness and returned to their places, about eleven o'clock, the herald went around as before, making a third proclamation:

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"Let all mourn and weep. O, weep for the dead. Think of the dead body lying in the grave. We shall all die soon. We were a great people once. We are weak and little now. Be sorrowful in your hearts. O, let sorrow melt your hearts. Let your tears flow fast. We are all one people. We are all friends. All our hearts are one heart."

769 [539]

For the last hour or so the mourners and their more intimate friends and sympathizers, mostly women, had been collecting in Kolomusnim's quarter, close behind the circle, and preparing their offerings. Occasionally a long, solitary wail came up, trembling on the cold night-wind. At the close of the third proclamation they began a death-dance, and the mourners crowded promiscuously in a great, open booth, and held aloft in their hands or on their heads, as they danced, the articles they intended to offer to the memory of the departed. It was a splendid exhibition of barbaric gewgaws. Glittering necklaces of *Haliotis* and other rare marine shells; bits of American tapestry; baskets of the finest workmanship, on which they

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769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[30] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

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769 152

But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknick, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [226] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation. 769

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners. 769

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance, 786 535

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769 which consisted of two leaps on each foot alternately, causing the body to
786 rock to and fro; and either hand was thrust out with the swaying, as if the
535 offering it held were about to be consigned to the flames, while the breath was forced out with violence between the teeth, in regular cadence, with a harsh and grinding sound of *heh!* The blaze of the sacred fire flamed redly out between the bodies of the dancers, swaying in accord, while the disheveled locks of the leaping hags wildly snapping in the night wind, the blood-curdling rasp of their breath in concert, and the frightful ululations and writhings of the mourners, conspired to produce a terrible effect. At the sight of this weird, awful, and lurid spectacle, which was swung into motion so suddenly, I felt all the blood creep and tingle in my veins, and my eyes moisten with the tears of a nameless awe and terror. We were beholding now, at last, the great dance for the dead.

All the long remainder of that frenzied night, from one o'clock to two, to three, to four, to five, those women leaped in the maddening dance, through smoke, and choking dust, and darkness, and glaring light, and cold, and heat, amid the unceasing wail of the multitude, not knowing or heeding aught else on earth. Once in five or ten minutes, when the choir completed a chorus, there was a pause of a few seconds; but no one moved from her place for a moment. What wonder that only the strongest young maidens were chosen for the duty! What wonder that the men avoided this terrible ordeal!

769 About four o'clock, wearied, dinned, and benumbed with the cold of the mountains, I crept away to a friendly blanket and sought to sleep. But it was in vain, for still through the night-air were borne up to my ears the far-off crooning, the ululations, and that slow-pulsing, horrid *heh!* of the leaping witches, with all the distant voices, each more distinct than when heard nearer, of the mourning camp. The morning star drew itself far up into the blue reaches of heaven, blinking in the cold, dry California air, and still all the mournful riot of that Walpurgis-night went on.

Then slowly there was drawn over everything a soft curtain of oblivion; the distant voices blended into one undistinguishable murmur, then died away and were still; the mourning was ended; the dancers ceased because they were weary.

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For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described, with the same hissing *heh!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep. [775]

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral plume or other ornament to the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only 101

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19: Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

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769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave
648 some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides
648 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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only by the surrender of arms. An armful of old guns was thereupon gathered and given to the Indians, who departed with apparent satisfaction.

G. A. Chambers, Montague.

Through Rev. W. A. Brewer, San Mateo.

YOKUTS NAMES

171 In aboriginal California, as everywhere farther north on the Pacific
769 coast and among the tribes of many other regions of America, the
551 custom of not mentioning under any circumstances the name of a dead person was very deep-seated. Among the southern Yokuts of
184 the upper end of the San Joaquin valley, to-day represented principally
769 by the survivors of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani tribes on Tule River
551 Reservation, this feeling led to a peculiar development. Every person ordinarily had two names. Only one of these might be in ordinary use. The second, however, was employed as a reserve in case the death of a namesake, in the same or a neighboring tribe, tabooed the first. Children are said to have received their two names at the same
[553] time. New names were not usual, children being named generally after a dead grandfather, uncle, or other relative. Sometimes the names of living relatives were also used. This is proved by the case of a woman, alive a few years ago, who had lost both her names because her brother's daughters had died. A person who had thus lost both his names through the death of others was called "no name," kamun hoyowoc. In default of a name, such a person would, if necessary, be addressed by this term "no name." A namesake was called simply "my name," and this term also would be used in address. Of a person who had lost one of his names through the death of another it would be said: tawitji an yet hoyowosh, "died his one name." Men's and women's names were distinct. Many names had no known significance, but others denoted animals, objects, actions, sounds, or tribes. A list of men's and women's names from Tule River follows: —

Men:

551 Tanka, buzzard; second name, K'aushash, cracking or tapping.

Djichpu; second name, Sokhusha. The latter is also the name of a man living in one of the tribes north of Tule River.

Bikh, denoting an action peculiar to a dog; second name, Saunama.

Putut, make fire; second name, Koku.

Seli, see, from sil; second name, Dumash.

Kukuya, the cry of the mountain quail.

Djemshak.

Tukchuchu.

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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the tribal name Yaudanchi.

171 551 775 769 [82] The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can frequently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, [768] or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payment.

A. L. Kroeber.

823 po´kıd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
komu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ta: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyed pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 Directions.--These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´ṭu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pın: up
a´dıd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mıts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wıč; to the west, tokıyu´wıč; to the south, humtı´nın.

do´mtu i´dıkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dıkao: downstream

805 Seasons.--Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The choice of three might be due to the influence
821 of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
825 spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta´taita´tai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t:ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and another one "with colors on it" were known in
● 773 the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma t:´pni; wile´li t:´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ti´y: nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao'i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol:lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alata´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alatana right under my knees. He said, "That's alatana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´':tawat. The bullfrog was called o'oi´:ts by the Tachi, but wipel:ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chunut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

616 be Speotyto cunicularia), the male sparrow hawk Falco sparverius (tūtic), the female sparrow hawk (liklikča), the marsh hawk Circus hudsonius (istis), the prairie falcon (limik), the Cooper's hawk Accipiter cooperi (pohiya'), the sharp-shinned hawk Accipiter velox (kohuiye), the skunk (čok), and the seal (nahaat). Perhaps of mythologic significance is the statement of one informant (Sam Thomas), that "we have forgotten our (limik's) language and speak wečiča's instead."

Eagle and coyote are respectively the heads of each moiety, or perhaps more correctly each group of moiety totems, though more often crow and coyote are used as eponyms for the two moieties. Apparently, the eagle is especially connected with the moiety chief, for in the case of the woman Motsi who became a chiefess, it was said that originally the crow was her "pet" as it was her father's, but when she was elevated to office the eagle became her "pet." Moreover, it was said that a toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem.

[576] Tachi meeting and not knowing one another's moiety, say: "Hatnuk kwun puus? What is your pet" (literally "dog")? A nutuwuts person replies: "Katyu. Coyote." A toxelyuwiš person replies: "Kankus. Crow." Sometimes a toxelyuwiš person names the killdeer instead of the crow.

The Chunut informant, J.A., aligned animals as moiety totems in the following way.

Tokelyuwich, west	
ka ˈhkas:	crow
su ˈhup:	hawk
lːmːk:	prairie falcon
o ˈčoč [sic]:	roadrunner
ulaṭi:[67]	meadow lark
ho ˈhwimus:	swan
tsu·tokto ˈklus:[68]	kingfisher
koiyot ˈwat:	frog (small)
oːo ˈyːts:	frog (large)
ma ˈčwːs:	elk
yːtsa ˈhats [sic]:	antelope
sopas, pumuk, tsos, etc.:	all seeds
Nutuwich, east	
cai ˈyu:	coyote
weṭi ˈṭi:[69]	pygmy owl
hutu ˈlu:	"hoot" owl
tokla ˈli:	"screech" owl
poho ˈːot [sic]:	weasel
poho ˈːot:[70]	ground squirrel
tu ˈnul:	wildcat
a ˈdza:	fox

[773]

[67]Meadow lark was "mean" in the prehuman world; he was a cannibalistic gambler (see Gayton and Newman, 17).

[68]Kingfisher had supernatural power; he helped doctors.

[69]All owls were "doctors," and were Nutuwich. Pygmy owl was the first doctor, and he was "often on both sides [moieties]"; people quarreled about this "because he was a doctor's [dream] helper and could easily be on both sides."

[262]

[70]Ground squirrels were eaten by Tokelyuwich people.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 776 A very long time ago there were two girls called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na'watsa´ meke´' elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the man what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (tʻpni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´tʻp a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (tʻpni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk [756] down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 821 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

539 773 The sweat house.--The sweat house (mos) was first obtained from Bear.[144]

Bear always had a sweat house and that is where people first got it. People saw it and wanted one like it. Eagle, the chief, sent Dove to ask Bear about his sweat house. It took the messenger a day to reach his place. Bear received him and agreed to come the next morning. When Dove started to go, Bear detained him. "If you can beat me to that gap in the hills down there, you may go." Dove ran off. If Bear had caught him before he reached the spot, he would have killed him. But to Bear's astonishment Dove got there first and continued on his trip home.

The next morning Bear came. He asked the people where they wanted their sweat house. They said, "Close to the water." He went out and cut a lot of long poles. He dug out a pit in the ground. He built the sweat house just like his own. No one helped him, yet he had the structure completed by sundown.

The chief sent for all the people to pay Bear. Bear told them not to start a big fire in the sweat house yet, to have just a little one for the first day. Then Bear received his pay and went home.

The people got brush and made a fire, then lay down near it. They wondered who should sing; they decided that a man with Bear as his lineage totem had better do it. So a Bear man sang: hoyoho' na'a, hoyoho' na'a, ho' ho' ho' (hoyoho, Bear, hoyoho Bear). He repeated this over and over and kept time by slapping his thighs (J.P.).

515 Now it is nearly always a Bear or Eagle man who sings in the sweat house, although any man may do so if he wishes or is asked to. According to Kroeber, men sometimes divided themselves in two groups, singing songs and competing with each other in enduring extreme heat. Such a sweat was followed by bathing and a sound sleep. Another swim was taken in the morning.[145]

[534] The flute was frequently played there. But no dancing of any type took place within the sweat house in the Central Foothill region.

Any man who wished to might go in the sweat house. On rare occasions boys went in while a sweat was in progress. But a lad was not allowed to take a severe sweat until he was fifteen or sixteen years old, as the physical strain was too great. Boys of eight or so onward were permitted to sleep there at night; especially were they sent there when the home was crowded. Young men and single men slept
513 there the year around. Married men occasionally stayed there for social pleasure and during a wife's tabu period after childbirth, according to my informants; whereas Kroeber

[144] The Walapai held a similar belief (Kroeber, Walapai Ethnography, 118). Also mentioned in a myth (Gayton and Newman, 89).

[145] Kroeber, Handbook, 523.

224 Deer meat was never sold, always given away. When men provided venison for public gatherings, they were paid for their trouble (services). Doctors, says S.G., were given the best parts.

There are reasons for this respect for deer.

224 539 773 In the first world Deer was a quiet man who never went any place, and didn't talk. Then when it was time for the change[168] Eagle said to him, "All your body will be worth something. It isn't everybody who will be able to kill you." The next morning Deer ran out of his house. He made a big cave to live in. The next day there were thousands of deer in there. On the third day three hunters came to kill Deer; they were Cougar, Elk, and Spotted Cat. Coyote came along and interfered; he caught a deer. The deer got mad and all ran away. Finally Cougar succeeded in killing some deer--he is the best hunter.

Now this Deer [mets hoi] lives back in this cave somewhere. Whenever a deer is killed it returns there. The "big" Deer has an arrow which he puts up in the cave. When "the right kind of person kills a deer" [treats it with respect] the arrow remains in place, but if the hunter is careless with his game, the arrow "will fall in less than a month and kill him."[169] A killed deer does not return to this world; the supply of deer continues by natural breeding.

224 Neither cougar nor bear was given any sign of veneration when it was killed, said S.G. Cougar "was a bad one," men who dreamed of him "got too much power." Bear was "not a killer, he only killed when he had to and then killed men."

Great respect was shown eagles, in fact, 223 only a chief could order one killed. He paid 485 $3.00 to $5.00 for one. A man or woman would be asked to pluck and skin it, and would be 237 paid for the task. The large feathers were plucked off, the down left on the skin which was cased. Nothing of the eagle was ever thrown away; if it were, the hunter would die. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were later sold by the chief to those who wanted them. An eagle leg was said to be worth about $2.50. Feathers having been plucked from it, the down-covered skin of the leg was cased, cleaned, dried, and then made pliable with tallow. In this way it served as a little container from which the down could be pulled as [534] needed. The bone of the upper leg was made into a whistle. Tallow was used as a salve, and as a binder for face paint.

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[168] Transformation to animals, and coming of human beings, vide Gayton and Newman, abstract 137 and notes.

[171] [169] Navajo, among other western tribes, believe that a killed deer returns "home" to report on its treatment; if not satisfactory, the hunter is stricken with illness or death (Hill, Agricultural and Hunting Methods, 98).

223 237 The eagle's carcass was returned to the hunter who killed it. He put it in the river, completely immersed.

539 773 Eagle lived over the water before the world was changed.[170] It is the only place he can be buried. He rises in three days and goes back to his home which is way back east somewhere. At that place there is one main one (mets to ˈhɨl) who says to the risen bird, "Who killed you?" Eagle tells what has happened to him, and if he has been treated properly the head Eagle says, "He was the right kind of man; he will live to be an old man." If the report was not good, then the man would die right away. The eagle who had been killed never again returned to earth, but kept flying in the opposite direction, upward, higher and higher (S.G.).[171]

136 Three "eagles" designated by S.G. proved to be condor (wets), "who lived high in the mountains," the bald eagle (wiˈtɨs), and grey eagle (ṭohɨl), who was "the only real tiya [chief] and the only one that knew anything." Grey eagle took "the power" from the other two and they are carrion as a result. Once S.G. saw an eagle that had been in a coyote trap four days. It did not move as he approached, but directly he released it, it flew off home.

224 [136] J.H. said that when a man went out to kill bear, deer, or eagle, and sometimes rabbit "because he [rabbit] was a little bit mean too," but not squirrels or birds, he would keep talking to them about what he was going to do. When he was near his prey he would say, "ṭundiˈta pöˈdta ma ṭupɨˈnita," (? ? you go-up) so that it would not be offended. When hunting this same animal or its companions, the hunter would be agreeable to it. He would tell it that he would "fix up" its body so that it would go up, ṭiˈpɨni. "A mean animal is one that runs after people, or hurts them, or runs away so as not to be killed. In old days a bear would run after people and kill them. A Bear man would go out in the night and prayerfully ask Bear not to keep people from getting their food" [chasing them when they were hunting, gathering acorns or clover, etc.].

Deer hunting.--When stalking deer or antelope the hunter wore a horned disguise of either animal, though it was said that the most skilled hunters did not resort to this.

The Wukchumni deer-stalking disguise was made of the entire skin and antlers. In skinning an animal the legs were cut lengthwise on the inside, and a ventral cut was made from the [281]

[170] In the prehuman era, before the birds and animals transformed themselves into their present forms. However, in this instance S.G.'s explanation is, I think, a rationalization. Water is "immortal" and revival by placing in water is the common Yokuts belief, as expressed verbally and in their myths.

[171] [171] The Navajo believe that "killed eagles go way up in the sky and live there" (Hill, op. cit., 98).

224 539 773 Holo'anši, J.P.'s maternal grandfather [great uncle ?] was a very fine hunter and was frequently out with his weapons. One morning he saw a bear with two cubs; he went home and told his friends about it. The next morning twelve men, each with bow and arrows, started for the bear's cave.

"Who is going to run?" they said. Holo'anši offered to as he was a good runner, but another man wanted to, too: they argued a bit. Meanwhile the others arranged a semi-circle of stakes, driving them into the ground in front of the cave. They took up shooting positions behind these. Holo'anši went to the cave entrance to lure the bear, but the bear rushed at him before he could draw his bow. He was forced to run toward the circle of stakes with the bear clawing at his heels. The second runner jumped in to draw the bear's attention, and another man succeeded in shooting her in the shoulder. She continued to pursue the second runner. Holo'anši dashed in the cave to grab the cubs, but the mother saw him and went after him. Now, Lizard was the dream helper of Holo'anši and he came to his rescue. He gave that man power to climb right up the side of the cave and whisk up and out of the entrance just out of the bear's grasp. But outside Holo'anši was forced to run, and the bear still chased him. Holo'anši tried to climb a high rock pile but at that moment the bear caught him, clawing and biting him. The other men were all too frightened to do anything, save the second runner who came up and shot the bear three times as she turned toward her cave again.

The men carried Holo'anši back to camp. They put his eyes back and all his skin in place. They covered him entirely with eagle down and dosed him with jimsonweed. He began to get better at once, but some bad doctor saw that this was his chance to do away with Holo'anši. He shot "poison" at him, and the old man died the next day.

411 322 Weapons.--The plain bow (ta´dup) and sinew-backed bow (tap) were used by the Wukchumni. S.G. claimed that both were made of elderwood (wuse´ta). He said few men knew how to make a sinew-backed bow, but any man could and did make the plain kind -- as follows. When the length had been chosen and cut, and the bark peeled off, the stick was set with one end in a crotch and the other end pulled until it split down its entire length. If it split properly, two bows could be made from the two halves. Thereafter shaping was done with a large obsidian blade. No grip was cut on the plain bow. To aid flexibility occasional gashes were cut on the inside curve, which was the bark side of the wood, i.e., the core of the wood was on the outside. The bow was heated over glowing coals and pulled around the knee to form the center curve. The end re-curvature, which was slight in the plain bow, was made by fixing the end in a vicelike crotch and pulling it until the desired effect was obtained. The shaping progressed bit by bit and was not accomplished in less than three to six days.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poŠa, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773 825] thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´šıt) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyıt, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poŠa, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´duwıts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle.A The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
[516] palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

A [in the Bear Dance. -Analyst]

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[P.149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´c:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
787 plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭ: ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ́te luni ̌ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both
[616] moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

● 773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

<u>Mourning ceremony</u>.--This ceremony (luni ̌ša)
769 lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

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[p. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789

kn´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or 777 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

● 773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior 821 by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) 276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summer-time and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Nobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

[P. 159 a] DUMNA

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him, and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF PAGE 159b, ---- ANALYST]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra [826] Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 159b]

[797] [46]B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47]Gayton and Newman, 28.

821 192 723 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pɛš: sun
toiyu´nem u´pɛš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɛš: morning star
tomo´lo´o lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačɛt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čɛn čano´´onɛt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yɛt u´pɛš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɛn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɛpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 387 822 192 Paint.--The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 956 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

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[p. 213 b] Western Mono N525

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Y
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Localities

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we ´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče ´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka ´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü ´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a ´nt·mp·č]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu ´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a ´pusowi·´·tunü´´üm: Toll House
huro ´g·čnü´´üm: southeast of last
yui ´ninü´´üm: south of last

Y
M
773
103
131

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o ´ču
Michahai: pa ´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu ´mi; dai ´apnu ´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češ· ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa ´o; čita ´tu
Entimbich: kečai ´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada ´winao; sit· ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa ´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y
M
101

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

W
Y
103
131
361

22. na ''an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain (Big Baldy Ridge)
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata´wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger
31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

Y
W
133
773

There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´ᵘwijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Paᵘwijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

Y
W
439

Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo''owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siw:´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´n:č) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´':ša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ·niša´n nan wan upuš n:m (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan:č or site´lši tawan:č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

W Y 823 192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192

Seasons:
ta´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y ● ● 773 821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušl:l:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

W Y 622

Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

W Y 231 778 432 825 W Y [423]

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, Kɩlmi´šɩt, winatum, and the chief, Pao'ɩč, at Tušao.

W Y 233

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'ɩč was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, Kɩlmišɩt, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and Kɩlmišɩt stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'ɩč reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'ɩč was helped by all his ainɩč." Then the old man would jerk the rope and Kɩlmišɩt would help hoist him up.

W Y 231

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'ɩč and Kɩlmišɩt "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini´, "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 W Y [436]

Bear.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini´ is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

W
Y

The Transvestite

The male transvestite (tono´čɨm, Michahai; tai´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

838 [767]
W
Y

The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

[78] 767]

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočɨm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W
Y
[173]

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

W
Y
[767]

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

W
Y

na´na hua´čiči: newborn boy
hu´pi hua´čiči: newborn girl
na´nači: boy about two years old
si'i´sači: girl about two years old
hua´wuha na´nači (or si'isači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.

561
192

na´nop na´nači: boy five to ten years old
hu'u´pi mo´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa´bi na´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 622 [562] The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

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chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the 616
head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity 622
of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, 624
the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. [361]
When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would [651]
gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. 624
One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hinuta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, 522
Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The 838
tongochim or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they pos- 767
sessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled 624
corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally 648
to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, 727
this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after [773]
a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [175]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this aspect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread [177]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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412 as much again in diameter. Except for a narrow rim, the whole upper surface was excavated a few inches, chiefly by fire; but the actual pounding was done in a smaller doubly sunk pit in the center. The pestle was the same as on bedrock. Even the hill Chukchansi knew the wooden mortar, which they called *kowish;* and the Choinimni used it. It is a type that has rarely been observed north [171] of Tehachapi outside the San Joaquin Valley: there are attributions to the Konomihu and the Patwin. (Pl. 45.)

Loose mortars of stone were found and used on occasion by all the tribes, but the universal testimony is that they were not made. In fact, the Chukchansi declare their inability to do so, and attribute [773] all stone mortar holes, in situ as well as portable, to the coyote, who employed an agency of manufacture that decency debars from mention.

It is reported that the Yokuts sometimes fastened a hopper of basketry to the edge of a stone mortar; but this practice is established only for the southern California tribes, and needs confirmation. There is no Yokuts mortar basket, and the few available specimens of the combination suggest that an American may have cut the bottom out of a cooking basket and asphalted it to the stone.

Small stone mortars were probably used for special purposes quite different from those usually assumed. A toothless woman, for instance, was likely to keep such a one for pounding up the whole gophers or ground squirrels that younger relatives might from time to time toss her. Others may have been used for tobacco or medicines.

THE TAKING OF GAME AND FISH.

224 One hears less of deer snaring among the Yokuts than in the north; but they knew the device. Only, instead of setting the loop in a runway so as to encircle the neck, they laid it in a small concealed pit and fastened the end to a log.

Deer stalking with a deer's head as a decoy was shared with all the tribes of the north and central parts of the State. The Yokuts [302] add that they painted their arms and breasts white like a deer's underside, and aided their traveling on all fours by holding a stick in each hand. When an animal was approached from the leeward, these sticks were rubbed together to produce the sound of a buck scraping his antlers.

Elk were too large to be snared, and in the open plains impossible to approach within bow range. They were chiefly secured in long-distance surrounds and drives called *tadwoush.*

Antelope were similarly hunted, the valley groups uniting for intertribal drives, in circles that must often have been many miles in diameter at the start. When the ring had narrowed down so

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159
361
[142]

This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] whep he was small boy. He call that village *Hak-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahne's old-time stories were just like ours—how Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and 159 773

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 how the Kahwatchwah got fire. He told me lots more things
773 'bout his people, but I guess I forget 'em. It's too long ago."

During November and December of 1815, Sergeant Jose
175 Dolores Pico made an excursion into the Joaquin after Indians who had run many horses away from Mission San Juan Bautista. In his diary-report covering this expedition, Pico mentioned several Indian names which may be the names of Indian tribes, of villages, or of headmen of villages.

Pico stated that his party traveled easterly from San Luis Gonzaga, which is located definitely enough to be positively identified as present San Luis Gonzaga Rancho Headquarters at the east mouth of Pacheo Pass. Leaving San Luis in the evening and traveling eastwardly, the party arrived about midnight "at the creek called San Jose."

At first thought one might decide that the San Jose Creek mentioned would be the well known Sanjon de San Jose in the vicinity of San Jose School, Kings County. But between evening and midnight they could not possibly have traveled that far, a distance of seventy-five miles, airline, and at least ninety miles by known trails. The nearest point on that channel, now known as Fish Slough, southeast of Mendota, is fifty miles airline from San Luis, and about sixty-five miles by the old trail.

Pico's party certainly did not travel at more than five miles an hour, or at most, twenty-five miles between seven P. M. and midnight. This would have taken them to about the present Santa Rita Rancho, directly east from San Luis. They probably traveled at a rate of about three miles an hour. One can be certain that at midnight they were somewhere between San Luis Camp (seven miles north of present Los Baños) and present Dos Palos.

The Pico force rested from midnight until "time to fall upon the rancherie of the *Che neches.*" The name used could have been that of the local chief, the tribe, or the village. One would suppose it was the name of the tribe, but experience has taught that the name of the tribe was seldom obtained by such parties. Most often they designated villages and even tribes by the name of the local Headman, who was well known to them and who was on their "must" list.

Four leagues away (anywhere from nine to fifteen miles, according to the accuracy with which such expeditions estimated distance) was a "rancherie called *Nopchendies.*" The

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487 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter
439 XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne*, quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah*, one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his
[361] tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his
487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun*
439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one
624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything
372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals
[481] on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head.
[55] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi*, Roadrunner, because in
773 them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

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285 Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a
531 messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out
825 punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant
773 had the most painful sting of anything about them. The
story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these
three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who
[774] turned in the names of good people who were called in by
Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters,
who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to
death and ate him.

285 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs
531 and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow
points. They are generally represented by two small slender
triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close
together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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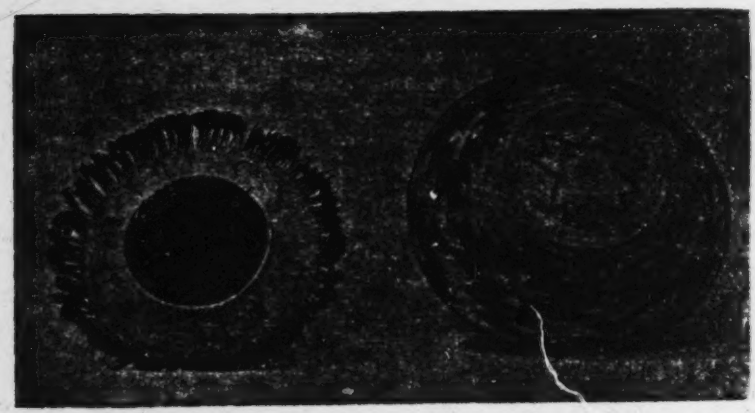
531



Left: Top view of a **Wukchumne** creation basket with quail top-knot feathers as decorations around the edge. It was made to be burned at the periodic pageant which reenacted the creation of world. The stitches are very fine, some almost fifty to the inch. In the bottom is **Choitus**, the morning star. The world was finished just as the morning star was beginning to fade. Around the side is a design taken from the pattern on rattlesnake's back. Rattlesnake was the agent of **Tihpiknits**, Yokuts St. Peter. It was his business to crawl about spying on bad people whose names should be sent in to Tihpiknits. Around the rim are the bow and arrows, sent to the earth by the sun when he went to live in the sky. To the right is the new moon. The world was created during the new moon. Next is **Yehk**, the watersnake, first water dweller. Next is **Sakwekit**, the turtle, who brought up from the bottom of the universal water the mud from which the world was made. Next is **Wyneen**, the first man, swimming up from the water. Next is bow and arrow, repeated. Then is **Tsah-tah**, the oak tree, first tree in the Yokuts world. Next is turtle repeated. Last is **mah-min** (blackberry), the first fruit. Right: On the bottom is **Choitus**, the morning star. This is another creation basket, one of the most difficult patterns the author has seen. It shows Eagle, the Yokuts Creator, in white, with a red border, which creates another eagle, the white spaces between the four eagles making another eagle. It is an all over pattern which dovetails so as to allow of no waste space. The stitches are fine, about thirty-two to the inch.

[773]

among the old baskets a representation of either the bow or arrow in a form resembling their true shape.

Houses are often shown by a small low triangle which makes no attempt to show either the smoke opening in the top, or the door-way. Houses may be shown in any color.

Among the many traditions about basketry designs which are, according to the experience of this writer, clearly in need of correction is the one which states that purposely none of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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bodied in Yokuts verbal narratives (mythology). The grand chronology was 805
divided into two major parts—a remote past or prehuman era, and recent times
or human era—an ancient "then" and an immediate "now." The prehuman era 805
was that of a world created and occupied by birds and animals of superanimal 773
and superhuman powers. To Eagle, with his bird and animal assistants and companions, was attributed the building of the world, the institution of certain cultural, social, and physical features of man and his way of life. This prehistoric period, described in a fairly full but not elaborately detailed stock of stories, came to an end with the creation of mankind by Eagle and the subsequent transformation of these bird-and-animal people into their present known forms. All this happened beyond the memory of man, but the past continued into the present in the immediate ubiquity of the animals themselves. Beliefs about them were being constantly reinforced by daily happenings in the circumjacent wilds.

The "earth-diver" creation myth was singularly appropriate for the San 773
Joaquin valley people: in aboriginal times the valley bottom was filled with water and as far as the eye could see stretched tule beds thriving along the innumerable sloughs and swampy shores. At least once in the memory of each generation the seasonal flood increased to enormous, alarming proportions. Entirely congruous then, was the belief that once the world was all water and that Eagle, in his omniscience, asked Duck to dive and bring up a speck of sand from which to make a solid earth. Then Falcon and Crow, each flying north on parallel routes, dropped earth to form the pair of mountain ranges, Coast on the west, Sierra Nevada on the east. Coyote stole the sun to provide light, and Jack Rabbit stole fire which Bat had discovered. Falcon and Crow got Tobacco, which gave itself to them; Deer gave himself as food; Cougar hunted him, though Coyote spoiled easy success; Bear made a sweathouse and showed other animals how this should be done; all animals save the carnivores drank *Datura* ceremonially. Eagle wanted immortality, but Coyote argued against it, thereby losing his son, Blue Lizard. Falcon was a hero; his wife Duck, when stolen by Condor was sought by Crow and Bottle-Fly. When Eagle finally created man, Lizard offered his hand as a model. Then Eagle felt the animals should leave and he gave each his choice of habitat and of future service to human beings, as (beside those named above) Skunk and Owl would help shamans, Quail would help women in childbirth, and so on. Then they all "flew off" eastward where today they still exist and know how mankind treats their counterparts on earth. During the animal or prehistoric era the social system was like that of today: Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, Coyote a clown, Magpie an advisor, and so on.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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773 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed 825 places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošá´m, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no 825 person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may 782 call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and teecac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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OFFICIALS IN MYTHOLOGY

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Both Yokuts and Western Mono mythology tell of a world which existed before this one. It was inhabited by supernatural creatures called by bird and animal names. They had the attributes of both humans and animals: they flew, walked, talked, and were capable of superhuman activities. These creatures lived in a social atmosphere comparable to that of later human times. Eagle was the chief.[12] He was a wise and generous person. Dove was his winatum whom he sent about on errands. Magpie was a wise man whom Eagle sometimes consulted. Coyote was a person with much supernatural power: he was a friend and companion to Eagle though the latter had often to chide and correct him for his irresponsible behavior. Owl was a powerful shaman. These animals lived before and during a great primeval flood. They finally became tired of the watery world, and caused the waters to recede and the land to appear as it is today.

There are many tales telling of the animals' activities and adventures during the post-alluvial period which was prior to the creation of human beings. Prairie Falcon, Coyote, and Wolf have the most prominent rôles in these tales. Eagle's part in them is always in keeping with his position as chief. He lives in a dignified manner in his home in a rock cliff. He has no adventures himself but is a judicial manager in many important crises and events. He sends various animals to obtain fire;[13] he directs Coyote in his theft of the sun and subsequent fixing of the sun in its present place;[14] he sends Dove after Measuring Worm to rescue two boys trapped upon a precipitous rock;[15] he asks Magpie's advice for Coyote, who wants to marry Hawk Woman;[16] he discusses permanent death with Coyote, and asks Owl to kill Coyote's son as an original experiment with death.[17] It is Eagle who finally decides that human beings are to be created, and that the birds and animals must go to live elsewhere.[18]

[12] Gifford, Western Mono Myths (JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923), 352; Kroeber, Myths of South Central California, this series, 4:206, 209, 219, 224, 229, 230, 240, 1907; Yokuts and Western Mono tales in author's field notes. The Wobonuch and Waksachi versions also mention Prairie Falcon as chief, which was in harmony with actual practice.

[13] Truhohi (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 211; Dumna (Y), Wukchumni (Y), Wobonuch (WM), author's field notes.

[14] Tachi (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 213; Waksachi (WM), author's notes.

[15] Kechayi (Y), author's notes.

[16] Gashowu (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 206.

[17] Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

[18] Truhohi (Y), Kroeber, *ibid.*, 210, 211; North Fork Mono, Gifford, *ibid.*, 317; Wukchumni (Y), Waksachi (WM), Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

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The following Wukchumni (Y) tale is typical, and shows Eagle's position and power, and Dove as his messenger:[19]

In the old days there was nothing in this world. It was just full of water. The birds and animals were here first. Eagle said: "I'm tired of living over this water, I want a little oak to grow up there in the middle." This happened.

There were also present five varieties of ducks, Haiyano, Hoboda, Wacicina, Teututpoi, and a very little one. They were going to try to get some dirt up from under the water. Eagle sent Dove after some tobacco which he needed to mix with the sand. Dove got it and gave it to the chief. Eagle said to the littlest duck: "Can you go to the bottom and get some sand?" He tied a milkweed string to the duck's foot, and the bird dived into the water. He stayed down all day and half the night. He died without striking the bottom. Eagle pulled him out, and restored him to consciousness. The little duck told his friends that he had not reached the bottom. All the other ducks tried with the same result.

Then Eagle called on Turtle to try. He said he was willing. He went down and remained under the water a whole day and a whole night. He was nearly dead when he came up to the surface. While he was under the water he had barely succeeded in scratching the bottom with his finger tips. Some sand was lodged under his finger nails. Eagle got out this sand.

Eagle, the chief, then rolled the sand and tobacco together and pounded them in a mortar. He took up a handful of the mixture and scattered it toward the south, east, north, and lastly toward the west. As he did so he said: "In twelve days all this water will go down." This happened. All the birds and animals were able to walk about on the ground.

Finally these creatures got tired of just staying about doing nothing. Eagle and Wolf were bored too. Eagle sent Dove to call all the people together. He said: "Go tell these people to come out and listen to what I am going to say."

When Dove went to get Bear he had to run from him as Bear killed every man who came near him. They ran a race to a gap in the hills. Bear said: "You run and I'll catch you." But Dove ran faster and won. Bear agreed to come to the meeting.

At the place where the animals gathered there was a big fire. The chief told his people that they could all live elsewhere and do as they pleased. Some liked the mountains; others could live in the flat. Then he told them what they were to be. He was Eagle and he flew off.

The abrupt close of this tale is atypical. Another Wukchumni informant gave the complete form. But the conclusion of the Bird-animal period in which Eagle was the creator-chief is best exemplified in the following Waksachi-Michahai version:[20]

Sun and fire were now established. Eagle, the chief, gathered all the people around him to listen. He said: "There are going to be human beings here in this world. We are going to be different kinds of people. We will put up one man and one woman in each place. Now these people will die and be burned; their bones will be put in a spring of water. On the second dawn they will rise up and come toward us talking. But after this one rebirth they will never come alive again."

[19] Told in English by Joe Pohot, 1925.
[20] Told in English by Sam Osbera, 1926.

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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Wakzachi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] [825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
626 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
671 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of
431] giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

182 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
● 773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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436 instance, goods which cost them at the store $5 they sell among themselves for $3, or thereabout. This is done by the old Indians, who consider an Indian dollar better than an American.

252 They say that, in remote times, they were accustomed to rub their acorns to flour on a stone slightly hollowed, like the Mexican *metate*, which [173] was a suggestion of the mouse; but nowadays they pound them in holes on top of huge bowlders, which was a suggestion of the wiser coyote. On a [172] bowlder in Coarse Gold Gulch, I counted eighty-six of these acorn-holes, which shows that they must have been used many centuries.

283 For snaring quail, rabbits, and other small game, they employ cords 224 made of a kind of "wild flax" found in the Sierra. I presume this "wild flax" is milkweed (*Asclepias*).

272 Manzanita cider is made of a much better quality than the wretched stuff seen among the Wintūn. After reducing the berries to flour by pounding, they carefully remove all the seeds and skins, then soak the flour in water for a considerable length of time. A squaw then heaps it up in a little mound, with a crater in the center, into which she pours a minute stream of water, allowing it to percolate through. In this way she gets about a gallon an hour of a really delicious beverage, clear, cool, clean, and richer than most California apple cider. The Indians consume it all before it has time to ferment, so that they do not get intoxicated on it.

226 In the mountain streams which empty into Tulare Lake they catch lake trout, chubs, and suckers. Sometimes they construct a weir across the river with a narrow chute and a trap set in it; then go above and stretch a line of brushwood from one bank to the other, which they drag down stream, driving the fish into the trap. Another way is to erect a brushwood booth over the water, so thickly covered as to be perfectly dark inside; then an Indian lies flat on his belly, peering down though a hole, and when a fish passes under him he spears it. The spear is pointed with bone, and is two-pronged. Still another method is employed on Tule River and King's [481 River. An Indian takes a funnel-shaped trap in his teeth and hands, buoys 501] himself on a little log, and then floats silently down the rapids, holding the net open to receive the fish that may be shooting up. On Tulare Lake they construct very rude, frail punts or mere troughs of tule, about ten feet

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teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild 262
sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. [231]
Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like [171]
the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the 825
rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved [773]
among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *kai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed 757
by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

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764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 587 not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [177] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

773 while the crow made the west one. Little by little, as they dropped in the earth, these great mountains grew athwart the face of the waters, pushing north. It was a work of many years, but finally they met together at Mount Shasta, and their labors were ended. But, behold, when they compared their mountains, it was found that the crow's was a great deal the larger. Then the hawk said to the crow, "How did this happen, you rascal? I warrant you have been stealing some of the earth from my bill, and that is why your mountains are the biggest." It was a fact, and the crow laughed in his claws. Then the hawk went and got some Indian tobacco and chewed it, and it made him exceedingly wise. So he took hold of the mountains and turned them round in a circle, putting his range in place of the crow's; and that is why the Sierra Nevada is larger than the Coast Range.

This legend is of value as showing the aboriginal notions of geography. In explaining the story, the Indian drew in the sand a long ellipse, representing quite accurately the shape of the two ranges; and he had never traveled away from King's River.

769 While in Coarse Gold Gulch, it was my good fortune to witness the great dance for the dead (*ko-ti'-wa-chil*), which was one of the most extraordinary human spectacles I ever beheld. It was not the regular annual dance, but a special one, held by request of Ko-lo'-mus-nim, a subchief of the Chukchansi; but it was in all respects as strange, as awful, as imposing an exhibition of barbaric superstition and barbaric affection as is afforded by the formal anniversary. Not to my dying hour will the recollection of that frightful midnight pageant be effaced.

First, it will be well to explain that among the Yokuts the dance for the dead is protracted nearly a week. The first two or three nights, while they are waiting for the assembling of the tardy delegations, are occupied only in speech-making, story-telling, etc., until a late hour; but during the last three nights they dance throughout the night until morning, and on the third night, about daybreak, they burn the offerings consecrated to the dead. This happened to be the first of the last three nights, hence no burning occurred, but in every other respect it was complete, and all the

[p.8-B]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6]Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the narrator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be-
[173] lieved to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the young as historic fact--this was the way land
[869] was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is
[182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

[p 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology of the Central California folk-tale area. This
773 area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would feel that the creation tales should come first,
773 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
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538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p. 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Wakaschi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

[p.14-B]

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The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[128] [18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts. 1

1 [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES - ANALYST]

787 756 Plain people who did not seek to become doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 774 787 E.M. could not define the nature of dream experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

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1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

1: Gayton E-B (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 244 b] Western Mono N525

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The Yokod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka čua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

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An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob¹) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

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There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen
622 years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiwas), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoiiwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoiiwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously ac-
[176] knowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[41] This was about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[41] Powers, 371.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 31b]

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tipa'knats (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

756 Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko'ltat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called ana'čwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

> The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.
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> A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true," authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

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767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonoč:m,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (ǎo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wəs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwəs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

● 775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who
821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summer-time and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Mobonuch and Chumut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was
[624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a
764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ıč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre-
767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a
[285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponık. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lıt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 769 especially at night, for they said they could 753 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there 775 [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[171]

[126] Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 198 a] Chuckchansi

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul [illegible] shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (si[illegible]).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

●775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Slokniĉ's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754
776 Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by [783] the mourners or corpse-handlers.

All the duties connected with the burying W Y of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočim, and ghosts of the dead were 767 their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nıl (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba´wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia´a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibı´kmıč).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

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[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

W Y 775 539 there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

W Y 765 102 [765] Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

W Y [302 82 6] The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

W Y 765 551 Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point B.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *hinhinna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [775]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

Renaming was in some instances done several times. An [553] Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

551 The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death ● 775 to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis,* care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina,* who died in Squaw Valley

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mound NS25

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumne**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159 Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You
769 put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear.
[775] What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

159 The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash
767 us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes
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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, *"He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,"* the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn*. Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS?9 Yokuts NS29

775 there every night, just like they used to do here. They play games and have a good time. They eat *toi'-uk* seed mush which never gets any smaller, no matter how much they eat. In the morning they all disappear and nothing can be seen of them until the next night, when the *Win-at'-un* [dove, the messenger] builds new fires for the dances and calls them all back to their natural selves. You may walk through any nice place in the trees where the Indians hold their Lonewis dances for Tihpiknits Pahn. In the daytime you can not see any of the people. They have changed into a rotten log, clam shell, or something. At night you have to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural] to see them. I never saw them. I just heard Indian doctors say that. But we always go very quiet through a nice place out in the trees.

775 825 In Tihpiknits Pahn, *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are always playing the old game of *Hih'-sa Na'-us*. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Kiyu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pulls feathers from him.

Kiyu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of the winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Kiyu won that time". When we heard *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying. Watite was the Winatun for the Ahanich who sang at the Lonewis.

159 825 Watite, the little ground owl, lives in squirrel holes. His head looks like an Indian woman's head when she has cut her bangs and her hair off with a fire stick and is crying for someone who has died. We used to sing a nice song about him. It is a *Wowol* song. My mother taught it to me. When I cried about anything she would hold up her first finger and say, "*Lahn'-he*, listen, Watite hears you crying and he is singing for you." She would make a little play. She would put her hand on top of her head to make it flat like Watite's. She would make a move with her other hand like she was cutting her hair off and cutting her bangs for the Lonewis. She would stand on one leg and draw the other up like Watite does. Of course my mother was an old woman when she died. But I remember her to sing this song for me when she was a young, pretty woman. She was always good to me. Every day she

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah* [537]
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it. 775

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

775 smell bad to the dead people and that Tihpiknits would not let him stay there.

Turning again to the north, the wife went on and on to the north. By morning of the sixth day they could see a big water. Again the wife turned into a rotten log and waited for night to return.

The last night they soon came to the big water and the bridge. For the last time the wife cautioned the husband. She walked on the bridge. It was very narrow and rose and fell in the water and swayed from side to side. The bridge was very weak and in the dark the wife could not see it. But she had been a good woman, so she did not fall off.

After the husband knew that his wife was across he took a *pe-sa'-sin* (string) from his belt. The pesasin was made of milkweed string with down from the breast of the eagle twisted into it. It was *Trip'-ne* [supernatural]and would do for the husband anything that he wanted.

The husband threw one end of the pesasin across the big water until it reached the other side. He knew he could not cross the bridge, even though he had been good, bcause he was still alive. If he had been bad and had died he could not have crossed because he would have fallen in the water and have turned into a fish person, or a log of wood, or a shell.

The husband went across the water on the string. Tihpiknits had already sent the wife to her people. He told the husband that he could not go near the wife or her people, that he was alive and smelled bad.

Tihpiknits asked the husband why he had come to the Land of the Dead. He answered that he had grieved so for his dead wife that he had followed her each night and had kept awake each day so as not to miss her when she became her natural self in the evening.

The dead people all wanted the husband sent back, but Tihpiknits let him stay. But he made the husband stay alone all the rest of the night.

During the night the husband saw fires burning all about him. The *Win-at'-uns* ran and made fires for each tribe just like they did at the Lonewis for my father at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). Each tribe danced the Lonewis and sang the songs to the dead by itself. As soon as day began to break they all went back to their houses to sleep. Then everything

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

disappeared and all was quiet. There was nothing in sight. Everyone was gone and the husband sat alone.

Tihpiknits had given the husband a small basket of *toiuk* seed mush. As fast as he ate the mush it grew larger. So he was never out of it. The toiuk seed is the seed of the wild rice. It has a stem like wild oats and the head hangs over when the seed is ripe. It is covered with stickers which will cut your hands and make them bleed. When the Indian women gather toiuk seed they cover their hands and arms with mud. It is the best seed we have. When it is ground and mixed with water it rises like bread. That is why it did not get any smaller when they ate it.

For three days and nights the husband sat alone. On the third evening, while the Winatuns were building the fires, Tihpiknits told the husband that he had decided what to do about him. He was to go to his wife's house and stay that night. If he kept awake all night she could go back with him.

If the husband went to sleep he was to go home alone and hide for six days and nights. He was to tell no one where he had been, or of anything he had seen until the sixth night. Then he was to come out and give a big dance and tell everything. If he told before, Tihpiknits' watchman, the rattlesnake, would know it and he would die right then and there.

Tihpiknits asked the husband what he wanted to eat before he went to his wife's house and he answered, "*Sun-sun*, the mud-hen." So Tihpiknits gave him a fat one, but told him that it would make him sleep. By this time the husband was almost overcome from lack of sleep, but he ate the mud hen anyway.

After eating, the husband went to his wife's house. Soon she returned from the Lonewis dance. She talked with him for a long time and kept telling him over and over, "Don't you go to sleep. You must stay awake, or I cannot go back with you."

The husband kept awake until almost daylight, when he could not keep his eyes open any longer. His wife did all she could to keep him awake, but he went to sleep anyway.

In the morning the husband awakened to find his wife gone and a log of rotten wood in the house. Tihpiknits told the husband to go home and do as he had been told. When he died he was to come again and join his wife. But the wife could never return to this world again.

Tihpiknits gave the husband a fresh basket of toiuk seed mush and started him toward home. He crossed the big water

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

775 again on the pesasin string and traveled six days toward the south and the rancheria where his parents-in-law lived. Then he hid in the brush until after almost everyone at the rancheria had gone to sleep.

When all was quiet the husband crept quietly to the house where his parents-in-law lived and called to them. He could hear them crying softly inside. When he called they stopped crying and answered him. They were overjoyed at his return and stopped crying.

Upon being asked where he had been he said, "I have just been walking around the country. I must hide. Fix a place for me." A small lean-to was built on the side of the house. In this the husband hid. By morning no one could tell that the house had been changed at all.

In the morning the people at the rancheria were all surprised to see that the parents-in-law did not cry. They were so happy that the people knew the husband had returned. The people kept asking about him. He was just inside the thin tule partition and could hear everything that was said.

For five days and nights the husband hid and listened to the people inquiring about him. Then he could endure it no longer. He came out and told all the people to come together around the fire and he would tell them where he had been and all that he had seen. The people all came and listened to the husband's story.

Just as the husband finished talking, a rattlesnake, who was there as a watchman for Tihpiknits, bit him and he immediately fell dead.

That is how the Yokuts came to know where the dead people go and what they do in Tihpiknits Pahn.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE GHOST DANCE

159 All of the Indian tribes around Tulare Lake had good
756 Doctors. Some doctors were just *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo). They could give people medicine and help them a little. But they could not help very much. Some of the doctors were *Trip'-ne* [had supernatural power]. They could do anything. They could make it rain. They could make anyone die. They could change themselves into coyote, bear, or eagle. We were always afraid of Tripne Doctors. We were not afraid of Ahnutru Doctors.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather head-dress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wepis did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wepis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

[775]

6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him toṭi (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or ṭihlthai (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutai'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

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The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore ranchería. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

764 one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484 or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764 only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766] A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 587 not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- 765 tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to [777] believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775 nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773 About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described, with the same hissing *heh!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep. [775]

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral plume or other ornament to the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only 101

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts. 775 192 539

miin	ma	ôyin	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
ohom	ma	heha	xoyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shoshonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an 197*

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the
171 tribal name Yaudanchi.
551 The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet
775 become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can fre-
769 quently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is
[182] probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed,
[768] or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront.
[688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payme....

A. L. Kroeber.

616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two
622 chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyıt, might have three. At Telweyıt there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

[776 Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in
787] dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na'watsa´ meke´, elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[301] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutumutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

304 be the localization of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. The Wukchumni, M.P., said her pattern represented dove's feet because she had Dove totem (fig. 9, d); the Telamni, T.W., said hers represented "a cross because I belong to the Catlick," a tactful evasion (fig. 9, e). M.L.'s forearm had bars on the upper side (fig. 9, c).

Face patterns are shown in figure 9, a, b. M.P. said favorite Wukchumni patterns were two stripes downward from each corner of the mouth or one horizontally from each corner of the nose. (No example of the latter was seen by the recorder.) Tattooing was sometimes done on the thighs, and M.P. once saw an old woman who had several stripes on her chin which continued onto her neck and thence into zigzag lines on her chest, breasts, and thorax. Men to the north (Hoshima) were known to use facial tattooing, but "none down this way." Kroeber shows several tattoo designs.[167]

The tattooing was usually done by some old woman. The pattern was marked on the person with the charred end of a fine-pointed stick. The lines were then abraded with a fine-pointed small arrowhead, and a paste of grease and charcoal was rubbed in lightly. There was no actual cutting, and no person seen with tattooing showed any welting or scarring as a result. The color was dark blue-grey.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting

224 A Wukchumni, J.B., says that his Patwisha father-in-law, Ha ñhaš, was a fine hunter. Deer [176] was his dream helper. He always supplied deer meat for large gatherings and was paid for this service. He ate deer meat, but abstained from it for three days after killing a deer. When about to kill an animal he spoke to it: "I am going to kill you. These people are going to eat you. I kill you every year." When killing a bear he addressed it in the same way "so the [754] bear wouldn't hurt him." (J.B. claimed he had never heard of anyone transforming himself into a bear.)

Great respect was shown deer when they were killed, according to S.G. A hunter would tell the deer "that he wanted him to rise in three days." A plain man, without special dream aid, would just tell the deer he was sorry he had to kill him.

In the old days when a hunter killed a deer, he laid it on a pile of brush while he was skinning it. After it had been quartered and the viscera removed, the parts that remained, the ribs and the shoulder blades, were laid up in a tree. Dogs must never be allowed to touch deer meat or the carcass remnants.

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[167] Handbook, 520, 521, figs. 45, h-l, 46, m-o.

561 hiam pahata muk:s: growing girl, 8 to 10 years

hiam pahata wu´h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years

goi´yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years

wit:p mi´tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years

hiam pahata mitač muk:s: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years

pahata gu´tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)

moho´do gu´tum: old man, 50 or over

modo´´o mu´k:s: old woman, past childbearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practice dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

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[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

All persons with supernatural power, and
[788] those respectful to this cosmic force, tapni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

If a man wanted to live long or wished for
[237 other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy
432] some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).
[beginning the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Anabel]

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
787 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

Although theoretically any one might seek
756 power by this means, and the dream was its only
778 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other
787 occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɪnl].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɪč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

Supernatural power (tɪpni) bestowed by the
787 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the
778 helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´´ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɪč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajit) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal.
[237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ţapni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (i:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen.
845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ainec" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.
237

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.
821

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the
[823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush
825 and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming
776 pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it
552 cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789

ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who
821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol:č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiňa´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 <u>Jimsonweed ritual</u>.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was
276 poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summer-time and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Mobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

● 776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
[823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
778 guardians of the place, for their power would
kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
778 stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "pana´nıt a´mın časa´šti (coming his help-
er; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days (total, six). The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 203 b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

W Y 224 [381] portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or W Y staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the [825] killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter W Y did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful 224 776 hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

W Y 224 Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti´la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159]Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

W Y 624 were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobič (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

Y W 624 613 The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

W Y 624 The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

W Y 613 The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

W Y 619 613 776 778

Person	Tribe
Kilmišet, winatum	Michahai
Tčaodit	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušlilin, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nač); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinímni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y 613 619 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainıč. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tı´pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha´bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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MYTHOLOGY.

773 776 Yokuts mythology lacks the organization and leaning toward spirituality that characterize native beliefs in the region of the Sacramento Valley. Traditions are not built into a system, and speculation as to the mystery of the world and life is not even naïvely profound. The creators are all animals, with the Eagle at their head as wise and dignified chief. The Coyote is his presuming assistant, often ridiculous, at times inefficient; on other occasions, when not in direct competition with his chief, possessed of strange powers. He brings disaster into the world only rarely; death is the result of the Meadowlark's folly, or the desire of the insect Kokwiteit; but Coyote assents. He aids in securing fire, in stealing the sun for the future world, and advises the Eagle to send the Duck to dive for the earth from the primeval stump which alone projects from the universal first water. A favorite figure is *Limik*, the swiftly swooping Falcon, silent, determined, wise, a warrior, whose only food is tobacco, and whose supernatural abilities are great; but a victim in gambling. His coadjutor is his friend the Raven. The Condor is a plotter, a cannibal and robber, but he is overcome by the Falcon, and by the Eagle when he threatens the latter's supremacy. The Owl is a powerful shaman, the Antelope the swift runner who wins from Deer and helps to steal fire. The Hummingbird is Coyote's son, who excels his makeshift father.

This animal pantheon, varied and distinctive as it is, seems strange as set against the more abstract deities of the Maidu, the Wintun, and the Yuki; or had this effect as long as it was believed that the Miwok alone observed totemism. Now that it is known that this set of beliefs extends to most of the Yokuts also, their traditions, uncoordinated as they remain on the surface, are perhaps more than mere fanciful beast fables, and may fit into a scheme more or less allied to the totemic classification and its connected dualistic plan of chieftainship, marriage, and ritual.

776 171 The southern Californian concepts of the god that dies—Wiyot, Matavilya, Tuchaipa—of the first Sky father and Earth mother; and of the birth and wanderings of mankind; together with many associated episodic incidents, are all lacking among the Yokuts—totally, it would appear. It is clear that mythically a sharp cleavage separates the San Joaquin Valley from the southern end of the State, and that the southwestern influences which have so profoundly permeated the tribes of the latter region, both in traditions and ritual, have not transcended the barrier of the Tehachapi.

The Yokuts Jimson weed puberty rite has already been referred to as of southern origin. The most specific development of this religion, however, a later cult developed by the Gabrielino and spread [171]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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 776

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans 177
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following: [782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüüshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yanelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichasin* or *hitwais* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
619 *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
361 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
823] MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
252] by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There
103 was once a village there having the same name. Between the
131 forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which
361 was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow*. A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew*. The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh*. On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow*. About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu*.

Soksouh (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural
[776 spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceil-
532] ing of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts*. About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu*. The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh*, or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [251] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the sur- 224
round. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding 825
the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the [533 Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or profes- 769] sional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual ceremony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224
methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

3: Latta Y-5 (192[illegible])1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not Processed]

CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first
285 considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is
531 the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown
531 with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winat-*
531 *un*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of
825 the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were
776 not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 531 825 773 [774] Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant had the most painful sting of anything about them. The story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 531 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to 825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw,* an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw,* no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

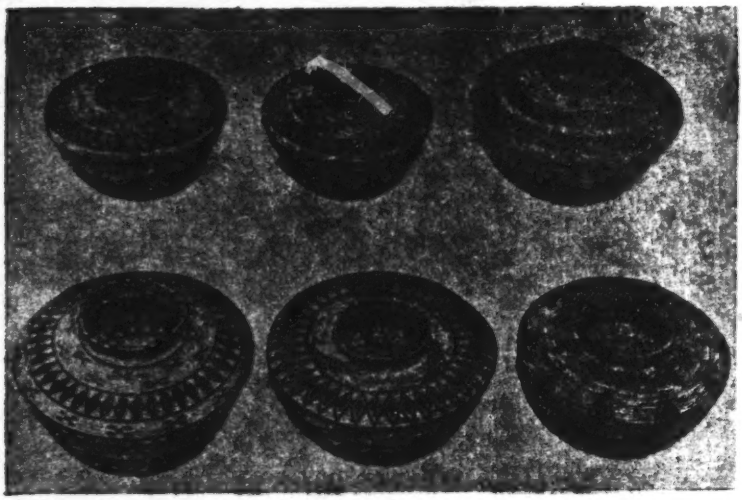
796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits,* keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more 776 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. 825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest [285 rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On 531] some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water [237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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776
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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary . 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭí·pni) that forced success. 825 [778] 776

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonzo.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over. 754

Poikoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him. [683]

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly. [776] [539]

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel, 756

533 **30. Another.**

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulûmai
sawawa kanama
tanĭyo
yapĭwipiwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat·i t-awat·

31. Another.

hila ma tä	you
hayäwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimĭne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanä-na-ma	hear
hòsĭmi	cold

782 **33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani.** Evidently a
788 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart
776 and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels
found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani.
The r occurring in pitsariut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

silkawil	nan
782	
silka-nan	töweiut
192	
silka-nan	bamäeiut
539	
silka-nan	yoxäxait
silka-nan	etebpat

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit)[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
113 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p. 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
● 776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary code.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Wakeachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

787 Plain people who did not seek to become
756 doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 E.M. could not define the nature of dream
774 experience. She knew of no word for soul, did
787 not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

[P. 172 a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 ●777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena´oša[170] in water.

W Y 845 755 In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y 844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´i:č). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

W Y [853] The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

W Y 846 [856] [777] [237] A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (ṭo'o´di) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te''ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

W Y [824] For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

524 [285 531]

Wohmomhet, Wukchumne full-blood from east of Visalia, throwing dice in the Yokuts woman's dice game. The dice are made of halves of walnuts. She made the game tray she is using. It shows the quail, or brant goose design.

up, the thrower lost one point and the dice were awarded to the two opposing players.

Either of the partners could throw the dice. Considerable skill was thought necessary in throwing them. A *moke* (woman) who could roll the dice most rapidly and who could pour forth the most convincing entreaties was usually accorded this privilege. [777]

A Huuhchuish game has been known to continue without interruption for several days and nights. The most interesting description of this game, as recorded by early observers, was that left by Stephen Powers in 1870. The scene was located on Tule River among the *Yau-dahn'-chi* tribe of primitive Yokuts. Mr. Powers' account follows:

"The Yokuts have a sort of gambling which pertains exclusively to women. It is a kind of dice throwing and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. 525 [285 531]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'. Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm. He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes. Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody. That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭí´pin; sky, above) and down (atí´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭí´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭí´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (í´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expres-[515] sions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayer-[777] ful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 long, in which they cruise timidly about near the shore. There is a margin where the bottom is almost level and the waves run light; but the middle of the lake is of immense depth, and the billows sometimes lash themselves into oceanic proportions.

172 412 Around the lake and on King's River one will often find a family using a tolerably well-made stone mortar. They always admit that they did not manufacture these implements, but happened on them in digging or found them on the surface, and that they belonged to a race other than their own. They sometimes have the ingenuity to improve on them by fastening a basket-hopper around the top to prevent the acorns from flying out. On the west side of Tulare Lake these mortars are very numerous, and of course they must have been carried thither from the mountains.

285 On Tule River I saw the process of basket-weaving. Instead of willow twigs for the framework or warp, the squaw takes long stalks of grass, (*Sporobolus*); and for the threads or the woof various barks or roots split fine—pine root for a white color, willow bark for a brown, and some unknown bark for a black. The process of weaving is like that heretofore described; [237] the awl or needle was the sharpened thigh-bone of a hawk.

525 The Gualala style of gambling prevails all over the State, but the Yokuts have another sort, which pertains exclusively to the women. It is a kind of dice-throwing, and is called *u-chu'-us*. For a dice they take half of a large acorn or walnut shell, fill it level with pitch and pounded charcoal, and inlay it with bits of bright-colored abalone shells. For a dice-table they weave a very large, fine basket-tray, almost flat, and ornamented with devices woven in black or brown, mostly rude imitations of trees and geometrical figures. Four squaws sit around it to play, and a fifth keeps tally with fifteen sticks. There are eight dice, and they scoop them up in their hands and dash them into the basket, counting one when two or five flat surfaces turn up.

525 777 The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims *yet'-ni* (equivalent to "one-y"), or *wi-a-tak*, or *ko-mai-éh*, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802
192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 778 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn:m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n:m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin:m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 796 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was called siwa´lun:ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took it back to the foothills for burial; if alive, it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills. [231] 184]

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman. [779]

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful
787 manner, as if to convince herself and any un-
known power behind the dream, that all was well.
[A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prosti-
[548] tute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of
difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub
from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 The man who accepted dream help and wished
787 to become a professional shaman continued his
fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long
778 period of time. He secured walat, the talis-
mans of his dream helper: these might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walat always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with t:pni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walat, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walat kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´n:tc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´twal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ain:tc), the lake people the second part (walat).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a
756 person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of
825 evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed
556 to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One
778 of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called he:'u´te:'ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na tipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[85] Ibid., 404.

756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
it and warned her to keep away from it. He
778 said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption
or pneumonia would "come out" if any one at-
tempted to disturb the place.

756 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not
afraid of graves or of dead people. When they
266 opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the
corpse and left the bones scattered about.[86]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
were usually killed when someone had courage to
754 do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure,
merely said that this was so, and that her own
grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it
was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by
sucking blood (pai´yam:t) from the forehead
just between the eyes.

Nose bleed: ṭomo´luna. This was due to a
[753] long hair of a dead person which a ghost in-
serted in one's forehead. The hair lay, intern-
ally, down the length of the nose. A doctor
cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and
exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by
this term and an attempt would be made to cure
it by cutting and sucking.

Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not
757 treated unless very severe. The roots of a
hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled
and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the
chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the
chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled
and the liquid drunk. A cold which became
[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be
attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a
shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his
methods.

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[86] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or 825 lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɛ´mɛk), "wolf" (iwe´yɛt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɛ´šɛt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for [624 advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn·ínwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn·ínwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as
825 Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed
[304] mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

561 hiam pahata mukıs: growing girl, 8 to 10 years

hiam pahata wu´h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years

goi´yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years

witep mi´tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years

hiam pahata mitač mukıs: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years

pahata gu´tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)

moho´do gu´tum: old man, 50 or over

modo´'o mu´kıs: old woman, past child-bearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 787 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 776 778 When a boy was about the age of ten or a little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide beforehand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

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[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tipni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237 432] If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [aic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) λ If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).

λ [including the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
787 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

Although theoretically any one might seek
756 power by this means, and the dream was its only
778 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other
787 occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɪn].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɪč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

Supernatural power (tɪpni) bestowed by the
787 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the
778 helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´´ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɪč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija hajɛt) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal.
[237] An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭɛpni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan,
056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
● 778 under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanši's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ·pni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 130-139, Figs. 51, 52.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930).1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

539 778 825 [P. 113 b] Wukchumni,

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono'sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain.c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

237 A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 7. J.B. accused Čokon:k, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokon:k used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ain:č). He was well paid with money and baskets.

8. M.P. lived with her maternal grand-
755 mother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

9. M.P. had a headache on another occa-
[778] sion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

10. The following affairs of Haičača
756 were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

Finally one night Haičača dreamed an
756 enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
787 "Hello, napas [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

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[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokon:k of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi), [778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ain:č), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ain:č) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing [754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

756 Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

546 11. The only case known to my informants
613 of a water creature serving as a family totem
825 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
(naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 149 b] Choinimni

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono ˈc:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (anaˈtsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛnˈtɛm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
422 to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
556 belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
776 these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would
● 778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "panaˈnıt aˈmın časaˈšti (coming his helper; čeˈsaš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

756 When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a´nuṭun ti´ša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

A distinction was made between the doctor
756 (a´ṇṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to
789 cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as
[535 dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty
●778] of ṭɛpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi ʼyoti·yaš heʼba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Saiʼhu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokonak sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, saneʼnaš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.
753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor,
755 Wewuʼki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was tʼpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Haiʼaiʼač, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.
273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

●778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku m:č (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai':č was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [764] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip:t, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čip:t fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai´'i kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bx·n, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the ac-
[778] companiment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101
131 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
103 gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an°u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[648]

[77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[798] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 616] The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoači: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186 their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
778 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

W were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.).
Y Their only function was to assist as financial
624 sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobıč (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

Y The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the
W same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held
624 that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted
613 Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

W The winatum received payment for all his
Y services, both from the sender and receiver of
624 a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

W The animal associated with a family line,
Y patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The
613 reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

W

Person	Tribe
Y Kılmišıt, winatum	Michahai
Tčaodıt	Waksachi
619 Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
613 Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
776 Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
778 "Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušlıln, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nıč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practic[illegible]thing. He said some Tachi had told him ab[illegible]gle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuw[illegible]ven this is wrong] but he "had never he[illegible] of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y

Totem	Dream helper
613 Dove	---
Eagle	---
619 Dove	---
776 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
778 Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

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Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

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Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

W Y 231 778 432 825 accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi´š·t, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

W Y [423]

W Y 223 In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmiš·t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmiš·t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmiš·t would help hoist him up.

W Y 231 The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmiš·t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 Bear.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear (i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member) learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

Y [436]

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773] [169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n witɨp nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called axɨ́diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 426 There was no money exchange for interest (lakʿna´nʿč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɛ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɛč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 239b] Western Mono NS 25

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the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

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[781]
[778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

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Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tʿ´pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha´bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

W Y [606 153]

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

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[755] continuing failures might dissuade the novice
756 from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

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[754 Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political
156] power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

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The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some
755 member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him.
756 More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

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The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so.
755 The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for
[237 sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin,
778] owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the

[181] Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

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[539]

hunai´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw: ´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [:niša man wa·ni´i´nwa toiyo ni; :nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tapni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is <u>you</u> who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he <u>was</u> following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

<u>Flying Power</u>

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao pa´´anao na mum ia´´ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

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saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

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The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

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Waksachi Shamanism

The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha´ge) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called tu'u´dem (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

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The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

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The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

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A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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756 used as if a synonym, seems to have been the name of an individual of unusual repute in these matters who lived at or near Tejon about
192 two generations ago. Perhaps his appellation too was at bottom a generic one.

The *ohowich*, the "willing" or "seeking" doctor, has already been mentioned. The bear doctor is called simply "grizzly bear," *noho'o* or *ngoho'o*, according to dialect.

MANA.

778 Supernatural power, beings, or things are called by all the Yokuts *tipni* or *chipni:* a word from which Tachi *tuponot* is probably derived by one of the vowel mutations characteristic of the language. The word *tipni* itself is likely to be connected with *tipin*, "above," in a spatial sense, or "top, high, sky, up." It is the obvious equivalent of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and *manitou*. In some usages the term clearly refers to beings, monsters, or spirits. In other connections it is said that a man, say a shaman, is *tipni* or possibly that he has *tipni*. In the above prayer to the seven gods, the word seems to mean "with supernatural power"; but a translation by "supernatural ones" is also possible. Altogether, it is clear that *tipni* is used indifferently as a noun and as an adjective; and that it is employed, according to circumstance, to denote spirits, supernatural or monstrous beings of any sort, men who possess spiritual or magical power, and, if indications are not deceiving the essence or power or quality itself.

This diversity of usage seems to be as characteristic of the more familiar synonyms in other languages as of Yokuts *tipni;* and it follows, therefore, that the question of whether these words denote rather an essence or a definite personalized spirit in the literal sense is not a problem to be settled by psychological interpretation, but one for which the tools and knowledge of the philologist are indispensable, and that the latter's answer is likely to be that the terms are used with both meanings and adjectively as well as substantively; with reference on one occasion to quality, on others, to personality. There must have been a time when our own word "spirit" was capable of denoting in one sentence the breath itself, the physical flow of air from the lungs, and in the next an immaterial thing resembling the entire body of a man but possessed of faculties that do not belong to the body. Just so, to-day and among ourselves, "spirit" at times indubitably denotes such an anthropomorphic but intangible personality, and nothing else; at others, an abstract and impersonal essence or quality or force. It would be rash to maintain that its real meaning in our minds and in our civilization was only one of these two aspects and that when used in the other sense

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *benitś* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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756 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and
778 to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from
787 animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in
[823] pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

> Whose is this fish to shoot?
> Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

[539]

> The other says: Run in the brush;
> Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me. 533

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

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WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 789 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern [778] tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar [428] type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

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lower, or down stream limits of the village. It is explained that 343
this was done in order that the bathing would not disturb the 515
water of the stream which was used by the inhabitants of the village.

In many instances the *Winatun*, or messenger for the Head- 343
man, or Chief, lived near the sweat house. It was his business 624
to meet strangers, or visitors, and escort them to the chief. A second Winatun lived on the main trail at the up-stream limits of the village. It is probable that the lower Winatun occupied the sweat house when he happened to be a man without a [562] family. Women never entered the Yokuts sweat house.

It was due to the practice of sweating that measles and 164
smallpox, as well as other fevers, took such heavy toll of the 515
Indians not only in the San Joaquin Valley, but throughout the western United States. Fevers were apparently unknown to them. Their ordinary ailments were principally rheumatism and other infirmities due to cold and exposure. Pioneer settlers of the San Joaquin Valley have repeatedly described the death within a few weeks of almost entire tribes of Indians due to measles, or smallpox, when treated in the sweat house.

The sweat house was held in high esteem by all Indians. 343
Why this should be the case has aroused the curiosity of many 224
persons. When one considers the most important use to which it was put, this attitude on the part of the Indians is not strange. Most Indian hunting was done by stalking. Deer and other animals were killed with bow and arrow, often at a distance of less than forty feet. White deer hunters will appreciate the difficulty of approaching this close to a deer, even should the hunter be disguised by a deer head and horns and covered with a deer skin. It is readily appreciated that often at the distance of several hundred yards the deer will scent a hunter and take flight. The Indian also knew this. For this reason he was very careful about two or three things. His hunting equipment was always hung up where it would not be touched except when he was hunting. In this way it carried no scent.

Before going hunting the Indian entered the sweat house 224
and bathed in the river. Taking his weapons, he proceeded to the game country with the knowledge that, for at least five or six hours, deer and other game would not be able to distinguish his scent. As this gave the sweat house a very practical and vital use, it is not strange that the Indians almost universally [778] came to regard it as sacred.

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[172
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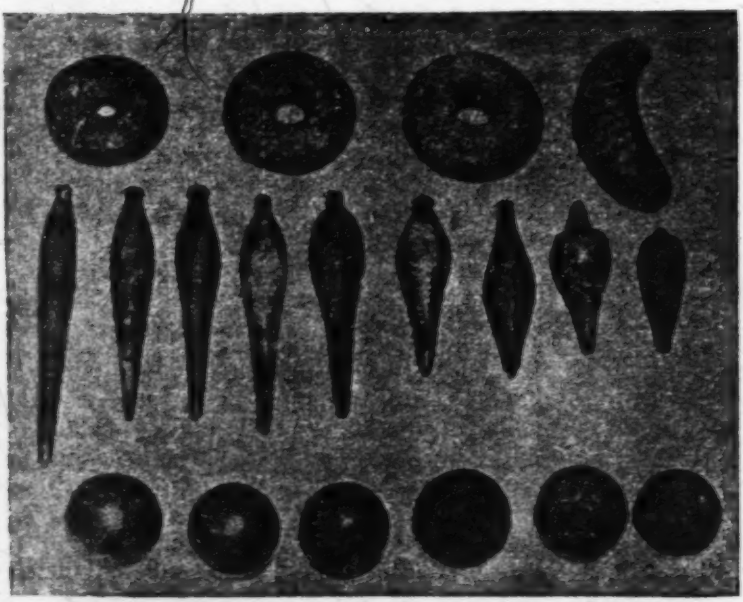

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers
526 who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

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THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
• 778 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

these magic stones to vary much in size and proportions, but to be all of the same general shape. They are often referred to as plummets, or plumb-bobs, and are commonly known to collectors as charm-stones. 789 778

Charm-stones have been found throughout Yokuts territory. Along streams and about the shores of valley lakes they have been discovered in great numbers. Away from the old bodies of water they have occasionally been brought to the surface by plowing. When the waters of Tulare Lake began to recede during the late 1880's and early 1890's these stones were found by hundreds along the lower shores. Dr. Ed. Smith of Hanford made a large collection of them along those shorelines and in the lowest portion of the dry lake bed. He once told me that during one week-end, traveling with horse and buggy, he gathered one hundred and eighty-four Yokuts Rainmakers' charm stones.

Pioneer San Joaquin Valley residents have furnished numerous parallel data, stating that these stones were used to bring fish up the streams and to bring success in fishing. A few have stated that they were also used in connection with a rainmaking ceremony. Zachary T. Blankenship, of Visalia, once told me that they were used to bring water into streams during drought, and to induce the large trout of Tulare Lake to migrate up the various branches of the lower Kaweah River. Said "Zac", "Soon after it left the Sierra foothills the Kaweah River divided into six branches—Outside Creek, Deep Creek, Cameron Creek, Packwood Creek, Mill Creek and St. John's River, which, in its lower course, is known as Cross Creek. Sometimes the heads of some of these creeks would choke with sand and brush so that the water could not run down them. Then the Indian Medicine Men had to get busy with their plumb-bobs and put on a song and dance calculated to bring the water back. [226]

"Each year the large lake trout would run up some of the Kaweah Creeks, but they did not always run up all of them. This cut some of the Indian camps out of their fishing. They hung those plumb-bobs on the willow trees in order to make the fish come up to them. I never saw this done, but I know it to be true, for I was told about it by an old Indian who lived on Outside Creek. I found one of those plumb-bob stones hanging on a tree. It took my fancy. There was no one in sight, so I cut it loose, put it in my pocket and took it home. We had sev-

[text continues on p. 204]

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789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
●778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-
124 blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 *Toke'-un lih'-nuh* *Wa-tin-hin* *nah* *Yo'*
(west side) (straight path) (me) (to mark time)
533] *Hi-yo-um'-ne* *Ah-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village) (this is I) (charm stone) (over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

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never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne. 789 778

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago." 124

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery. 172 778

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield, and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

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Nine charm stones, replaced in the soil as they were found in an Indian mound-campsite about two miles southwest of Rio Bravo school in Kern County. They were uncovered by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell while leveling land in April of 1948.

Finally, at a depth of about eight feet, a carryall, operated by Mr. Rudolph Cantrell, scraped off the top of a finely polished stone. Investigation brought to light seven finely made serpentine charm stones and two made of fine-grained banded stone. They stood with their points down and were arranged in the form of a circle about sixteen inches in diameter.

While an account of the above find was being added to this chapter, I became acquainted with a person who has probably had more experience than anyone else in uncovering charm, or rainmaker's, ceremonial-stones. He is Mr. A. L. Threewit, of Buttonwillow. Mr. Threewit has leveled many hundreds of acres of land in the vicinity of Buena Vista slough. In this work he has uncovered no less than six clusters of charm-stones.

He has uncovered numerous other deposits of these stones, but they were disturbed by earth-moving equipment before he saw them, so he could not be certain of the exact position in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

which they had been buried. He has also uncovered dozens of single stones. In 1946, on the Crawford Ranch, about eighteen miles north of Buttonwillow (Section 21, T27S, R22E) he uncovered a cluster of about ten charm stones. As the situation under which they were found was almost identical with the others, Mr. Threewit's description of their position will suffice for all.

"In the fall of 1946 I was leveling a piece of land for Mr. Clinton B. Crawford. On it was an old abandoned slough channel with a large mound beside it. The top of the mound was at least ten feet above the bottom of the slough. The mound was composed of hard, alkali-saturated soil. The old slough channel was about one-fourth mile east of the main channel of Buena Vista Slough, which had been deepened into a drainage canal.

"At the depth of about one and one-half feet below the surface of the mound my scraper uncovered a cluster of plumb-bob shaped stones. They were standing on end and were arranged in a circle about a foot and a half in diameter. Inside this circle were three rocks showing signs of fire. The three rocks were lying in a bed of ashes and charcoal. The plumb-bob shaped stones did not appear to have been burned. The fire had been kindled in the middle of the circle formed by them.

"I have uncovered at least six clusters of these plumb-bob shaped stones, all buried at about the same depth, and all in the same position as the one I have described. I have picked up many other groups of them but did not see them until they were in the scraper. Together with the scattered ones, I have uncovered many dozens of these plumb-bob shaped stones in the area between Tupman and Lost Hills. They have always been uncovered in knolls beside old, dry water courses. In at least one instance a cluster of them was found beside a human skeleton."

Although I have heard numerous other stories of the finding of nests of charm stones at other points in Yokuts territory, accounts concerning the ten mentioned above are all that I have been able to substantiate satisfactorily. Then, about two months after the find west of Bakersfield, while interviewing Mrs. Mable Stricklett of Santa Cruz, I made the most important find of all.

In 1894, Mrs. Mary J. Gates, mother of Mrs. Stricklett, had published verification of all I had gathered, as well as the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

172 key to the nest burials of charm-stones. This appeared in a
778 pamphlet titled, *Contributions to Local History,* and gives the history of the territory surrounding Mountain View, in northern Santa Clara County. Here is her account:

"The most interesting specimens of rude aboriginal art are charm or sorcery stones. Ray Dexter has one with the polish worn off that he found in the slough, and Frank Francis has another and highly polished one of a fine-grained, hard stone that was found on the Rev. Mr. Crittenden's ranch. Many charm stones are reported from Mr. Summer's ranch. These stones are of various shapes and sizes. The purpose for which they were used, at what time, it seems not easy to make out. But our comparatively recent Indians finding these stones attributed to them magical powers.

"No less than six theories have been advanced with regard to their use. They have been found in too many forms for games; too heavy for personal adornment; as plummets they would have been of no use to a people who lived in huts, or no shelter whatever; sinkers they need not be, when many stones in the creek would answer fully as well; the small knob on the end of nearly all of them caused them to be of less service than the common pestle; and the investigators came to the conclusion they were used for religious purposes, and in this way they found they were correct, as a few old Indians confirmed this idea.

172 "The Indian medicine man used to collect twelve or maybe
twenty charm stones and arrange them in the form of a circle,
778 with another very different stone in the center, and over these
he sprinkled the seed of the wild sage, feathers and red ochre,
789 when war, sickness, drought or famine came to the tribe. He would next thrust the stones violently together, all the time muttering his incantations -----.

"These charm stones were also suspended by a string over the water where they were fishing, hung from trees to call the fish up the streams, and at points in the mountains favorable for hunting."

It would almost seem that Mary J. Gates had actually interviewed Mr. Zachary T. Blankenship, quoted above. And does her article not explain why our San Joaquin Valley charm-stones were buried in nests? Were not all ten burials described above located on streams that had changed their channels? Can

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the T*ulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

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The Chunut doctors had a Tripne (magic) stone. It was just like a doughnut. They called it *Cuhmumwum Weah* (Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah), the thunder and lightning stone. I used to know its song, but I have forgotten it. My old uncle, *Tehnih'-pahs,* taught it to me. I think once all the Indians around Tulare Lake had these songs. They used the Cuhmumwum Weah to make thunder and lightning and to make whirlwinds and cool breezes. I saw my uncle make whirlwinds once with this stone. 159 756 778

The doctors had another stone. Even the Ahntru Doctors knew how to use it to doctor people. But the Tripne Doctors could do lots more things with it. It was a long stone with a hole through the middle. The *Chunut* called it *Ta'-khot-un Tis-a'-he.*

The doctor put the hollow stone over the place where the person was hurting and sucked on the other end. He took the pain out that way. Sometimes he took out an arrow point, rattlesnake rattles, or lizard tail. Then the sick person got well. I saw them do that. 159 755

Almost all the doctors were men. Once a man and his wife were both Tripne doctors. Finally they went out of sight in the middle of the day. This was at *Chaw-lo'-win,* the old *Wowol* village where Alpaugh is now. They lived there on the sand ridge for many years, but the people could never see them. 159 756

They saw tracks in the sand and saw where the doctors had dug tule roots, but they could never see the Tripne man and wife. They could see the smoke from their fires. They also found pieces of abalone shell in the sand at their camps. They brought the first abalone shell to Tulare Lake. My old uncle told me all about this. He was a Wowol.

Tumnah (Toom'-nah) was a real old Tachi when I was a little girl. We thought he was more than one hundred years old. He was a young man before the Spanish people came to Tulare Lake after the Indians. He used to tell me about how the Spanish came and took the Indians away from *Tokuh Lihnuh,* the West Side.

Once Tumnah told me about two bad Indian doctors. He had helped kill one of them who lived at the old *Nutunutu* village at Kingston. These doctors had killed some *Tachi* people. They would change themselves into coyotes and go sneaking around after the Tachi and making them sick. They would 159 754

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary. 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (tí pni) that forced success. 825 [778] 776

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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595 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was
622 not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food
[574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens.
622 The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was
[439] through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes.
[778] The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[25]

622 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who
237 killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The
778 large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down
439 still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The
237 demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority
556 of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and
[755] to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce.
439 Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned
556 skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[25] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
578 Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
578 Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
578 the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going [171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." [784] The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent [583] Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tunod) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 539 432 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or
three chiefly men in a village they would
divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing
feathers, another the leg bones, and another
the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the
meat. "The chief would not let those people
gathered there go away until all the meat was
eaten." When the killer had finished, the
chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in
water so that it would be revived and return to
its supernatural home. As he did this he said,
"tuñdi ta po dta ma tup: nita" (? ? you go
up). This was the same phrase used by a hunter
when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
782 cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
called his people to pay for it. The coyote
432 lay on a blanket, the people threw down their
strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it
would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man
"buried the whole thing right then because no-
body ate that meat."

825 <u>Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions</u>.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduw:ts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these
informants could recall for Wukchumni people.
They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other
tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237]See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

622 čo´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, č:nk:´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals
616 and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general
825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´x:l: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´y:l: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi·hi·´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	so·´tot: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o´č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai'´ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwɩ´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nɩč) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'ɩša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ɩniša´n nan wan upuš nɩm (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawanɩč or site´lši tawanɩč." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

W [P. 229 b] Western Mono NS25

Y

821 An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called
782 by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time
Y [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold
805 approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu,
221 summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W B.O. gave the following information in Wak-
Y sachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O.
805 for the Michahai.

821

192 Times, stars, nature:
552 tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´eso´e: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
Y pahe´: soapstone
W

823 Directions:
192 pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

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Y
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the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

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[801]
[778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

W
Y
[778]

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tʼpni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [ahaʼbawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *hukuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [773]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [175]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 801

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

 776

out from them, failed to reach the Yokuts. This is clear both from 171
their nonuse of sand paintings and their ignorance of the great deity 177
Chungichnish or any equivalent.

On the other hand, the Yauelmani, and perhaps other southern 776
Yokuts tribes, appear to have borrowed from the nearer Shoshoneans
or southern Californians, probably the Kitanemuk, the concept of a 177
group of gods, apparently anthropomorphic, and associated with ritual rather than myth. Three of these, who have no exact Shoshonean counterpart, have already been mentioned in the Jimson weed rite; but the full number is seven, of whom four correspond in name to the first four among six Serrano deities. As referred to in an intoned prayer, recited not so much for the achievement of any specific wish as for the general fulfillment of good fortune, these deities are the following:

[782 539]

Do you see me!
See me, Tüüshiut!
See me, Pamashiut!
See me, Yuhahait!
See me, Echepat!
See me, Pitsuriut!
See me, Tsukit!
See me, Ukat!
Do you all help me!
My words are tied in one
With the great mountains,
With the great rocks,
With the great trees,
In one with my body
And my heart.
Do you all help me
With supernatural power,
And you, day,
And you, night!
All of you see me
One with this world!

A certain vastness of conception and profoundness of feeling, rising above any petty concrete desire, can not be denied this petition, crude though the undeveloped vocabulary of its speech leaves its wording.

SHAMANISM.

The Yokuts shaman is called *antu* or *angtu*—with a reference to 756
poisoning—by the southern tribes; *tuponot* by the Tachi; *teish*, 192
"maker," by the Chukchansi. The latter word reappears in the south as *tesh* and with the Tachi as *teshich gonom* as the designation of the "rain doctors" or weather shamans. *Hopodno*, sometimes

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry. 224 [789]

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed. 223

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles. [782]

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *xademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the 226 [285]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top 226 789 [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

"That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of [782] weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

224 San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭí´pin; sky, above) and down (atí´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭí´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (dí´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´´og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭí´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (í´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

773 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a
825 prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošá´m, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no
825 person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may
782 call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary . 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭí·pni) that forced success. 825 [778 776]

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as
826 follows:[32]
614

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

[787]

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended
796 by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Wakaachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

[755]

[762]

622 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission.
344 If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merioan Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merioan Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulŭmai
sawawa kanama
tanĭyo
yapĭwipiwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t·awat·i t·awat·

31. Another.

hila ma tă	you
hayăwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnătin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòslmi	cold
hòslwimĭne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lană-na-ma	bear
hòslmi	cold

33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a
782 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
788 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart
796 and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitauriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782	silkawil	nan
	[illegible]	[illegible]
192	silka-nan	tŏsciut
	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] (= [illegible])
539	silka-nan	bamăciut
	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
	silka-nan	yoxăxalt
	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] (= [illegible])
	silka-nan	etebpat
	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]

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782
192
539

silka-nan pitsariut
see mb name

silka-nan tsukit
see me name

silka-nan ukat
see me name (locket)

yèt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·au t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

maiayiu lomto
with-the-large mountain

maiayiu silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

maiayiu witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·au polut-nim
together body my

ucuk-nim
heart my

yèt·au-mu-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·è·pmui
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

dank
day

yò-ma
and you

tolno
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nan-silèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·au ki
together this

p'nan
world

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782 192 539 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wŏkitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wŏkitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 539 192 [788] 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.

ukunka	kin	ilka	tŏwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tŏwshint	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashint
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhahait

782 192 539 823 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it.

mak	hoham	xoin	hiamu	pūna
we	here	live	long	wechi
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 192 539 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
have me	with-a-little	sun	
anò nan	yèt·an	teomoot'k (or toom'k)	
(not) for-me	altogether	eat-it	
heneit nan	mitèni		
have me	with-a-little		

769 but pretense, two or three women winatums rescued them and put them on a blanket. These women kept the "dolls' clothes" but the frames were burned. Speeches were made from time to time accompanied by intermittent weeping.

769 At dawn, after the burning, the ceremonial washing took place. The Telamni were ranged on
783 the west side of the dance space, their gi'i, the Wowol, opposite them on the east side. This dividing was called w:kči w:s and made the sides y:t ka y:t (one to one). A chief of each moiety of the Telamni had a large washing basket set out between the spectators; their messengers gathered the bereaved who were to be washed. These people gave the messengers money for their chiefs (to compensate for the baskets which the chiefs provided?). The Wowol chiefs, a Tokelyuwich and a Nutuwich, had with them new clothes for the mourners. They or their wives washed the faces of first, the chief of that moiety, then those of the mourners, taking the more important persons first. The new clothing was donned, and the washers received the washing baskets. The changing of clothes was called kasa´os:l. A chief of the washers said to the bereaved, "They burned. Now you will forget and be happy" ("m:m tulun. hi´na ma hi´nasu mun:n").

769 Then the messengers went about shouting to everyone to play games. Any kind of game might
524 be played, but the hand game was most popular as it had been tabu during the preceding days. The messengers said there would be dancing at night.

769 The pleasure dance (hat:m) or doctor's dance (kam) was danced by men and women all
535 night. Some people who had special supernatural powers might dance also. Oto´ki'at (Tillie Wilcox), a Telamni, was one of the best singers and dancers, but she was not t:pni, so far as J.A. knows, "though nobody can tell." Such dancing was done merely to entertain. At dawn everyone went to bathe. Then people lingered about visiting or sleeping or returned to their homes.

769 J.A. saw two large mourning ceremonies in her childhood. The last "big fandango" in the valley was made by Joaquín, a Telamni chief at Pisras. He was Tokelyuwich and was washed by Charlie Thomas, a Nutuwich Wowol chief, and his family. One woman of Thomas' family washed Joaquín and his wife. The Wowol were the Telamni's gi'i.

At Drum Valley, J.A. attended a mourning ceremony given by Co'o´po (Bill Osborn), Wakzachi, Otoki'at's (Tillie Wilcox's) first husband. She thinks they were mourning for Sono´len:n. Their son was crying. Some Wukchumni did the washing, but J.A. cannot identi-
[616] fy them. The Wakzachi called the Wukchumni gi'i. No moieties were involved, of course. Buffalo Bill's wife, Lottie, gave J.A. a basket and a red bead necklace for her help in making a cross which was taken to the grave.

769 them, and these were grabbed by the women and
767 thrown over their shoulders into the baskets. When the dance ended the tonoč:m retired with their goods and then, giving a great shout, they all ran to the river to swim. (Although
[783] this ending suggests a cleansing rite, it is purely a ceremonial gesture as all informants agreed that corpse-handlers were under no tabus nor were they considered unclean after they had performed a burial service.)

Effigy Parade

769 The remainder of the sixth day was spent in preparation for the evening. The reciprocants' winatums stacked wood for two extra-large fires, one at each end of the assembly space. The mourners had retired for constant weeping. When evening came, the reciprocant (gu'ui) tribe would sit near one fire; the non-participating members of the host or mourning tribe, by the other. Spectators from other tribes would be grouped at each side.

In the early evening the gu'ui's winatums called the active mourners and brought out the effigies and treasures for them to carry. Each doll was carried by a member of the same sex, usually the one nearest of kin to the deceased it represented. Other mourners carried money and gifts: men carried the shouldered treasure basket (osa) filled with money, while women carried basketry trays (koiyoto) laden with money, fine baskets, or valued ornaments. At about the hours of 9 p.m., 12 m., 2 a.m., and 4 a.m. these mourners, led by the group of singers, paraded around the fires with a curious halting step. On each alternate step the effigy-carriers held the staffs upright, on the others lowered them, pointing the doll heads toward the fire and making a feint at throwing them in. The others made the same feint with the treasures they carried. During the intervals between the parades the chief of the reciprocants rose to make a speech in which he referred to the deceased persons they were mourning and to the bereaved who had been enduring much sorrow and privation; he spoke of the effigies as if they were the actual corpses, saying how they were to be burned, destroyed, and forever forgotten, and how the mourners
[152] might look forward to release from their grief. These simple topics were long drawn out to a continuous obligato of weeping from the mourners, who had again retired. At intervals the singers sang.

When it was time for the mourners to make the fourth and final circuit of the fires, a winatum told the reciprocants to line up by their fire. They did this while the mourners were parading about. The latter took up a position in line by their fire, the two groups being about fifty feet apart. Then at a signal from the managing winatum, the mourners threw

769 the effigies and all their treasures at the reciprocants who scrambled and fought over them. Whatever anyone seized was his. After this the dolls were stripped by the gu'ui who threw the frames on the fire: this was their duty. Sometimes more or less worthless objects were thrown with them. But anything so dispatched to the fire might be snatched out by another reciprocant.

Ritual Washing

769 By this time dawn had come, and the reciprocants went to eat breakfast and prepare
783 for the later feasting while the mourners again retired. Then the reciprocants' winatums got baskets of water which they took to the assembly space where the washing families had come with their supply of new clothing for the bereaved. The water baskets had been especially made for the occasion; they were coiled, large,
[385 deep, and flaring (pl. 1, top center). Those
171] the Waksachi (and other Western Mono) provided always had somewhat peculiar patterns which no other baskets carried.

The winatums called the mourners and, these being allotted by families as explained above, the ritual cleansing proceeded. Members of the same sex washed each other. For these true or deep mourners the washing of body and hair was complete, the washee, stripped to the breechclout, standing beside the basket and being swabbed down with wads of shredded willow bark dipped in the water. Fresh water and soaproot were used for washing the hair which was then dried, brushed, and trimmed with bangs.
[301] The new clothing, including a new breechclout, was donned. Ornaments such as ear plugs, necklaces, and headbands were added. The
[465 washers were each paid a small sum (about 25
431] cents) and given presents of baskets by the washees. Then all persons of the mourning tribe had their faces washed by members at large of the reciprocant tribe. They all stood in a long line for this service. The washers each received about five cents (in bead money) for this.

[522 During the washing and dressing at least
613] two men of the Coyote lineage came in clowning.
[237] They wore coyote skins on their heads and backs, with the snouts stiffened out and with artificial tails attached. They carried seeds which they threw all around [the purpose of this I could not discover], got in people's way, knocked over the baskets of washing water, and were chased about by the winatums.

769 Then a feast was held, the main dish of which was deer meat, for this was the end of
[262 the meat tabu for the bereaved. The reciprocant chief made a speech telling everyone to come partake of this feast, the mourners to enjoy their meat, etc. After the feast the host chief made a speech saying that now their sorrow was dissipated, that everyone should

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day; the Huhuna Dance
535 in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
756 (he´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest
769 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušl:l:n and Kapl:l:n are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyoš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "h"! h"! h"!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl:l:n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´w:ts nao´ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[i.e., of the mourning ceremony. — Analyst]

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day,
783 the ritual washing («pla´o'iša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The
152 reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'«č) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty («pla´oša) was reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the
783 visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

795 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi participation in the Ghost Dance has been pub-
668 lished in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance; abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to
[177] the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´'oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and M were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Poagisa were gi''i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about
553 the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
551 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
177 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

<u>Mother's cleansing ceremony</u>.--About one
846 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
852 held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (<u>sic</u>; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[P. 20] 9] Chukchansi

769 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the cere-
783 monial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they
[526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 They would play for a week, in the old
527 times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, Moller, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 Dancing was the chief form of entertain-
536 ment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 During all this time there were Indian
625 "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 234a] Western Mono N525

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W Y 553 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a´ktač (S.O.); called we´čɨp if a boy, and wi´tɨp if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho¹ unu´malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

[P 2346] Western Mono NS25

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [854] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

W Y [841]

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (:pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 237 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

All the duties connected with the burying W Y of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočʼm, and ghosts of the dead were 767 their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nʼl (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba´wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia´a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibʼ´knʼčʼ).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 238 a] Western Mono NS25

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"Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´´i, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

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When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

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When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nač) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

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During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

W Y 769 first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

W Y [783] Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

W Y 769 426 There was no money exchange for interest (lakına´nıč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

W Y 756 778 The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP 250 a Western Mono NS 25

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The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

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The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

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No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (huču´šiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henao´šiko).

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Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at

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[197] At this time B.O. used the Wakaschi term tu´buhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 251 q Western Mono VS25

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The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

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The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´ncai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

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B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they

W Y 769 returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated again before sundown. During these days S.O. and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was the end of our sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu''i, i.e., the reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited, owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi nak, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

W Y [578] W Y 769 783 Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O. for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking, telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

W Y [556] The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.252.c] Western Mono c25

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´mar soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y. [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. W. Y. [775] He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´'a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [783] Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535] Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the W Y [303 83] routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517] During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

and other property are tossed to the *tongochim*, who though already liberally paid, are entitled to keep all that they secure in the scramble. Other valuables are burned with the images. 769

The use of effigies is of interest because duplicated among many remote groups, but appears not to be participated in by such Yokuts tribes as the Chukchansi or Tachi. Among the latter, after dancing until morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying. [532] [184] [431]

Among the Chukchansi the ritual of the final night takes on many features of the corresponding practices of the neighboring Miwok, whose *yalaka* ceremony they identify with their own *lakinan*. There are two fires, one for the men, the other for the women. The chief is posted at the latter, whence he delivers loud orations, in a peculiar abrupt enunciation. Such "preaching," as the Indians now term it, is indulged in on ceremonial occasions also by the Pomo, the Patwin, the Maidu, the Mohave, the Luiseño, and no doubt most other tribes in the State. Around each fire dancing goes on in a contraclockwise circle, the men holding poles from which hang valuables, the women baskets, and the singers standing outside the circles. Once during the night, and again toward morning, the men and women change to each others' fires. Finally the displayed property is burned in the men's fire. This act is called *tulo* or *yuyahin*, and marks the end of the ceremony. After this the visitors are paid by the residents of the town for purifying them by washing them with water in which a scented plant, *mechini*, has been steeped. [783]

A joyous aftermath during the ensuing day marks the definite cessation of mourning. This is the *ka'm* or *wotii*, meaning simply dance. The step of this, indeed, is the same as that practiced by the *tongochim* during the preceding funerary ritual, and in fact over the unburied dead. It consists of an alternate high lifting of each leg at intervals of a second or less and stamping it down with violence, the performers meanwhile standing still or traveling in a circle. On this occasion of pleasurable reaction the dancers are for the first time painted—the men black, the women red, among the Yaudanchi—and they wear, so far as they possess them, the most elaborate and distinctive of Yokuts regalia: high crowns of crow and long magpie feathers, and skirts of strings of eagle down. Among the Chukchansi the men line up in a row, the women behind them, both facing north. Man after man then pays a woman for taking her from her place, and the couple dance before the double row. [302] [293]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the 769 private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental 796 features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[262] [576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

778 [276] [533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

[171] Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer story-telling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

[784] [574] [863]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[59]

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[60] Handbook, 497.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
[302] his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was <u>not</u> the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up
522 and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
[786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of t:pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Goh:l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n:ǐ do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ǐa´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as
535 they danced, but Čokon:k's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh:l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai':č, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back,
[302] with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance
796 done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokon:k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 had toiled for months, perhaps for years, circled and furred with hundreds
[301] of little quail-plumes, bespangled, scalloped, festooned, and embroidered with beadery until there was scarcely place for the handling; plumes, shawls, etc. Kolomusnim had a pretty plume of metallic-glistening ravens'
769 feathers in his hand. But the most remarkable article was a great plume,
237 nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens'
293 feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons,—a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume contrasting so strangely with the tattered and howling savages over whom it gorgeously swayed and flaunted.
[532] Another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing, to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomusnim.

769 The beholding of all these things, some of which had belonged to the departed, and the strong contagion of human sorrow, wrought the Indians
●786 into a frenzy. Wildly they leaped and wailed; some flung themselves upon
152 the earth and beat their breasts. There were constant exhortations to grief. Sloknich, sitting on the ground, poured forth burning and piercing words: "We have all one heart. All our hearts bleed with yours. Our eyes weep tears like a living spring. O, think of the poor, dead woman in the grave." Kolomusnim, a savage of a majestic presence, bating his garb, though a hesitating orator, was so broken with grief that his few sobbing words moved the listeners like a funeral knell. Beholding now and then a special friend in the circle, he would run and fall upon his knees before him, bow down his head to the earth, and give way to uncontrollable sorrow. Others of the mourners would do the same, presenting to the friend's gaze some object which had belonged to the lamented woman. The friend, if a man, would pour forth long condolences; if a woman, she would receive the mourner's head in her hands, tenderly stroke down her hair, and unite her tears and lamentations with her's. Many an eye, both of men and women, both of mourners and strangers, glistened in the flickering fire-light with copious and genuine tears.

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But amid all this heart-felt mourning there were occasional manifestations of purely mechanical grief that were amusing. The venerable Sloknich, though he was a gifted and thrilling orator, a savage Nestor, preserved a dry eye; but once in a while he would arise in his place and lift up his voice in mourning like a sandhill-crane, then presently sit down and [276] calmly light a cigarette. After smoking two or three, he would stand up and fire away again. Cigarettes were burning everywhere. An Indian would take one out of his mouth and give a prolonged and dolorous bellow, then take a few whiffs again.

Yet even these comical manifestations were so entirely in earnest that nobody thought of laughing at the time; and though one's sense of humor could not but make silent note of them the while, they were greatly overborne by the outpouring of genuine, unmistakable grief. So far even from smiling, one might, without being accused of sentimental weakness, have dropped a tear at the spectacle of these poor wretches, weeping not more perhaps for the loved and lost than over their own miserable and hapless destiny of extermination.

These demonstrations continued a long time, a very long time, and I 769
began to be impatient again, believing that the principal occasion had passed. It appeared afterward that they are compelled by their creed and custom to prolong the proceedings until daylight; hence this extreme deliberation.

But now, at last, about one o'clock in the morning, upon some preconcerted signal, there was a sudden and tumultuous rushing from all quarters of the quadrangle, amid which the interpreter and myself were almost borne down. For the first time during the night the women appeared conspicuously on the scene, thronged into the sacred circle, and quickly formed a ring close around the fire—a single circle of maidens, facing inward. The whole multitude of the populous camp crowded about them in confusion, jostling and struggling. A choir of male singers took their position hard by and commenced the death-song, though they were not audible except to the nearest listeners. 769

At the same instant the young women began their frightful dance, 786 ●
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7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 which consisted of two leaps on each foot alternately, causing the body to
786 rock to and fro; and either hand was thrust out with the swaying, as if the
535 offering it held were about to be consigned to the flames, while the breath was forced out with violence between the teeth, in regular cadence, with a harsh and grinding sound of *heh!* The blaze of the sacred fire flamed redly out between the bodies of the dancers, swaying in accord, while the disheveled locks of the leaping hags wildly snapping in the night wind, the blood-curdling rasp of their breath in concert, and the frightful ululations and writhings of the mourners, conspired to produce a terrible effect. At the sight of this weird, awful, and lurid spectacle, which was swung into motion so suddenly, I felt all the blood creep and tingle in my veins, and my eyes moisten with the tears of a nameless awe and terror. We were beholding now, at last, the great dance for the dead.

All the long remainder of that frenzied night, from one o'clock to two, to three, to four, to five, those women leaped in the maddening dance, through smoke, and choking dust, and darkness, and glaring light, and cold, and heat, amid the unceasing wail of the multitude, not knowing or heeding aught else on earth. Once in five or ten minutes, when the choir completed a chorus, there was a pause of a few seconds; but no one moved from her place for a moment. What wonder that only the strongest young maidens were chosen for the duty! What wonder that the men avoided this terrible ordeal!

769 About four o'clock, wearied, dinned, and benumbed with the cold of the mountains, I crept away to a friendly blanket and sought to sleep. But it was in vain, for still through the night-air were borne up to my ears the far-off crooning, the ululations, and that slow-pulsing, horrid *heh!* of the leaping witches, with all the distant voices, each more distinct than when heard nearer, of the mourning camp. The morning star drew itself far up into the blue reaches of heaven, blinking in the cold, dry California air, and still all the mournful riot of that Walpurgis-night went on.

Then slowly there was drawn over everything a soft curtain of oblivion; the distant voices blended into one undistinguishable murmur, then died away and were still; the mourning was ended; the dancers ceased because they were weary.

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[60] Handbook, 497.

616 A village was not necessarily ruled by two
622 chiefs, one of each moiety. Some camps would only have one chief, another large place, like Telweyit, might have three. At Telweyit there were Lučuši, and [name forgotten], Tokelyuwich, and Kanti, Nutuwich. She said Prairie Falcon was the totem of Lučuši, Prairie Falcon and Raven of Kanti, and did not recall the third.

616 Gifford's information on Tachi moieties, their functions, and totems follows.

The moieties are called by terms cognate with those of the Chukchansi and Gashowu moieties, viz., toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts. The former is rendered "west side," the latter "east side," and [these terms] were said by the informants to be derived from the stems toxi (west) or toxil (eagle) and notu (east). Elsewhere[65] the probability of these terms really referring to "downstream" and "upstream" has been discussed, although my Tachi informants gave hosim for "upstream" and homoti for "downstream."[66]

The aged informant Mary Fernando stated that her father was a neophyte at San Miguel Mission. He told her that the Salinan Indians of the vicinity had two "sides" (moieties) which corresponded to toxelyuwiš and nutuwuts.

With the Tachi, and at least the Nutunutu, moiety exogamy is said to have prevailed.

[776 Similarly, guardian spirits obtained in
787] dreams were often mountain lions and bears rather than totemic animals. A man might belong by birth to a group having the coyote for totem, but get a bear for a guardian spirit. [See Gifford's report on Halhalis, p. 36.]

The Tachi informants described the totemic moiety situation by saying that anciently as well as now people had birds and mammals as "pets"...the term "pet" really is to be interpreted in the sense of totem. There would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

Associated with the toxelyuwiš moiety are the crow (kankus), the eagle (toxil), the roadrunner, the killdeer, the osprey (soksu), the raven (hotoii), the antelope (soyul), and the beaver (ndebig).

Associated with the nutuwuts moiety are the following creatures, if identification by native description is correct: coyote (katyu), the burrowing owl Speotyto cunicularia (wečiča), the screech owl Otus asio (tokleli), the great horned owl Bubo virginianus (hutulu), the short-eared owl Asio flammeus (sawiyu), an owl called solili (translated as "billy owl," which would

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[65] Kroeber, Handbook, 494.

[66] These terms which refer to north and south fit with the Tachi topography, where the flow of water between Buena Vista and Tulare lakes and the Sanjon de San José into the San Joaquin River is from south to north. (There must have been some misunderstanding between informant and recorder, however, for hosim [north] would be downstream and homoti [south] upstream.) In the eastern portion of the valley where the rivers flow west or northwest, the downstream-upstream analogy fits with the moiety names Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (westward and eastward). A.H.G.

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tip: ´kn:ts (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on
756 Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko´lṭat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called ane´čwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true, authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

756 then he would dream of the creature. When he arose he ate and drank nothing but tobacco. He absented himself from home, walking about during the daytime. If possible he went to a pond of water where some supernatural animals might come out and talk to him. He did not have to take jimsonweed.

Moiety affiliations do not limit the walaṭ
616 talismans secured through dreams: thus Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) can be dreamt of by anybody. So
756 could the ground owl (wetiṭi), who was so commonly a shaman's helper "that people didn't know which side [moiety] he belonged on." Other owls were definitely Nutuwich, so that "if a Tokelyuwich person dreamt about owl, he'd think a Nutuwich doctor was talking about him." Such a dream visitor might even be recognized as a specific person's helper.

Those persons who did not want to possess
756 ṭ:pni (supernatural power) even for private use had to be respectful to a supernatural visitation when it came onsought. J.A. declared herself such. When a young woman she ate tobacco but dreamed nothing in result. She was a little fearful of power and really did not want it.

One night a white spider (kolok: ´lwoi
756 metsa) bit her. She threw it away but it came back to her. The spider said, "you are going
●187 to dance in [at?] the fire." She replied, "No, I wouldn't do that. Om na t:pni (I am not ṭ:pni). Don't bother me. I'm just a plain person."

Last year (1926) she dreamed an old man said to her, "I'd like you to be tiya." He offered her a big basket. J.A. did not want it, returned it to the old man. This man was remembering that her father's brother had been a chief. They argued for a bit, but J.A. maintained her negation. However, "she got sick later on because she didn't believe this," i.e., she made no prayerful or grateful response, had not thought of it as a supernatural dream.

A short time ago she dreamed that her present son-in-law [brother of her daughter's first husband] came and wanted to marry [?] Belle. He stood behind the door. Then he kicked J.A. over each eye. She woke up. She went to sleep again and dreamed that she was praying. Her daughter Belle stood there pointing to heaven "because some kind of devil was after her." When J.A. awoke in the morning she decided that this dream had no supernatural significance, that "there was nothing to it," that she and Belle were both good and did no one harm. She said to herself:

om na heuto ´ho
not I prostitute, (to go around)

om na lowai ´tna
not I male sexual partner

hina´ na na'as toṭi
happy I, I not bad

om na'as heho´ma topo´lṭi
not I to-get-rich genitals-by

756 Nevertheless, this was said in a prayerful manner, as if to convince herself and any un-
787 known power behind the dream, that all was well.
[548] [A neighbor of J.A.'s was said to be a prostitute. J.A. has tried to keep Belle out of difficulties with men lest she "lose her grub from the government."]

[555] In connection with dreams J.A. stated that a plain person (of no family prestige) "could dream and get to be something." A man could dream of Eagle, which would help him acquire wealth, and he would then be a chief (tiya).[82]

Dreams were regarded as actualities. If one dreamed that someone was gossiping about him, he would chide the person about his behavior at the first opportunity.[83]

756 The man who accepted dream help and wished to become a professional shaman continued his
787 fasting, dreaming, and praying over a long
778 period of time. He secured walat the talismans of his dream helper: they might be parts of animals or birds who were assisting him, or objects which they directed him to obtain. They might be a necklace of beads, or any object designated in a dream, such as a weasel skin, bird or animal heads, or a portion of the dream helper, its wing or tail feathers. The walat always referred to the dream helper and was indicated by it. An exception to this is the eagle-down strings, which always were imbued with tʿpni and were the common "tool" for magic. J.A. said a raven's head was a "good" walat, she had seen one which its owner kept wrapped in eagle down. Weasel skins were used in extracting "airshot."

A walat, once used, lost its usefulness. The owner took it out and hid it in some secluded spot, and if he wanted to live long, he would never take it out again. Owners of walat kept them carefully in some private place as they were dangerous, "they got mean if they were lost or carelessly handled; they talked about you."

The walat of the Chunut is identical with the ai´nʿtc of the Wukchumni. Both people used the word ana´twal to indicate the dream itself, or verbally for the process of dreaming. It appears that the foothill people use the first part of the word to indicate the dream talisman (ainʿtc), the lake people the second part (walat).

Sickness and Curing

755 In curing a patient a doctor took with him a flint knife for cutting, a bunch of hand

[82] This seems somewhat contrary to the inheritable nature of the office but agrees with her statements concerning Chunut chieftaincy made at another time.

[83] J.A. complained that some neighboring Indians were "talking about" her while I was there, and I could never discover whether this was real or dreamed.

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar;
753 this was called mɛts añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ´nɛl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and ṭɛpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person
828 in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by ṭɛpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and
[683] died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɛpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɛpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

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[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots").
756] These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the
[752] Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

> The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking
● [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

276 Jimsonweed grew in abundance on the plains. Bob Bautista's wife would dig up the plants for him; the digger abstained from meat for three days before setting out on the task. The plant was sprinkled with chicken-hawk down and addressed, "Well, tanai, I'm coming after you. I'm going to bury you in ashes and make a drink of you. A man is going to drink you."

The drink was made from the roots. These were roasted on hot coals under ashes "like sweet potatoes." This made them tender and juicier, and then the sap was wrung out of them into a large basket.

787 276 The decoction was made by the leader or one responsible for the affair. He had special songs, which J.A. did not remember. She did remember a Wechihit man, Wao´du'i (Tip), who came from Sanger to Lemoore to administer it. He gave each person a small basketful, saying as he did so, "Here is your drink. See what you can. May you see what you want to see." The drinker replied by addressing the tanai. "See me. See what I am. Show me my life."

While under the narcosis the drinker could see the causes of sickness. These often appeared as microcosms which they picked off the [756] invalid and threw on the fire (not on a basket; only shamans put sickness on a basket). They could also see poison on poisoned objects and these they would toss on the fire to be destroyed. An evil shaman who feared discovery through this means would "cover" the tanai's power with his own, so that the drinkers saw nothing.

The wife of one of J.A.'s maternal uncles, Ačkoi´yat (Julia), often took a little jimsonweed in order to see her dead sister. She wanted J.A. to take it, but J.A. didn't want to. She said she was afraid she would find out that she was going to die the next day, "and if I'm to die, I'll die anyway; I don't need to know about it."

She recalls that Poso'o (Bob Bautista), a noted shaman, took jimsonweed at least twice. She also remembers that two Choinimni men took a decoction in summertime and died (as a consequence of the stronger qualities of the mature plants ?).

757 276 Jimsonweed was used for medicinal and anaesthetic purposes. It was not used thus by shamans, but by any person, even one without a jimsonweed dream helper, who knew the practical procedure.

The leaves were sometimes mashed and put on sores. An old Chunut man did this and a narcosis resulted. J.A. and his wife were much afraid of him while he talked to persons known to be dead. He recovered in two or three days.

As an example, J.A. described the use of [752] jimsonweed on Lu´tsuk (Jim), who died as the result of a fight. Early one morning J.A. was awakened by shouting; with others, she ran out and found Lutsuk "hacked all over" and bleeding profusely. They covered his wounds with

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the [343] separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či''up, či''up, či''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed [787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

561 hiam pahata mukıs: growing girl, 8 to 10 years
hiam pahata wu'h'not: now big male, i.e., youth 10 to 20 years
goi'yuma: young girl or young matron (marriage not a factor), 10 to 20 years
witep mi'tač gutum: "young man," literally, little real male, 20 to 40 years
hiam pahata mitač mukıs: young mature woman, 30 to 40 years
pahata gu'tum: full-grown male (referred specifically to Henry Lawrence, 40 to 50 years)
moho'do gu'tum: old man, 50 or over
modo''o mu'kıs: old woman, past child-bearing

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

756 The informants S.G., J.P., M.P., M.L., and
787 Tm.W. contributed to the general account in this section. The following introductory statement is from S.G.

A doctor begins to practise a dream like a man would study a book. If he dreams, he goes out into the night and prays to his dream to help him. A man cannot be a doctor unless something tells him to be one. A man who dreams of curing somebody could be a doctor if he liked but he didn't have to do it. If a man wanted to stay ordinary he let his dreams pass, either because he didn't know how to ask their help or he didn't want to bother. Because if you start to get help you have to keep it up or you'll die. Haičača died because he made a mistake in practising.[248] If a man took his dream, he would fast all day and pray at night to his helper. In one or two years he might get enough power to cure. All that time he told nobody what he was trying to do.[249] He just kept dreaming and learning from his dream [helper], and only ate a little bit of food all the time.

Acquisition of Power

787 When a boy was about the age of ten or a
776 little older, his dreams became significant as a source of power. A lad might decide before-
778 hand what sort of helper he wanted, Rattlesnake, Bear, Coyote, Owl, etc., and he would be instructed to keep his mind upon this until he achieved it. All young people were encouraged to secure some supernatural help to aid them throughout life. The rigorous bathing and abstemiousness imposed upon adolescents was an aid to this end. The cleansing of one's stomach with the tobacco emetic, a method used by adults, and constant praying were thought to induce regular dreaming. When the sought-for

[248] J.P. also referred to this but I could get no account of his death.

[249] Did not tell publicly; he might confide in his parents or a helpful uncle or grandparent.

787 776 778 [237] dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream helper, which was usually an animal or bird. He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tipni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237 432] If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went [423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).
A [including the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there [where his body was] but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
787 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

Although theoretically any one might seek
756 power by this means, and the dream was its only
778 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to
787 "run in families" just as there was for other occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɛnl.

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɛč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

Supernatural power (tɛpni) bestowed by the
787 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the
778 helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɛč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

[P. 110 a] Wakchuma.

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like
[237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with ṭ·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain.c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

5. The power of flying, known to northern
756 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
789 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
237 Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 7. J.B. accused Čokon:k, a Choinimni
754 shaman of great power, of making his son ill.[261] "He was a big doctor. He thought I had lots of money so he made my boy sick. He made him sick and then cured him." Čokon:k used the sucking method; he exhibited a fingernail as the intrusive cause. During the treatment he talked to Owl, asking that tutelary to help him and telling Owl what he was going to do. He also rubbed the patient with a talisman (ain:č). He was well paid with money and baskets.

8. M.P. lived with her maternal grand-
755 mother after her own mother died. Both women mourned deeply for this death. M.P. became very ill from prolonged crying and fasting. She developed a chronic headache and could not see. Her uncle called a shaman. When he
[304] arrived, she was in a stupor. He cut her between the eyebrows,[262] at the back of the neck, and on the left breast. He sucked and extracted a lot of her own mother's hair from these wounds. The hair he wrapped around an eagle feather and then burned the whole thing. He explained that her mother had been trying to take her [to the afterworld], that the grandmother's continuous crying for her dead daughter had thus brought her back. Then M.P. was "able to get right up and eat."

[778] 9. M.P. had a headache on another occasion. The shaman who treated her [Haičača] had an owl head and a falcon head as talismans. He wet these in a small basket of water from Gutsnumi, which he kept calling on for help. He pressed the wet objects on her head and blew on it twice. Then he shook her head gently but rapidly back and forth. Then he cut between her eyes and sucked out "a little plain blood" which he burned.

756 10. The following affairs of Haičača were recounted by his niece, M.P.

Haičača (Jim Hangton) was one of M.P.'s maternal uncles. He became a shaman although his father was not one: Bear was their family totem. When he was young he did not eat any meat; he spent most of his time outdoors, away from the village, hunting. What game he brought home his grandmother skinned and cooked. The lad became hungry and asked for some meat, but his grandfather told him "not to look at meat, to just eat some acorn mush and go to bed." Haičača did as he was told.

During the night the old man poked the boy and his four brothers with a long pole, telling them to get up and go swimming as it was nearly morning. Sometimes he made them go in the middle of the night.[263] "The boys got awful tired of this."

756 Finally one night Haičača dreamed an enormous frog came to him. The frog said,
● 787 "Hello, napaš [brother's son, w.s.]. I will be your guiya [paternal aunt]. I will help you when you need me." The next morning the boy told the grandfather his dream. He was sent to swim and then to hunt until the afternoon. When he came home, his grandmother gave him a little

[261] J.A., a Chunut informant, also accused Čokon:k of malpractice (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 395).

[262] The scars are visible, as they are on other informants who have been subjected to this method of curing.

[263] Note that all the boys were subjected to the rigorous night bathing but only one became a shaman.

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainıč), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainıč) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."

Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
[237] of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
596 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
825 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Konoʼ'lkin. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epis) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

12. If an undesirable dream came to a
● 787 person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake
[756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when
[178 the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an
262] ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring
825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

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[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

533 539 5. aiyama´tɨn na pa´nɨn
worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yɨn do´mto panɨn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yɨn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 767 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
787 supernatural power might take it each year, or
276 every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it was announced twelve days in advance by a wina-
[262] tum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš:šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying
787 that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the time they were expected to awake several women
276 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s
533 mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
276 person would come, give the drinker a feather
755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
276 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
787 her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker,
[754] he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
884 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

231 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer
825 liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about Lɨmɨk [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the
648 Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki ˊ'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni ˊla); crying ritual (aha ˊna); washing ritual, either at

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´ɛ:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the 767 corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

The story of the man who followed his 765 wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., 773 and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on 302 women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he volun- [683] tarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 To be a doctor you had to have a dream 787 (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was 276

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is ɛn´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən)
787 was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate
276 dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to;
[237] P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

756 Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was
[754] caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

753 Ghosts frequently caused sickness called
755 hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would
775 catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

754 Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning
[668] was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

755 An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wis.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwis (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

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[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance --A dance (he´šɨš na´mɨt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešɨš namɨt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɨt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɨ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24]A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25]Latta, op. cit., 40.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or
●787 three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭ' ́pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi ́te luni ́ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni ́ša) lasted for a six-day week called ču ́lipi laka ́n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče´kamni, the handle, ti´mɛs, the hooks or detachable points, mike´, and the strings, hilu´s. Speared fish were: e´pɛs
[262] (lake trout), poi´yəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gai´hɛt (salmon).

The carrying basket (a´naš) was "used by
482 every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɛ´n).

The carrying net (wa´lak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (pai´yɛn) at bedrock
252 mortars (tinɛl), using a large pestle (če'; 412 pa´lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki´nɛm (ti´pɛn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Tobacco.---Tobacco (pa´'om) grew plenti-
276 fully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo´gən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa´mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su´ktao, pipe of elderwood [su´kut]; si´kɛlao, pipe of cane [sikɛll]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

At night before going to bed, men or
[787] women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi´wɛš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin
281 blanket (xeu´či; cexɛ´na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo´n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

Ferrying.---Everyone was a good swimmer,
481 but children, sick persons, and goods some-
501 times had to be taken across the San Joaquin
285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur-
484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te´wɛč (taskai´, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A
[758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

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[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 158 b] Dumna

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
the decoction they ceased eating and drinking
276 entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[752 B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed
189] as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

796 Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co'kon:k and Pusl:l:n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

● 787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

[P. 159 a] DUMNA

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text continues top of page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain [826] for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] [46]B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47]Gayton and Newman, 28.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [740] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of 276 tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good 481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
to have belonged, and the door opened. Within
422 were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins --
all valuable things. He could take anything he
wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
556 these "had too much power." They served as
786 guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a
stranger should succeed in entering the pački,
he would be afraid to take anything as he would
not know which ones he could safely touch [sic]
(see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had
acquired much power, his helpers might tell him
to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doc-
tor did that he would get mean and care no more
for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a
shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
●787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a
dream, he rose and went out into the hills,
where he "lay down to dream some more." The
dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to
him, gave him a song and instructions about
curing, and told him what talismans to use.
The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking
prayerfully to his assistant. As the man
dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals"
came more readily, so he was often away for
days at a time. It would be said of such a
man, "panaˈnıt aˈmın časaˈšti (coming his help-
er; čeˈsaš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was
there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four
days. No one at home knew where he was, and
often people went out in search of him. While
he was in the pački the animals told him what
to do. They gave him more songs and danced
with him all night. They gave him his regalia:
"this just appeared on him, nobody knew where
it came from." Later on, when he needed more
things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he
would go back to the pački to get them. At the
end of four days the animals sent him out, but
instead of going home he remained in the hills
two more days [total, six]. The animals in-
structed him to do this as "he would die" if he
went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he
made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announc-
ing the beginning of his career. He did not
again dream of his helpers but called on them
when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his
power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 170 a] Kechayi

754 Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

755 Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokon:k sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

753 Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not
755 growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

787 Dreams of the dead caused sickness.
753

769 Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her
755 dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

756 This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was t:pni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

778 E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai':č, had power from
157 Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.
273

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mıč (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ıč was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [564] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipıt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipıt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

787 756 Plain people who did not seek to become doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 774 787 E.M. could not define the nature of dream experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 796 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai ´ʼi kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bx:n, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force (ṭ:pni). The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 956 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ´ǎna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Goh:l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n:š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and
535 frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokon:k's daughter, who some-
789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh:l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai':č, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokon:k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 Old people made a practice of eating to-
887 bacco and lime frequently. They would gather
[574] at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams
[171] as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

● 787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any
765 special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[804] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

769 say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, [787] not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further [431] stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the [184 420] extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

[276] Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131] P. 387.

[132] Ibid., 385.

756 illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken [752] bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

756 Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an 787 animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

[144] Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

756 meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him
787 to go home. She then filled up his hole with stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he
787 was a doctor.

The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dream-
224 ing of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a
825 certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 M.W. said he had an aunt who received
825 power from Deer. Once when she was a young girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 207 9] Chukchansi

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.
787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
278 ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.
There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[345] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[345] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region,
791 Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetx, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
787 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people can't see. When a doctor wants to see some-
787 thing away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
787 it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young
[887] person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates
[184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

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The Transvestite

838 [767] The male transvestite (tono č:m, Michahai; tai ´yap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

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[787] 767 The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonoč:m figures in a myth told by S.O. [773] In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

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While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture. [767]

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Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

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na´na hua´čiči: newborn boy
hu´´pi hua´čiči: newborn girl
na´nači: boy about two years old
si´i´sači: girl about two years old
hua´wuha na´nači (or si´isači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na´nop na´nači: boy five to ten years old
hu´u´pi mo´nanop: girl five to ten years old
moa´bi na´nop: youth twelve to twenty years old

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 239 a] Western Mono

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doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɛ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɛč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

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Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

W Y 787

the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

W Y [821] [778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

W Y [778]

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainɛč. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tɛ́pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [ahaʼbawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

[P. 240b] Wesley Memo NS25

W 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bun:t, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W Y [606] 153 [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

W Y 755 dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

W Y 756 627 If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

W Y 787 276 755 1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "M·čk·t [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ain·č (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

CP. 242 b] [illegible] NS 25

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

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·hunai´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw·´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [·niša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo´ni; ·nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

W Y "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see
787 you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]
To accept a dream of this type, i.e.,
778 getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competi-
756 tive amount of tapni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except
778 to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the
787 person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

[That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.]

Flying Power

W Y A special type of power, that of jumping
791 or "flying" through space for a considerable

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[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao pa´´anao na mum ia´´ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [825]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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756 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and
778 to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances
787 in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in
[823] pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

> Whose is this fish to shoot?
> Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never
[539] left the earth. This is his song:

> The other says: Run in the brush;
> Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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 756

went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary. 778 787

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki. 756

A bear doctor's song: 778

Again he comes, 787
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him: 533 539

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable. 756

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked 755

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 171 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokuts and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
182 tioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are
153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

182 Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed
787 to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things,
825 and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and
152 Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the
182 dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between
787 tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security"
825 perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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 825

shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote). 152 182 787 [757]

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28] 182 155

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as: the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul- 182

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and teecae; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige 622 based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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796 826 614 [787]

The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[22]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 [755] [782]

The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[23]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344

A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[22] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[23] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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624 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot
171 be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[50]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USE OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the [illegible] and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief[illegible] ir mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose [illegible] it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper,
787 usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[50] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[51]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[51] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [276] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

mĭnimon	kiolĭn	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position: Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

182 614 622 626

[624]

The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

182 756

[787]

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182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just before sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully [788] puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called ŠuhuwA´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[225] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but 323 were clumsy affairs.[226] The shape follows the old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

[225] Handbook, 538.

[226] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

787 dream occurred, the dreamer rose and went away
776 from surrounding dwellings to talk to his dream
778 helper, which was usually an animal or bird.
He took eagle down with him and sprinkled it
[237] over little oak trees. Nothing was seen [no "vision"] during this interlude; it was merely a prayerful acknowledgment of the previous dream appearance of the helper, with a request for continued assistance. S.G. said that the dreamer should repeat this exit from the house about every half-hour after waking from the dream; other informants said that once was sufficient. The real point was that the dreamer should not fall asleep again: probably some found it necessary to remain active lest sleep overcome them. If one fell asleep and the dream were forgotten, it would not only be "lost," but the helper would be so deeply offended it would never come again, or might even cause sickness. The day following the dream the dreamer fasted entirely and went off to some secluded spot to continue his prayerful contacts with his tutelary. A few puffs of smoke might be taken at that time.

[788] All persons with supernatural power, and those respectful to this cosmic force, tıpni, spoke prayerfully to the sun, moon, and morning star when they first saw them each day.

J.P. and M.P. described the procedure of seeking and dealing with supernatural power.

[237 432] If a man wanted to live long or wished for other benefits, he would go to a chief and buy some eagle down (čayi). (He could resell all or any part of this if he wished.) Some winter night, no matter how cold, he would go off to a distant hilltop. He wore no clothes and went about midnight. Before starting he chewed a little tobacco and then spat it out. At the hilltop he would scatter eagle down and in a standing posture "talk to those two tia'as" (Eagle and Wolf [sic; Mountain Coyote]). He would enumerate all those things which he did not want to happen to him and all those which he did want. He stayed and talked this way for about thirty minutes; Eagle or Wolf would reply.

No fasting preceded such an expedition and there was no particular name for the spot where the prayers were made. A chief usually went
[423] repeatedly to the same place, which by general consent was known to be his and avoided. Women occasionally sought help in this manner but would not go so far from their home as men. The preferred time for seeking supernatural aid was in midwinter "about Christmas time during the bad month" and it was only done once a year.[250] (It was at this time that youths were forced to rise and bathe in icy water at night.) If the seeker passed a stream of water on the way

[250] Reminiscent of the midwinter spiritual period of certain northwestern tribes (cf. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, 260, 266; Ray, Cultural Relations, 102 ff.).
[excluding the puberty and initiation ceremony.— Analyst]

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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533 30. Another.

539 yahī lulumai
192 yahīmai lulūmai
sawawa kanama
tanīyo
yapīwipiwimai
tawana tainiyo
hilalīkiyo
t·awat·i t·awat·

31. Another.

hila ma tä	you
hayäwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
waatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsīmi	cold
hòsīwimīne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanä-na-ma	hear
hòsimi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
● 788 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart
796 and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitauriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782	silkawil	nan
	[illegible]	me
192	silka-nan	töweiut
	see me	name (= maker)
539	silka-nan	bamäeiut
	see me	name
	silka-nan	yoxäxalt
	see me	name (= crusher?)
	silka-nan	etebpat
	see me	name

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wōkitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanna	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wōkitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanna	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.

[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tōwsyutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tūsshist	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Bamasshist
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hlamu	pāna
we	have	live	long	world
behi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave	me	with-a-little	sun
anè	nan	yòt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heneit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

Rain-Making

●789 The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

[823] Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[93] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[94]

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[93] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[94] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but ARE, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[55]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta ̃nai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya ́mi na·watsa ́ meke ́' elao ́ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (ṭ·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi ́ṭ·p a ́ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (ṭ·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[30] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[55] Handbook, 54, 518.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kṭo). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots").
756 These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the
[752] Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking
[787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

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[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
of the plant which "made him crazy for about
two weeks and then he died." He became swollen
[752] and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´čɨk, who
756 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
825 snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[55]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[184] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115] [55] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsumni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

[P. 47a] Palewyam. Tubatulabal USSR

would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´´no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.N.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him un-
791 duly and he became very angry. The following day he called on all his powers (ai´nıč) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čen revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Puši·lın, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai ''·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (tɛ´pnɛm, supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell [262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[784] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogon) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [789] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´w:š) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'up:č. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.--A cigarette of cane (ka´dk:d) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (l:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He
845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan,
656 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
754 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
789 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds,
pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
756 would change into an owl that went and talked
789 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
under conditions of great stress into the form
778 of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed
756 person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

756
789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Ela´mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

756
754 Shamans were feared because of their ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

683
756 When a shaman was believed to be a public menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi´auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki´pat, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi´li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain:c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 5. The power of flying, known to northern
789 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
237 Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

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[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ı́lkın. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epıs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake
[756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when
[178 the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an
262] ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789
825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with profession-
al entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 128 a] Wukchumni

769 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-
535 turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Šá´maka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (tai´´iwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonıl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money
[152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest
769 was called gokosyu ñıt. It was a more or less
769 spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hı´šwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 128 b] Wukchumni

756 Annual Mourning Ceremony.[260] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

789 769 [616]

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[171] [260] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the
[152] tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

756 used his hand feather bunch to brush down the
769 body of the patient. A winatum held a tray be-
789 side him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

754 In discussing the revivings, J.P. said
756 that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of
769 one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim,
789 "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[261]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

769 On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday)
767 the group of people known as tonoč:m who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč:m, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[262] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´t:č) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonoč:m approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[263] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonoč:m danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[261] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[262] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Wakzachi, if any Western Mono tonoč:m were present.

[263] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 426 During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ɛšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'ɛšna mayɛn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ɛšna mayɛn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 756 ●789 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kesyu´ñɛt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyɛč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kɛč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only
769 at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and
535 Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´t:s was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokon:k, although J.B. had seen Ma´m:l, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñ:t. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[48] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dow:ñ) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and
[198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the
[184] ritual was called ka´m:ts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Nuwu) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
668 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a
796 Holpuma maybe," from the northeast.[a] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[a] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´´o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po´o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Mašinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´´ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious. [789]

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day; the Huhuna Dance
535 in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
756 (hə´ẃaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest
● 789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušl:l:n and Kapl:l:n are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyoš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, *they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying* "h"! h"!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl:l:n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´w:ts nao´ẃa, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[i.e., of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipəč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

te·pin i te'i (tipni)

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[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756

789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se·'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or 177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who 821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was 276 poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Mobonuch and Chumut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɨn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´´ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ´ɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed
[856 from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

[611]

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a ˈnuṭùn ti ˈša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 A distinction was made between the doctor (a ˈnṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču ˈduñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as [535 dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty 778] of ṭɛpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

535 said this was danced at any ceremony if asked
796 for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on
[237] their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and
302] black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then
796 they pretended to dance into the fire and
535 frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who some-
●789 times danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ıč, another Bear dancer.)

796 Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the
522 ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a charac-
616 ter representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin,
[302] cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics in-
[786] cluded yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

796 Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The
789 doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors.
756 The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made
787 them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

789 Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

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[P. 173 b] Kechayi

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 796 751 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were always that way [south]." But in spring everyone were an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 276 The ritual (tañi ʼša) of drinking jimsonweed (ta ñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ʼyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes [292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ:pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'ːč) was present: he [554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʿn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni ʿza) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·ʿi) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·ʿi for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta ʿowič ano ʿza) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu ʿsia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

769 He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
●789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čuku ʿya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

769 Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
756 could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not 251 personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

Quail soup might be given an infant two or
853 three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
[856 had reached the age of at least two months. The
purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

Children nursed several years. Though
853 nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
868 with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
756 kill any animal of that breed. One actual animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

787 She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
556 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
[789] guard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
278 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

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[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

756 galial and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
789 tween shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
276 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just
756 like marijuana. You see things other people can't see. When a doctor wants to see some-
787 thing away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tapni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is <u>you</u> who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he <u>was</u> following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

<u>Flying Power</u>

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao pa´´anao na mum ia´´ilm (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

W Y 791 789

distance, was called mai´´iwɨn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

W Y 613 825 648

The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɨč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by W Y [789] severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

W Y 789 791

Rain-making

There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mak and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

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Jimsonweed Ritual

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Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

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At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 248 a] Western Mono NS25

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with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

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Bear Dance.---According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tuĕao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

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Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.---This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

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Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
796 Il: ´pča. (Il: ´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao':č, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and
W put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not
● Y brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the
796 money had all been discovered, a shaman came on the scene. The winatum of the chief made a
541 little fire at which the shaman manufactured
● 789 invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the
756 shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places (villages)."

W Pleasure Dance.--This dance (h: ´ž:šna´n:č)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that W Y [831] he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahum ile´hıč (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čaoıč) and clapper (ta´ohıl).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 756 789 pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

W Y [534] When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

W Y 769 Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak:na´n:č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

W Y [426]

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

W Y [182]

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowish* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove
● 789 his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern
[778] tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the Cali-
[428] fornia archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry. 224 [789]

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed. 223

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles. [782]

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *rademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the 226 [285]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

226 three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top 226 [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

789 "That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of [782] weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

224 San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer. [764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
778 stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

these magic stones to vary much in size and proportions, but to be all of the same general shape. They are often referred to as plummets, or plumb-bobs, and are commonly known to collectors as charm-stones. 789 778

Charm-stones have been found throughout Yokuts territory. Along streams and about the shores of valley lakes they have been discovered in great numbers. Away from the old bodies of water they have occasionally been brought to the surface by plowing. When the waters of Tulare Lake began to recede during the late 1880's and early 1890's these stones were found by hundreds along the lower shores. Dr. Ed. Smith of Hanford made a large collection of them along those shorelines and in the lowest portion of the dry lake bed. He once told me that during one week-end, traveling with horse and buggy, he gathered one hundred and eighty-four Yokuts Rainmakers' charm stones.

Pioneer San Joaquin Valley residents have furnished numerous parallel data, stating that these stones were used to bring fish up the streams and to bring success in fishing. A few have stated that they were also used in connection with a rainmaking ceremony. Zachary T. Blankenship, of Visalia, once told me that they were used to bring water into streams during drought, and to induce the large trout of Tulare Lake to migrate up the various branches of the lower Kaweah River. Said "Zac", "Soon after it left the Sierra foothills the Kaweah River divided into six branches—Outside Creek, Deep Creek, Cameron Creek, Packwood Creek, Mill Creek and St. John's River, which, in its lower course, is known as Cross Creek. Sometimes the heads of some of these creeks would choke with sand and brush so that the water could not run down them. Then the Indian Medicine Men had to get busy with their plumb-bobs and put on a song and dance calculated to bring the water back. [226]

"Each year the large lake trout would run up some of the Kaweah Creeks, but they did not always run up all of them. This cut some of the Indian camps out of their fishing. They hung those plumb-bobs on the willow trees in order to make the fish come up to them. I never saw this done, but I know it to be true, for I was told about it by an old Indian who lived on Outside Creek. I found one of those plumb-bob stones hanging on a tree. It took my fancy. There was no one in sight, so I cut it loose, put it in my pocket and took it home. We had sev-

[text continues on p. 204]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-
124 blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539 533]

Toke'-un lih'-nuh	*Wa-tin-hin*	*nah*	*Yo'*
(west side)	(straight path)	(me)	(to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne	*Ah-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village)	(this is I)	(charm stone)	(over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahntru*. They wanted to be Tripne.

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago."

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery.

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield. and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

172 key to the nest burials of charm-stones. This appeared in a
778 pamphlet titled, *Contributions to Local History,* and gives the history of the territory surrounding Mountain View, in northern Santa Clara County. Here is her account:

"The most interesting specimens of rude aboriginal art are charm or sorcery stones. Ray Dexter has one with the polish worn off that he found in the slough, and Frank Francis has another and highly polished one of a fine-grained, hard stone that was found on the Rev. Mr. Crittenden's ranch. Many charm stones are reported from Mr. Summer's ranch. These stones are of various shapes and sizes. The purpose for which they were used, at what time, it seems not easy to make out. But our comparatively recent Indians finding these stones attributed to them magical powers.

"No less than six theories have been advanced with regard to their use. They have been found in too many forms for games; too heavy for personal adornment; as plummets they would have been of no use to a people who lived in huts, or no shelter whatever; sinkers they need not be, when many stones in the creek would answer fully as well; the small knob on the end of nearly all of them caused them to be of less service than the common pestle; and the investigators came to the conclusion they were used for religious purposes, and in this way they found they were correct, as a few old Indians confirmed this idea.

172 "The Indian medicine man used to collect twelve or maybe
778 twenty charm stones and arrange them in the form of a circle, with another very different stone in the center, and over these
789 he sprinkled the seed of the wild sage, feathers and red ochre, when war, sickness, drought or famine came to the tribe. He would next thrust the stones violently together, all the time muttering his incantations - - - - - .

"These charm stones were also suspended by a string over the water where they were fishing, hung from trees to call the fish up the streams, and at points in the mountains favorable for hunting."

It would almost seem that Mary J. Gates had actually interviewed Mr. Zachary T. Blankenship, quoted above. And does her article not explain why our San Joaquin Valley charm-stones were buried in nests? Were not all ten burials described above located on streams that had changed their channels? Can

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun. 778 789

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the *Tulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain. 791 484 [789]

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch. 411 [237 322] [381]

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter. [283]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tulé Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom 115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts 989 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier. 796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who 989 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him 578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans 791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of 989 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground, picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

After telling about the successful display of power by the weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [53]

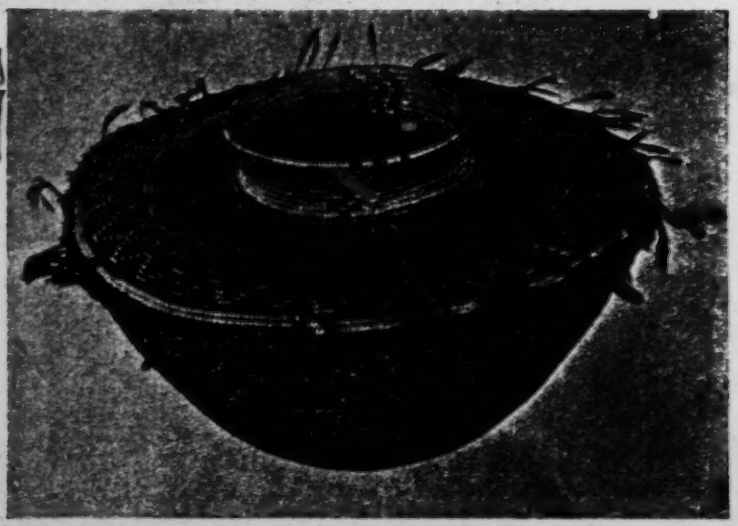

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be- [789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. 533
In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75).

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This 538
song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area.

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he	palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw	palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ks way na yo ks wa ks wa		where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach his curing power, 539
Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater en- 756
trance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake [789]
(kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma [825]
and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by.

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PM, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 ● 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

Y 756 ●789 [415] 791

in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T Y 756 789 791

Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T 173 756 789 791

One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

[P. 47a] Palewyan. Tubatulabal NS22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him unduly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (aí·n·č) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čen revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Pušl·l·n, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai ''·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302
386 (hoso ˈša, J.B.; hoso ˈhıt, M.L.; white color, čau ˈded, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

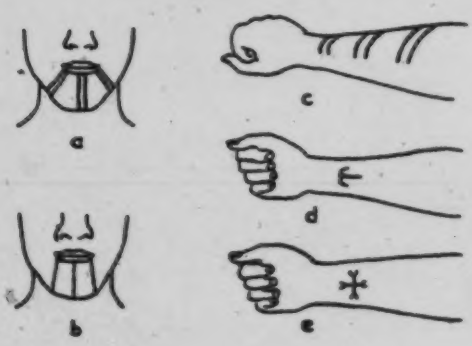

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.---A dance (he´šiš na´mit)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešiš namit dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wit) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Si´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24] A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25] Latta, op. cit., 40.

755 about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

754 When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was be-
768 lieved that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

754 Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

756 Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing
[791] shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of

[143] The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Enker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.
787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
778 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

● 791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water,
789 then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

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787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

To accept a dream of this type, i.e.,
778 getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

5. It was not considered wise or in good
W taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but
Y particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competi-
756 tive amount of tapni. "People never told what
778 they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person
787 said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year [hibernation period], he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

[That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.]

Flying Power

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791 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable
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[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao pa´´anac na mum ia´´ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

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distance, was called mai´´iwan by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi´i´i´i´!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainač) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 245 a Yokuts, Mono NS25

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter W Y into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. Intrusive objects were always projected by a [755] shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particu- W larly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps Y in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be [789] based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was 754 going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

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Rain-making

● Y

789 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central ● 791 and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mik and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

W Y 789

Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

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There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

W Y 796 276

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

W Y [758]

At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid
791 white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer.
[764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain-
[292 302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry-
648 ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic
778 stone, which when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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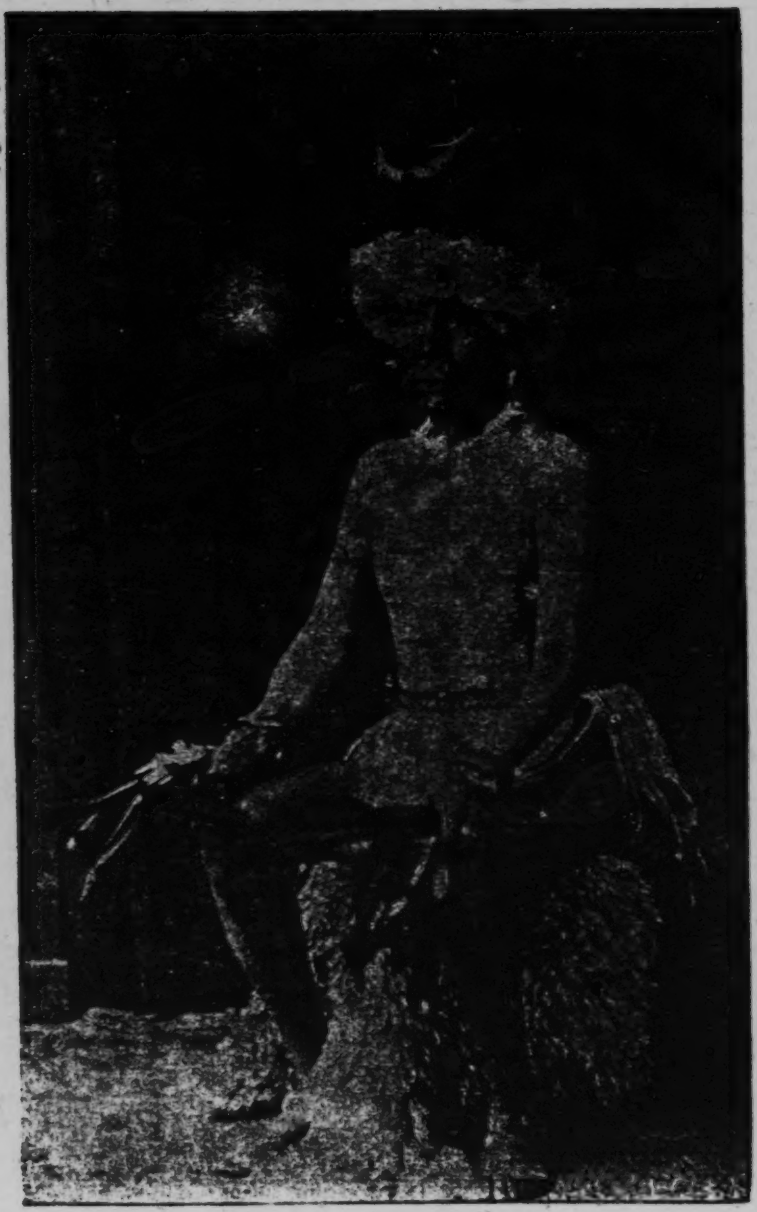

[p.202]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sinel, a Tachi medicine man and rain-maker from the north shore of Tulare Lake. He was born and died at the old Tachi village of Waiu, southeast of present Lemoore. His medicine costume is authentic, except for the wire belt and the beaded band worn diagonally across his chest. The wristlets and necklace are made of primitive periwinkle shell and soapstone beads. The large spangles are of abalone shell. The top of the headdress is made of magpie tail feathers, surrounded by a string of fine, down-covered feathers from the breast of the eagle. Next below is a mass of split crow tail-feathers and around the brow is a down-covered band. In the older days Sinel's face and body would have been painted black, his face decorated with large dots and his legs and arms with stripes of pure white paint made of native chalk. The ear ornaments are made of sparrow hawk and flicker feathers, the batons of red-tailed hawk and sparrow-hawk feathers. The skirt is made of milkweed strings into which have been twisted down from the breast of the eagle. The tips of the skirt strings have tied to them the tips of the tail feathers from the red-tailed hawk. Photo furnished by Mrs. Mary Pohut.

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[p. 203]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 826 614 [787]

The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[82]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796

The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[83]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

[755] [782]

622 344

A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[82] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[83] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the [566] ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 792 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 262 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 224] on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and 791 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tēss*). Ke'-ya, who 484 lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.*

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there 164 was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791 chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796 arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302] either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177] Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their more elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535 inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177] from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181 a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648 take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177 of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302] appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

583

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585 virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435 anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate- 834

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NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom
115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts
789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.
796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who
789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him
578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans
791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of
789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground, picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

After telling about the successful display of power by the weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

Y 756 789 [415] 791

in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

T Y 756 789 791

Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

T 173 756 789 791

One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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*161 northeast to east-northeast of Mission San Jose. The account at this point is not particularly lucid. The entry for October 20 states that at Pescadero the gentiles were having a dance (bayle). That for the following day begins with the statement that at dawn Viader's party attacked ". . . asaltamos una rancheria de este lado del rio y solo escapo un Christiano . . . ." Then they attacked another rancheria on the other side of the river and captured 15 Christians and 69 gentiles. From the context it may be inferred that the first rancheria attacked was the one at which the dance was being celebrated on the evening of the 20th, that is to say, Pescadero. If it was, then there was another, quite sizable, village just across the river. If the first village was not Pescadero, then there were two other villages in close proximity to it.

The next visitor was Fr. Ramon Abella, who left San Francisco by boat on October 15, 1811. Passing Sherman Island on the 16th and wandering erratically through the swamps he reached the "tierra de los cholbones" on the next day. On October 20 he reached the village of Pescadero but made no comment on it in his diary. After examining the territory of the Cosmistas and Boyboses 5 to 15 miles to the east, the party turned about 8 to 9 miles (3 leagues) northwest, following the general trend of the river downstream. At this point they found a rancheria of 900 persons "divididas en tres rancherias, alguna distancia una de otras. No vimos que la una: Se presentan como 150 personas . . . y nos enseñaron al desembarcadero y las mismas casas que havía duplicado gente . . . ." Abella's distances are extremely inaccurate but it is apparent that the three villages mentioned were north or northwest of Pescadero.

The key village in this complex is Pescadero, a rancheria to which repeated reference is made in the documents of the period and whose identity neither Viader nor Abella could have mistaken. That it belonged to the Bolbones is attested by Viader's expression ". . . la rancheria de los Cholvones." Viader saw at least one and perhaps two other villages near by belonging to the same tribe. Abella clearly states that he saw three rancherias in addition to Pescadero. One of these may have been the one attacked by Viader, and if so, the entire group included a minimum of four villages. Otherwise, there were at least five. Abella's count of 900 persons for the three villages appears accurate and reasonable. On the other hand, Pescadero was evidently regarded as the most important rancheria of the area and probably was more populous than any other. Hence it must have contained no less than 400 persons. The sum of the four villages would then be 1,300.

Between 1806 and 1811 the mission records show a total of 200 baptisms ascribed to the Cholbones, most of them at San Jose. In addition, there were 81 baptisms from 1821 to 1828 designated Chilamne. At the time of Abella's visit, therefore, the area had been subject to repeated raids for the purpose of securing converts and must have undergone serious social and economic disturbance of the type noted throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. Merely adding the 200 missionized natives would bring the population estimate for the Bolbones up to 1,500, and the aboriginal value was probably even higher. [795]

The Jusmites, or Cosmistas, are credited by Schenck with "a village plus," meaning certainly one and probably two or more. Viader, on his second expedition, found "los indios Jusmites" about 2-1/2 leagues southeast of and up the river from the second village, which he at-

*161 of distances. Here Duran counted 35 houses whereas Argüello says 36, a sufficiently close correspondence. As indicated previously, a population of 315 persons is probable. Continuing their journey, they went on for 4 miles (Argüello); Duran says approximately 3 leagues. There they stopped at a rancheria, "arruinada" according to Argüello, although Duran makes no mention of this.

On May 18 the party went on upstream, making during the day 4 leagues (Duran) or 16 miles (Argüello). Duran states that after going 1 league they got back into the main stream of the Sacramento. This was clearly at the head of Grand Island, close to Courtland. At 1 league beyond this point, on May 19, they found the rancheria Chuppumne, which was deserted. The location therefore was very close to that shown by Schenck on his map (p. 133) and, if we can put any credence in the Duran-Argüello account, a good many miles north of Chucumes. Near Chuppumne Duran saw three other rancherias in the distance (inland ?) but could not get at them. On May 20 the expedition pressed on upstream for 5 miles (Argüello) or 4 leagues (Duran), at which point they turned around and began the return trip. On May 21 Argüello says that they passed "algunas rancherias," all deserted, which may well have been those mentioned by Duran on May 19.

On the river frontage covered from May 17 to May 21 the expedition saw a minimum of 6 villages, 2 of which are mentioned by name (Chucumes and Chuppumne) and for 1 of which the houses were counted. If all these villages were of comparable size—as they may have been aboriginally—then the total population represented would have been 1,800. This estimate would of course not include other villages which the expedition did not see.

[195] [199] The mission records show for San Jose a total of 377 persons baptized from Chucumne and Chuppumne, of whom 322 were converted during 1823 and 1824. We may predicate, therefore, a residual population of 700 to 800 just prior to those years. That the area had suffered severely before that is attested by the deserted and "ruined" rancherias seen by Duran in 1817. It is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached a value of 1,500.

(Chucumes, Chuppumne ..... 1,500)

Chupunes (Chupcanes), Tarquines (Tarquimenes, Tauquines), Julpunes (Tulpunes) and Ompines.—This constellation of tribes is best considered collectively, first, because there are no direct estimates of their population, and second, because they occupied a relatively unified area.

Schenck places them along the south shore of Suisun Bay from the east entrance of Carquinez Strait and [131] through the slough region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers as far upstream as Isleton on the Sacramento. However, he points out that there is great uncertainty with respect to their exact location, an uncertainty which is emphasized by the wide divergence between his views and those of Merriam. Even the Spanish accounts present numerous discrepancies. In view of this state of our knowledge Schenck makes the very reasonable suggestion that the lower delta tribes may have been so greatly disturbed and shifted around during the period from 1775 to 1810 that the aboriginal locations were forgotten. It is worth while to examine in some detail some of the evidence on this problem. We may begin with examination of the area at and just east of Carquinez Strait on the south shore of Suisun Bay. This

1: Gayton
●796

[For information on the annual mourning ceremonies, see Category 769. --Analyst]

616 distantly related called each other yoko´čn·m (person my, or "my people"); other co-moiety members they merely called noči´n·m (friend my). Members of the same lineage referred to themselves collectively as ta'a´tin·m (relatives, or "my own folks"). It was permissible for co-parents-in-law (ma´kši) to marry, but this rarely happened. No cousin marriage, either cross or parallel, up to and usually including thirdcousinship, was permitted.

The ceremonial functions of the moieties are mentioned elsewhere. In brief, reciprocal opposition prevailed at first-fruit rites, at ceremonial washings, possibly at one purely social dance, during games played at mourning ceremonies, and during the hand game. It did not affect the Shamans' Contest, the Rattlesnake Ritual, nor did it in any way appear in the more personal aspects of shamans' activities such as curing or persecuting their fellow men.

616 Redemption of totem animal.-- The rite of making a payment for a totemic animal was
● 796 called siwa´lun·ts, and was confined to Eagle and Coyote by the Chunut, according to J.A. Sometimes a man from the foothills would come to a plains chief with an eagle, which might be a live bird or dead. In either case the bird was put down on a mat with its wings outspread and, under supervision of the Tokelyuwich chiefs, persons of that moiety cast bead money over it. All the spectators, regardless of moiety, wept. The money (all or part?) was given to the visiting man by the Tokelyuwich chief, who kept the eagle. But members of the Nutuwich moiety were responsible for its final disposition. If the bird was dead, they took
[231 it back to the foothills for burial; if alive,
184] it was they who freed it. Eaglets were never kept and reared as in the foothills.

A dead coyote was "redeemed" in the same way by people of the Nutuwich moiety, but this was not, apparently, a public affair. Any Nutuwich person who wished to would pay for the
[778] coyote, whose carcass would then be buried, its hide being kept as a talisman.

Bears were not redeemed.

[231] Occasionally people kept pets; a Tokelyuwich chief might keep a pair of crows. J.A.'s mother once had two baby skunks, which she kept and fed on a tray.

For the Tachi Gifford gives the following, which agrees well with the Chunut information save on the matter of coyote redemption.

> The people of one moiety might kill the "pets" [totemic animals] of the other moiety, but not of their own. This prohibition applied not only to a man's own pet, but to all of the totems of his moiety. Nor might a man have a person of the opposite moiety kill one of his moiety's pets. In fact when one was killed, it was the duty of the people of the moiety with which it was connected to redeem it and bury it properly.

616 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety
796 chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 If delivery was difficult, it was attrib-
uted to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth,
[756] but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

The mother remained on a bed of hot stones
846 and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752-
276 For fractures the skin was scarified all around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č·k, who handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe,
825 not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toič·k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič·k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[144] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsumni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

796 had the ability. It is classified as a "dance" by its name "magic dance" (tːpni ha´tim) in Chunut. Poso'o and Sapagai (a Wowol ?) were the only two doctors known to J.A. who could do this.

In the early spring these men "were careful about what they ate"; they ate nothing made of a new seasonal crop, as, for example, young tule roots. About the middle of February they gave their performance at night by a fire. (These were individual affairs, however.) At least one singer served as accompanist (Jim Wilcox sang for Poso'o, who used a cocoon rattle). The doctor danced almost continuously all night, while the singer sang a series of songs about "birds and animals." Not all these
796 songs had words. Two of them which J.A. recalls are "soisoi maiyin" (see Wukchumni) and
539 the following:

ma´'an(a) gut hoi´yiuhːn
you that come back

pa´wus mai´yiːk ye´ha ye·e·e·e·'ha
seeds are coming, coming

uya´yi uya´yi
[exclamation]

hotːnihː´nke wača´ma
[burning?] shaking hand feathers

hia´ma ṭa'iho´awa
now reddening

so´pas inana´he
[a plant with red berries]

wi´ya ṭa´ho'iwahːn
will be reddening

796 At some time during the night the magic display was made. Poso'o made seeds of food plants appear on the floor by the fire; if many seeds of a certain kind were manifest, it indicated that these would be plentiful.

Sapagai's exhibition was more elaborate. He danced about near the fire. When he kicked the ground, seeds appeared all over it. Then he would stamp on the ground, and the plants themselves were there, growing. Another demonstration made use of the ornamental bunch of feathers (sonːl) carried by doctors in their hands and used in curing processes. Sapagai would hold his sonːl over a large tray, and when he squeezed it downwards, seeds fell from it onto the tray. But the seeds were magical, not real, and melted away before the spectators' eyes.

During this display the people would query the shaman about the crops of wild seeds for the coming season. "Where were the seeds going to grow?" He would point in certain directions, or even reply that they would be prolific near a specific person's seed-gathering place.

796 At the end of the singing and dancing[a] people who had long illnesses would be brought
[755] in to be cured. The shaman brushed off the patient with a flipping motion of his hand feathers. Neither doctor nor patients ate any meat for six days after this performance.[101]

765 The Huhuna Dance, which in the foothills is part of the annual mourning celebration but may also occur as a discrete entertainment, was known in the lake region only as an adjunct to the mourning ceremonies. J.A. recalls a performance at Tule River Reservation some twenty years ago, and another in Tachi territory when she was a little girl. Her failure to give a specific account of this for the Chunut fits
[184] with the Tachi (M.G.) statement that the Choinuk, Telamni, and northerners (Hoshima) lacked the dance. For its description see "Mourning Ceremony."

796 Guksai is a name mistakenly applied to Huhuna by some informants. J.A. clearly distinguished between the two and, indeed, was the one person who had seen and knew exactly who Guksai was. She saw this dancer at a mourning ceremony in Drum Valley; his performance followed immediately upon Huhuna's.

This man was a doctor. His tribal affiliation was not known to J.A., who thinks he
[756] might have been Choinimni. He was dressed, not in Huhuna's long feather robe, but in the usual doctor's regalia: feather headdress (sema and ču), feather strand skirt, white paint (ho´ŏot) in streaks on his body but none on his face; he carried a bone whistle. He danced about by himself, then he would sit down for a while and sing to an accompaniment: Huhuna never sang. Guksai could not find money. But like Huhuna, he was "killed" by a doctor. In this instance it was a shaman named Manuelo (otherwise unknown to J.A.) who functioned. While Guksai was unconscious, the spectators wept but ceased as soon as he was revived.

J.A. said that Guksai was never seen "down this way" (in the valley or lake region); she did not know the subject of his songs. Both Huhuna and Guksai performed solely for the purpose of making money; the spectators wanted it because "it made the people giving the fandango [mourning ceremony] cry."

Pleasure dances (ha´tim) were frequently
535 held. A chief might give such little parties
517 (again referred to as lonu´witi) at his house.
574 His wife and female relatives prepared quantities of food, and all the guests brought food contributions for which they were paid. The guests were "anybody" of any moiety, everybody from the village went, or any visitor from near-by villages. This was "just for a good time," and neither singers nor dancers were
[534] paid. The singers used the clapper accompaniment for such profane affairs. The songs "did

[101] No payment was mentioned in connection with this affair, and my neglect to ask about it is a serious omission.

a [i.e., of the seed-growing dance of the Chunut.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 429] Tachi

756 chumni were on the other. They were not opposed by moiety, some being relatives and some just friends. There were only four doctors on each side, that is, really two doctors and their assistants.

The winatums built a large fire on each side. The doctors got close to these as it was from the fire they obtained their airshot. When ready the doctors and assistants in two files marched formally past each other and took up a position facing each other about twenty feet apart. In "fighting" they looked toward the sun from which the actual power of the shots was thought to come. They did not speak or pray to the sun but held up their hands, saying a long expirating "Ha-a-a-a!" then rubbed their hands together and then onto the large basket tray (čo´pɨt) with which each was armed. There was no singing or dancing. When all was ready each doctor banged his tray on the ground, face downward, to propel the shot: "a tray held three rounds" and then had to be renewed. As the doctors succumbed they were carried aside by winatums; the onlookers wept. M.G. thinks that some succeeded in reviving themselves by looking at the sun. If this failed, the doctor whose shot was responsible was called to remove it. A doctor who revived himself returned the intrusive shot to the sender.

796 535 The Huhuna Dance was known to Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol, but the Choinuk, Telamni, and Hoshima (northerners) lacked it. (M.L., the Wukchumni, here interposed that her grandfather had danced it at Lemoore [in rancheria times ?] and G.G., M.G.'s son, had seen it at the Tule River Reservation.) The Nutunutu would come down to a Tachi village to see the performance, which always took place during the week of the mourning ceremony. Like the doctors' contest it was a daytime affair. The dancer's costume consisted of a "feather dress," and a cap shaped like an owl's head. He wore no paint on his face save "a little white around the mouth." He carried two long elderberry sticks which he cracked together as he jumped. He was able to find hidden money. Then a doctor killed him with airshot. M.G. recalls Kosewa as a doctor who did this; she thought both the doctor and Huhuna were Nutunutu; the doctor belonged to the Nutuwich moiety, but she did not know Huhuna's affiliations. When Huhuna died, all the spectators wept. The doctor then revived him. The spectators paid for the exhibition.

766 The Tachi mourning ceremony, according to Kroeber, lacked the effigy rite. "Among the latter [Tachi], after dancing till morning, property is given to visitors through the medium of a sham fight in which they despoil the owners. After this the chief mourner, who has arranged the ceremony and provided food for the guests, wanders through the village crying."[102]

[102] Handbook, 501.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

> In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie (the chief, Tipwatswat) that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what they heard from the supernatural world. They did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa´na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwɨl). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi´'thɨ´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [443] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Čo'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tɨpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

789 and lost continuously. People teased him un-
duly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (ai´n·č) to
make a storm that would destroy the houses of
those who had twitted him. A terrible hail-
storm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her
sister had gone to the river for water. They
ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for
shelter. The storm continued unabated for an
hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual
at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the
snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he
picked the snake up by the tail and made it
bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A
doctor named Či´čen revived him. Solopono was
a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was
Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly
Pušl·l·n, the Choinimni); all the others were
strangers: there were six of these men who
danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother
did. Her mother was sick and wanted to dis-
cover the cause: she saw that the cause of her
sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod).
Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai´´·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114]Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115]Powers, 372.

[116]Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (tɛ´pnɛm; supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell
[262] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

[789] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 48 b] Paleuyam:

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

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M.A. was a little girl, still living at Tule, when a Chonotachi (Chunut) came to tell them about the big dance, that they all must go to Eshom Valley; for if they did not, they would "turn to ashes, a coyote, or something." M.A.'s uncle was very reluctant, but went because he was afraid. M.A. knows she must have gone to Eshom Valley but remembers little about it save that the dead people were supposed to come back. She thinks that two dances were held in Eshom Valley, one at Tule, one at Kolpopo afterwards, but probably none at Tejon.

276 was done on three successive days [sic]. It was taken "for long life and to see everything," and the experience might be repeated as often as a person wished. D.F. had never taken jimsonweed.

796 668 The Ghost Dance (soto´twi ˋha´t:m) was first seen in Koyeti territory on Deer Creek. D.F. does not know who introduced it "unless it was Wačila´la," a Gawia. How far the dance spread beyond Fort Tejon, D.F. has no idea. They came up from Fort Tejon to see it. Some people made it there when they went back.

T Y 757 278 the sap was chewed for a cold, but it was extremely bitter. The interpreter, S.G., bit off a little piece of tanal in my presence, made an excruciating face, spat it out, and said he "guessed he'd wait till he had a bad cold."

T Y 616 Moiety.--The words Nutuwich and Tokelyuwich greatly puzzled F.M., who said he had never heard about those people "and guessed those tribes were all gone." A description of the moiety as it functions amongst northern and lake Yokuts tribes merely elicited the statement that "people down here didn't act that way."

CEREMONIES

T Y ● ●796 Snake ritual.--This F.M. has seen at Tule, but it was not made at Sototlo.

Bear Dance.--This was "never done down this way; they had it up toward Kaweah River."

Huhuna Dance.--This was not seen until after F.M. had settled at Tule, where it was introduced by people from the north.

T Y 756 Shamans' Contest.--There were not enough doctors at Sototlo for contests to be held, but these were given later at Tule where Poi'in, the woman shaman, participated.

T Y 796 237 Eagle purchase.--A man who killed an eagle would go from house to house, and at each he would be given a bit of money. Then he went to the chief who gave him a larger sum of money and received the carcass. Then the chief called the people together. After removing the skin and shinbones, they buried the carcass with some ceremony; money was always placed with it. An old man would get up and make a speech.[133] There was a tabu on meat for three days after the ceremony.

T Y [435] Eagle down, thus obtained by the chief, was sold by him. The old price was one [double ?] string of disc beads the length of one's arm; later $2.00 per leg was charged. The down was scattered when any act of importance was undertaken. When praying, no matter to whom the prayer was addressed, or when traveling, one sprinkled down on a hilltop or in a gap between two hills. The sanctity of eagle down was evinced by its peculiar ability to "stick anywhere on anything"; it sticks to the fingers, and when cast on the ground it does not blow away.

Jimsonweed Ritual

T 276 796 [757] Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about February; the rite was held every two or three years. Only men took jimsonweed; indulgence was not compulsory; it was taken only once ceremonially, but might be used frequently for medicinal purposes.

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[133] F.M. could not remember what this was about, and said he "couldn't tell it anyway because my language is too short."

T Y 796 276

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

T Y [833]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

T Y [285 431]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

T Y [P. 53 b] Tubatulabal NS22

● 796 276 saw the cause of sickness and with feathers would brush the sickness off a patient. A shaman's supernatural helper might be seen and recognized, whereupon the shaman would implore the seer not to take that helper as his own. This request was formally restricted to one petition. All that was seen in the visions had to be told. No lost or stolen articles were discovered by this means.

T Y 752 276 Medicinally, jimsonweed was drunk for the setting of broken bones; while this painful work was done during the coma, the healing, which was said to take place in twelve days, was attributed to the power of the jimsonweed. Poultices of mashed roots were applied to fractures and wounds during the winter. Any use of jimsonweed was tabu from about April to October.

A special method of curing was used for syphilitic sores and other sores which would not heal. A bit of matter from the sore was taken up on the end of a small smooth stick or bone. This was taken to a growing datura plant. The plant's root was exposed, a small cut was made in it and the matter inserted; then the root was replaced. Anyone who wished could do this; there was no prayer; it was "a sure cure."

SHAMANISM

T Y 756 F.M. knew but little about the acquisition of supernatural power. His few statements conform to the general picture of Yokuts supernaturalism. Power was not restricted to professional lineages or inherited powers: "anybody could get a dream that wanted to take the trouble." If the dream (ana´twal) came, nothing was eaten on the following day. The person "talked" to his dream, scattered eagle down, and prayed. Tobacco was eaten to produce nausea and induce dreaming. F.M.'s statement that both men and women took tobacco this way, as well as the record of two female shamans from the southern valley, suggest at least some participation by women in the shamanistic profession as nothing unusual in this region. There was no secrecy about the acquisition of power and one friend might ask another if he had dreamed (na´nek ma ana´telh:n).

Of dream helpers, weasel (pohoi´':t) was the best for doctors. When dancing or contesting, shamans wore weasel skins on their wrists.

Curing of patients was determined by the relative powers of the doctor causing the sickness and the curer. The curing shaman was helpless unless his supernatural assistants were more powerful than those of the instigator.

The shaman's "airshot" is described in terms used for "poison" elsewhere, which fits with the general Yokuts belief that "poison" emanated from this region. The "shot" was said to be made from the smoke of a fire; while it was being made, the intended victim's name must be

T Y [55]

T
Y
756 gently over S.G.'s head and body, working downward, and blew on his skin while it was still damp. Her curing paraphernalia she kept in a little net sack.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

T
Y● At the time of the Ghost Dance F.M. was living at Tule rancheria. Along with everyone
● 796 else, he walked up to Eshom Valley for the great dance there. A Yaudanchi winatum,
668 Ino´lya, told them to go up there because the dead were going to return. The messenger went on with his news to Sototlo, on southward to Bakersfield, and up Poso Creek.

At Eshom Valley, F.M. learned that the news had been brought from Dunlap. Of the singers who were there only Samson Dick is now alive; they did not teach their songs to anyone else [sic].

When they returned to Tule they had a dance of their own which lasted six days; this was the largest ever held in the southern part
T of the valley. They circled to the left; there were no prayers, "just songs." People painted
Y their faces: popular patterns were, for men,
[302] two parallel horizontal lines of black and white across the upper cheek, and for women, two or three vertical rows of black, white, and red dots below the eyes. Body painting was not done. They danced all night, swam at daybreak, and rested during the day while the singers practised.

No dance was held at Sototlo, "it was too small a place." But "everyone" in the southern end of the valley came to this dance at Tule. Many people, especially those of Fort Tejon, came to live there permanently after the Ghost Dance episode.

789 825 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, [301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder 301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.
821

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the [823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

533 539 5. aiyama´tɨn na pa´nɨn
worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´yɨn do´mto panɨn aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 883 Another dance or game was described most incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 262 276 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking (taña´yɨn; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 787 276 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not under compulsion. The general purpose was an insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 once in a lifetime; a man who sought extra
787 supernatural power might take it each year, or
276 every few years, provided he observed the usual tabus. A man who desired special power was not differentiated from other participants during the ritual but behaved and was treated like the novices.

796 The ritual leader was "any man" who knew
276 how to administer the drink safely and who was of good character, i.e., "who had never killed anyone, or told lies; he must be a kind man" (M.P.). The leader and local chief, after consultation, set the day for the rite, and it was announced twelve days in advance by a wina-
[262] tum. Thereafter the participants drank only thin acorn mush. Meanwhile the grandmothers
[603] (both paternal and maternal) of the novices went to the leader and arranged the details of their grandchildren's participation. An experienced participant did not necessarily need a sponsor, but if he were a shaman he might have his winatum help him through the crisis.

At dawn of the day set, the leader with two winatums went through the village calling the boys and girls to come drink jimsonweed with them. They assembled and all went for a long walk or run while the leader procured his plants. At the village of Gutsnumi, for example, the procession ran, with the leader ahead and a winatum before and behind the line of youths, along the trail to Čoiš.šiu (Bell Bluff). At the beginning of the trail an arc of willow withes, about three feet high at the center point, was erected over which each person must jump. One failing to clear it, or tripping, was believed to have broken the meat tabu and was sent directly home.[268] "There was no use keeping on as tañai wouldn't work on anybody who had eaten meat" (M.P.). The total length of the run was about two miles. The winatums returned with the youths while the leader dug the jimsonweed.

The plants he brought back to a bedrock mortar where the participants' mothers were gathered with baskets of water. After the man pounded the weeds, he put them to soak in the water and it was allowed to stand for a while. (M.L. said "a woman dressed up with beads soaked the tañai in water." This does not fit with other information, though all persons were dressed in their best, even if merely onlookers.)

Meanwhile the drinkers were taken to the assembly space where blankets were laid out for them. Each child had a blanket, an individual drinking basket, and two women sponsors [the grandmothers?] present. Then the leader
796 brought the decoction and made a speech telling
276 the youths to pay attention to what they would
787 see in their dreams and to fear nothing, saying that, if they dreamed of some particular bird

[268] For mythical reference to this practice see Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71.

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the time they were expected to awake several women
276 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could
533 give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe'	lula´lhe'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
276 person would come, give the drinker a feather
755 bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
276 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed
787 her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
864 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound
[752] while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

276 752 S.G. knew a man who had a broken bone. He fasted twenty-four hours. Then he drank tañai in continuing small doses which "kept him drunk three or four days during which time the bone was set. When tañai was used this way bones would set within a week."

M.P. knew a man who lived in Antelope Valley; he was part Patwisha, part Wukchumni. He broke his arm. He took jimsonweed to drink and also made a poultice for his arm. "Even though the bones had overlapped they went right back into place."

276 J.B. knew two Wukchumni who lived in Antelope Valley who took tañai "just to find out things." They were Obogu´nda and Walai. J.B. had seen Choinimni take it but "never saw anyone use it at Dunlap" [Entimbich and Wobonuch, but see Wobonuch account, Pt. II].

Bear Dance

796 613 The Bear Dance (ñoho´'o ka´maič) was one of the most important ceremonies of the year.[269] It always took place in the fall after the new acorn crop had been gathered and stored. Until the rite was performed, the new acorns were tabu to all people having Bear as a totem animal, although others could eat them if they wished. Important people of Bear lineages, particularly the dancers, conversed among themselves, deciding on who should take part, on the date, and so forth. Their decisions were told to the local chief who, through his winatum, announced when and where the affair was to be held: the date was usually set six days ahead. Meanwhile food was gathered by the persons of the Bear lineages and by the chief. They were the hosts and provided all the food, although visitors might send or bring food, for [574] which they would be paid. The visitors from other villages often began arriving soon after the initial announcement was made.

796 The dance itself took place about nine o'clock on one evening only; it was never given in the daytime. The dancers were usually, but not necessarily, residents of the host village. Two to four men participated, and one woman, who was always a relative -- daughter, sister or cousin -- of at least one of her men companions, although the men need not be related. The one prerequisite was that they all, as well as having Bear as a family totem, had dreamed of the animal. (I am not sure how essential the dream was for the woman.)

796 The men wore whole bearskins attached to themselves with thongs. (At another time J.P. [237] said the male dancers wore bear-paw skins pulled on over their hands like mittens.) Bear-claw necklaces were worn, and sometimes flicker-feather bands were tied like streamers from the arms. The woman dancer merely wore her "best clothes" -- deerskin apron, beads, down head-

[269] This major account and accompanying demonstration are from M. and J.P.; other accounts follow.

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
535 jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[in the Bear Dance. -Analyst]

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 237 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers [534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 533 539 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

1. so´nowau nɨm luka´omao
   storehouse my [place name]

   (My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. wa´šo wa·ha·so· hu·še·me·hu
   small basket small basket [futurity]

   wa´šo ukun husɨm ñohõ´'õ na husɨm
   small basket drink [futurity] Bear I [futurity]

   (I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

> This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´naš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!".

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

> This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and N.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añtu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ:pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

> ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
> catfish, catfish, catfish
>
> e´base, e´base, e´base
> trout, trout, trout

796
539
533

koko ´čo, koko ´čo, koko ´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa ´psu, tapa ´psu, tapa ´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha ´ho·'ho·', ha ´ho·'ho·', ha ´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja ´'amu añtu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 M.P.'s description differs from this some-
[756] what, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that
[184] the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta ´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropri-
796 ately than the correct but abstract name "wish-
756 ing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the perform-
ing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

224 One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill;
[534 J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´miš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

796 was dug, a log laid across it, and the doctors put their snakes in it. Two singers were present to sing "snake songs." Then the assembled onlookers walked to the pit, dipped a heel in the pit as they crossed the log, and threw in some money. The doctors did not participate in the "stepping rite."

796 While the doctors were doing their pre-
522 liminary dancing before picking up their
237 snakes, Coyote clowns came upon the scene.
[613] There might be one or two of these, usually a brother and sister (or first cousins) of a Coyote lineage. The man wore a coyote-skin costume on his back, the head of which was so arranged that the nose was pulled far down over
[302] his own. He was painted with black about the eyes and mouth. An artificial tail [M.L. could not say how this was made, but it was <u>not</u> the coyote-skin tail] was extended from his buttocks. This he could jerk about with obscene gestures. He carried a long stick.

796 Approaching the snake pit, he would run up
522 and pretend to strike the reptiles. He would pretend the snake had bitten him, groan lavishly, and mimic the snake doctors' motions. When he became too boisterous, the chief would send his winatum with money to make him keep quiet. He would get in people's way, knocking about awkwardly with his long stick: people would pay him to desist. Then he would seize his sister (or cousin), pull her up to the
[786] snake pit, and there lie down with her pretending to have intercourse. This caused the greatest amusement, as the incestuous implication added to the impropriety. When the clown pretended to be bitten by a snake, his sister would rush up to him and burlesque the curing-by-brushing motions of ṭ·pni people.

At Diapnuša it was M.L.'s son-in-law, his father, and father's sister who were of the Coyote lineage and performed the Coyote antics. M.L. had seen the same thing once at Dunlap where there were also male and female clowns; one of the women was probably J.W., a Wobonuch.

796 The doctors, of whom there were usually three or four, walked in line around the pit, followed by a group of boys and young men carrying sticks and singing. Each doctor took his snake from the pit and danced with it. First the head of the snake was held in the left hand, the tail in the right. A step left was taken, and the arms were extended a little upward and outward to the left. Then a step to the right was taken. At the same time, the right hand released the snake's tail, while the left, holding the head, passed the reptile behind the dancer's neck, where it was taken into the right hand. And with left hand now gripping the tail, the arms were extended upward and outward. The snake was now passed from right to left back of the neck. These two movements, complementing each other, were repeated over and over as the doctors filed around the pit, followed by the crowd of boys.

796 Then people began shouting for the "biting" display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for 825 this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušl:l:n get 224 snakes for a dance at Mašt:nao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´m:s. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu´čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or m:ts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokon:k (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiw:n (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on. [285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi´č:t, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

●796 provided and paid for all the food that was eaten at the end of the ritual.

ANNUAL MOURNING CEREMONY

769 A ceremony (duniša) which at once emphasized and dissipated the hardships of mourning was held at one- to three-year intervals by each tribe in the Central Foothill region. The number and financial status of bereaved persons determined its frequency. The ideal was an annual occurrence, which was the normal sched-
[556] ule for a tribe as large as the Wukchumni or Telamni, but unless a tribe was large and the bereaved were wealthy a yearly occurrence was not warranted. Tribes like the Gawia and Yokod would hold the ceremony once in three or four years. Three to six families would sponsor the affair with, of course, coöperation from their chief.

Great expense was entailed in these six-day affairs and the money and gifts had to be assembled by the sponsors before one could be undertaken. When the bereaved families believed themselves sufficiently prepared, they told their chief's winatum. The chief then consulted with the heads of the families and also consulted other chiefs of the same tribe in other villages (if, as with the Wukchumni, more than one village was involved). If all were in agreement, the date would be roughly set at least one and sometimes three months ahead to permit the accumulation of necessary food and the preparation of shelters.

Financial Preparations

The mourning families had collected sums of money which they now gave to the chief. Amounts were added to this by the chief, his subchiefs -- i.e., chiefs from the other villages of his tribe and the especially appointed tuye'i who functioned only at this time -- and by any other persons, men or women,
[426] who wished to contribute. Some men borrowed money for this at the regular rate of 50 per cent interest as a pure business investment, for reasons made clear below. The whole amount
[426] S.G. and J.P. estimated as roughly equivalent to $200.00; the aboriginal money was, of course, shell beads.

769 The disposal of this sum was called lakana´n:č and followed an established method.
431 A tribe, sometimes more than one, was selected
437 as the recipient; but this tribe was not the tribe of the ceremonial reciprocants or official washers, although there was no rule that it might not be. Wukchumni recipients were usually Telamni or Chunut. The recipients of the sum were to return it with 100 per cent interest at the time of the ceremony. The sum plus its duplicate was called ilu´´us. (The

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money
756 could have them go into this fight if they
789 liked."

The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville,
769 and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon to-
535 ward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho´tɨs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu´dṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonɨk, although J.B. had seen Ma´mɨl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana ñɨt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around
[481] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi´dowɨš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and beads for the visitors. The poles were carried
[198] in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the ritual was called ka´mɨts. This custom of
[184] tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177
668 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was
● 796 attributed by J.B. to Joi´joi, a Mono man, "a Holkuma maybe," from the northeast.[284] "He went
[text continues on p. 133]

[284] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 133a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
and dances which a man named Mo´man [Moman ?]
668 was making there. He [Moman] was painted red."
In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers
796 would go north to learn the new songs from
Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came
south, which he did once or twice later on. The
group of singers came back and held the first
dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in
Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went
"to near Lemoore" [Pierce's Ranch ?], to the
old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon.
They held no dances on the return trip. In
several subsequent years they retraveled this
route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore:
"singers from there came to dances in the foot-
hills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this
group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu´čui,
and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and
A´paw:č, Koiye´wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname)
(all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo´suš did
the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs
were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them
[then].

The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
668 J.B. did not know why. There was never any
796 revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did
not believe the dance was a preventative of
sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" [but of what he did not know].

[Text continued on top of P. 133b, ---- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinao and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory

[Text continued in middle of P. 133b, ---- Analyst]

668 The dance was called soto·´tow:d kam (to-
796 be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and] women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
535 moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire was in the center, but many fires from encircling camps provided light. Singers wearing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at one side. They used no instruments. (J.B. thought "some people to the north used clappers and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.") The singers were not paid, but their food and fire were provided by winatums from various visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[265] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on one occasion some dogs were killed "because their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]." The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
668 the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a — Analysis]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Michahai claims were said to run west and southward from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The following localities P.M. pointed out from the height of his hilltop and I later identified them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quadrangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).
361
103

1. tolsi´hao (Michahai)
2. takša´myu (Michahai)
3. buči´h:ntao (Michahai)
4. ot'o´to
5. bo´kto: Pete Marlo's place
6. woto´no: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[265] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 648 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ša); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

796 mourning or for mother (epla´oiša); Shamans' Contest (heša´oišaš); Rattlesnake Ritual (laiya´la); [rattlesnake, te´'ell; shaman's pleasure dance (ka´mkam).

P.M. had seen the Ghost Dance but Mo. had not.

769 Mo. claimed that the only mourning ceremonies she had witnessed were recent ones at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 136 b] Chukaimina

769 Dunlap by the mixed Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, Chukaimina, Michahai, and some Choinimni.

Mo. said her father, Maka´na, participated
746 in the Rattlesnake Ritual with Pul.l.n. "They had little whistles to call the snakes." She never saw this; "all she knows is what P.M. told her."

756 There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24]
791 who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kuluŝao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´'an wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

756 A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

535 Pleasure dance.--A dance (he´šıš na´mıt)
765 performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hešıš namıt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wıt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sı´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

● 796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But
[787] P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24]A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25]Latta, op. cit., 40.

796 The following morning the old man who was
276 going to administer the drink brought out the
plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or
787 three times around the village. Then he mashed
up the plants and left them to soak in water.
In midafternoon the participants drank, and by
the following morning their narcosis changed
into active behavior. Then "they saw every-
thing and it was all pretty." The causes of
illness could be seen: a man might see another
bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness
on himself. An animal would talk to him and
tell him about it. When he saw something
[supernatural] he would blow it away if he did
not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer"
might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed
it onto a basket; it was removed and buried,
and the basket washed by a winatum. All that
was seen was told about afterward, as the
drinkers returned to their normal condition:
onlookers could ask them about it. This vision-
ary ability during the narcosis was called
tanai ṭ́ pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

796 The participants waited six days before
touching meat, then they had a little party
(wi´te luni´ša) with kam dancing at night.
This was probably given by the participants'
families, as it was the parents of young
drinkers who paid the administrant for his
services. If the drinker was an independent
[616] adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both
moieties engaged in the drinking and party
without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as
"they were afraid of it; it was used more by
the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the
grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the
summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam,
the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case
is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and
Southern Valley informants.

752 The plant was used medicinally, especially
for broken bones, when it was drunk as an
anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poul-
tice form. (No splints were used.)

773 The mythological source of jimsonweed was
not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that
the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief
of which I told him] or two girls [as believed
by the Chunut].

769 Mourning ceremony.--This ceremony (luni´ša)
lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n.
535 The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W.,
differs considerably from the Central Foothill
Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was
largely devoted to settling visitors in their
camps. On the second and third days the host
chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as de-
scribed by P.D.W.), which might be performed
in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure
Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two
doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest
was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the
fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on

769 they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

769 On the following morning, the sixth day, the ritual washing (epla´o'iša) was performed.
783 The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

769 Then Huhuna danced. This was done by
535 La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather
184 wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

● 796 <u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this
535 dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear
796 was going to come out." Most positively,
535 P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested,
424 it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from

796 anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned
535 through dream power). It had no reference to
424 acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

796
535

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

796 Rattlesnake ritual.--This rite (le'a´la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušl·´l·n, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three [224] days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušl·l·n most frequently gave this cermony; Pušl·l·n was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kapl·l·n did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

Deer Dance.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

668 A man (not identified) went over to the
177 "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs.
Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a
796 big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. [302] The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

[26] Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, e.

756 Of doctors, he said that in earlier times
754 no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

796 A shaman's display dance was usually done
756 outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samɨs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yɨn wa´tiyɨ to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lɨt a´mam hača´ka'ɨč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

755 The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭɨpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭɨpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do
[177] nothing without singing to his tɨpni." The in-
[237] cisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789

ko´no·no·

si li ka´na´ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or 177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who 821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

●796 <u>Jimsonweed ritual</u>.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) 276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

796 to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking
276 the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

[753 B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed
184] as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it;
796 Co'kon·k and Pušl·l·n are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

787 This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a (heavily aspirated) "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[44]There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45]B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [792] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

231 other old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

•796 These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

796 Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all
222 the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the
616 women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatum went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

226 Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the
616 western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief
796 learned that the run was approaching he sent

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Mean-
616 while the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
acorns, of which they had not yet partaken.
796 Members of each moiety cooked the foods which
they were responsible for, and a general feast
was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed
in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to
262 the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the
616 "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffer-
ed. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken
[252] to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

787 3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

755 Group curing.--This ceremony (mai ˈʔi kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall
796 (tomo ˈksiu to ˈbxɨn, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

[778] The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (ču') and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70] P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

BELIEFS

773 825 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

[756]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

● 796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son:l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojil:t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots
302 scattered over it and three horizontal white
616 stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´':n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h:l and Te'e´wus, had power from Bear (noho':n t:pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Gohıl and another Bear dancer named Jo´nıš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ža´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokonık's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohıl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ıč, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonık do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were
● 796 always that way [south]." But in spring every-
751 one wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The ritual (tañi ̃ła) of drinking jimson-
weed (ta ̃ñai) was held each spring by the
276 Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ́yop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes
[292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ‹pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'‹č) was present: he
[554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limʿn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony (luni ˇsa) twelve days before it was to take
[624] place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·'i) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·'i for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six *days. Every morning and evening the mourners* went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (ta´owʿč ano´ˇsa) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Gugu´sia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled
769 about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the proatrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, ˇcuku´ya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

769 that her maternal grandfather, Pe´biyu, was a
756 participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

769 Crying ritual.--This rite (yuya´hixo) was
152 performed on the night of the fifth day. The reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The
[532] chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yate'ič) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

769 Washing ritual.--This duty (epla´oša) was
783 reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed,
[616] each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

769 Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

●796 The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi
668 participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance;
[177] abbreviatedly called su´yu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajo´´oj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

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[75] Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgiss were gi´´i only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

[P. 175a] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die," and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the ac-
[778] companiment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of

[Text Continues Top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 Concerning the range of Chukchansi terri-
131 tory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79]
648 Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and G.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
103 gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an"u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[Text Continues Middle P. 175b]

[648]

[77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi.

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. The pole was not used at later dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
tain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
186] their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[P. 199 b] Chukchansi

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family 344 "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, 622 they called their people to a big assembly fire. ●796 There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

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796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning [302] after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks there were about three of these dances in [illegible]rs. There was the first at Wasamo [or at [illegible] ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell'[illegible]hich is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

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[439] [142]Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP. 245b Western Mono 525

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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´'o ti´šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

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Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

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At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or šhells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 246 a] Western Mono N 25

W Y 796 276 [757] [751]

take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take it at the same time as the plain people. There were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta´ñai wa´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be

W Y [343]

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

W Y 796 276 taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

W Y 757 752 Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ıč broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

W Y 796 276 At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

W Y [438] The jimsonweed plants (taña´ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki´lıš and Koti´diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tušao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

W Y morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] 796 they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about 276 the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. 752 The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y The two Choinimni who died from the ef- fects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. How- 796 ever, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat 276 "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen 796 the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. 825 at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinim- 751 ni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he 756 remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonik and Pušlilin, who were snake doctors (te'e'li čecisu'm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya''in" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonɨk and Pušlɨlɨn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ʼʼɨn, maiya ʼʼɨn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

W Y [789]

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

W Y men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and
796 Il‹´pča. (Il‹´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal
541 grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'‹č, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not
W brought a winatum with him, the local chief
Y would assign one to assist him. After the
money had all been discovered, a shaman came on
796 the scene. The winatum of the chief made a
541 little fire at which the shaman manufactured
invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told
789 where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket
was laid out for money which would be paid the
756 shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

W Pleasure Dance.--This dance (h‹´š‹šn‹´n‹č)
Y was done in the evening at any time of year,
though it would not be done for more than one
535 night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

[P. 252 a] Western Mono

W Y 769 783 556 within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

W Y 668 796 [177] The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wiš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

W Y [177] The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

W Y [624 574] The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

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[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

W Y [783]

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS28
[P. 253-4 (Western Mono NS25

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After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

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[202] Actually some singers did go to Telwey;t, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

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Y
796
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B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

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Y
[302]

[pp. 254-290 not processed]

[203] It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

825 616 This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the
796 Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the
Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals,
[171] of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed,
redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this
intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among
the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of
582 brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok
this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such
611 children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social
organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that
they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the
556 rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted de-
struction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to
622 the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to
773 bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores day-
light, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige
at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to
622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The
[562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs,
it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that
chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual
single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi.
622 There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity
applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The
authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they
were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [625]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [1755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 in a small hole outdoors. The people come with sticks from which hang crude imitations of shell money; the chiefs' prerogative is to bear poles of such length that they can be made only by splicing. Everyone professes a strong wish to prod the snakes in the pit. The shamans feel equal alarm for the safety of their darlings, and purchase the lives of them by paying each man the equivalent in real money of the length of bark or rag on his stick.

Finally the entire community files past the hole, each man, woman, or child placing the right foot into or over it. This insures that for a year every approached snake will rattle in warning instead of striking blindly; and with this act the ceremony ends.

A rattlesnake ceremony song:

[539]

The king snake said to the rattlesnake:
Do not touch me!
You can do nothing with me.
Lying with your belly full,
Rattlesnake of the rock pile,
Do not touch me!
There is nothing you can do,
You rattlesnake with your belly full,
Lying where the ground-squirrel holes are thick.
Do not touch me!
What can you do to me?
Rattlesnake in the tree clump,
Stretched in the shade,
You can do nothing;
Do not touch me!
Rattlesnake of the plains,
You whose white eye
The sun shines on,
Do not touch me!

The implied idea probably is that the repetition of the words used by the king snake when he successfully defied and evaded his venomous opponent will bring about a recurrence of his safety for the human being who in his turn encounters a rattlesnake.

[184] Such was the Yaudanchi practice, which the Yauelmani, Tachi, and Kashowu approximated. Only the Chukchansi are again un-Yokuts-like and dispense with the ceremony.

OTHER CEREMONIES.

The *Heshwash*, or "hiding" ceremony, is a public intertribal contest of medicine men, who test their superiority in bewitching one another. The shamans dress as for a dance. In the evening they seat themselves in two parties under a shade, while special *heshwash* songs are sung to cocoon rattling and the expectant multitude watches. The performers try to inject their disease objects or "poi-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuwuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out. 796 756

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions. [171]

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash.* Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowich* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically. [789]

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel. [171]

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic- 535 527

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

101 131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the 622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was 361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was 576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that 574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago? 172 778 789

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun.

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them. [114]

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the *Tulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon. 796 [181]

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 825 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 776 825 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

[285 531] [237]

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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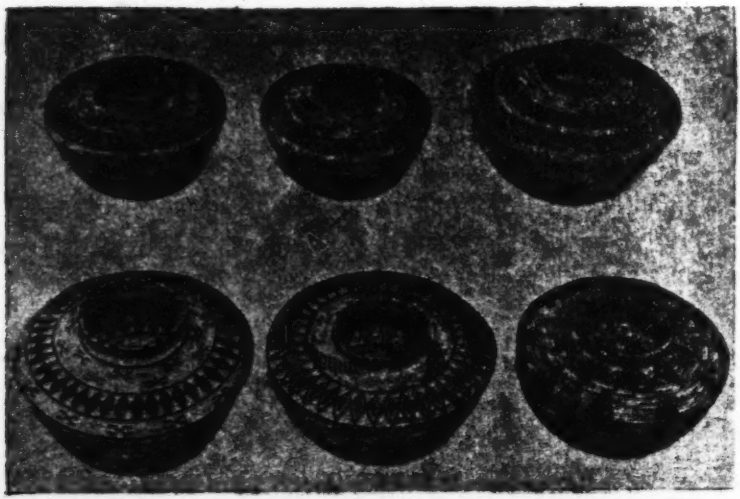

Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 statements. The first one was taken from Ichow, who, when he passed away in 1937, was the last chief of the Wukchumne:

796 "When I was about eight years old I go to Dunlap with
159 my mother to see her father, *Chechin*. He was rattlesnake
756 doctor. When we get there, them Indians have big rattlesnake dance. My grandpa, Chechin, he was big man in that dance. I saw all of it.

"Chechin and one Dunlap rattlesnake doctor put on that whole dance. The night before that dance I have to sleep with Chechin. He hang his basket with rattlesnake in on wall over our bed. I have to sleep next that wall. I don't like that. In night rattlesnake wake up and rattle little bit. Then I wake up quick. I think, 'He's comin' out.' So I poke Chechin with my elbow and tell him, 'Grandpa, that rattlesnake he's rattlin'. I think he's comin' out.' But Chechin he say, 'He just dreamin'. He dream he see something. He no wake. He sleep. He no comin' out.'

"I listen long time. I don't hear any more rattlin'. But I don't sleep much more that night. After that I sleep some place else. I think I not gonna be rattlesnake doctor.

"Them rattlesnake doctors do that dance to make money. Them people pay them doctors so they won't get bit by rattlesnake that summer. Them doctors dig two holes in ground. They then put baskets in hole. They call them baskets *Tawits* (Tay'-wits). They put soft eagle feathers in baskets. They put snakes on feathers. They sit beside that basket with legs crossed. They put *Chapet* (flat basket tray) beside them.

"Sometimes them doctors take snake out of basket, hold snake in hands and dance around among them people. Then they put snake back in Tawits. People dance around in circle and stop, put bare foot in Tawits over rattlesnake. If snake no bite they throw money in Tawits, or on Chapet. Some put ten cents, some two bits, some fifty cents; some one dollar. Then
[751] they don't get bit until next spring, when they have 'nother rattlesnake dance just before them rattlesnakes come out."

Pohut, a Wukchumne who lived his entire life about Lemon Cove and Woodlake, attended several rattlesnake dances, including the last one held. He knew more details of the ceremony, including the manner of catching the snakes and handling them. His story follows:

"I help my grandfather, Chechin, [Pohut was a first cousin to Ichow.] catch his rattlesnake when we go to that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Porterville rattlesnake dance. I 'bout twelve years old. Grandfather put some soft eagle-down feathers in two *chawmish* blackberry gathering baskets and we go to rock pile near Lemon Cove where snakes live.

"Grandfather whistle low and sing rattlesnake song. That call snakes out of rock pile. He put chapet, flat basketry tray, on ground. He put some fine eagle-down on chapet. Them rattlesnakes come out one by one and crawl to that chapet. Chechin let 'bout three snakes go away. Then he see one snake he want. That snake try to run away.

"Chechin got long pole. He tease that snake with that pole. He walk 'round and 'round that snake. That snake coil. Chechin keep teasin' that snake. All the time he sing and talk and whistle low. Then that snake twist up in knot. Chechin put that chapet over it. He keep talkin' and whistlin'. He call me.

"I come with the *chawmish*. Chechin put his hand under that snake and lift it up and put it in chawmish. Then he send me to house with snake.

"When I left, Chechin caught 'nother snake and put it in other chawmish. Then we go back to camp, Chechin tie some strings across top my chawmish and carry it up in high oak tree. He hang chawmish from limb. He want use that snake when he come back from Porterville. But when he came back he see that oak limb he's dry. He said, 'Well, I guess my snake he kill that limb and get out.' Sure enough, that snake he's gone. But Chechin track that snake across sand flat to rock pile and call it again. When that snake come out Chechin talk to it and say, 'You don't want to see them people, so you can go'.

"Next day after we catch them snakes we go to Porterville Indian Reservation. We go up Yokohl Valley and across Frazer Valley to Tule River where they got that Monache Indian Reservation. I ride horseback and carry one snake in basket on horn my saddle. Chechin rode 'nother horse and carry 'other snake. There about six *Trudum* (Troo-doom) snake doctors at that dance. They dig holes in a row and put *Tawits* (baskets) in them. Then they put them snakes on down-feathers in them Tawits. They put chapet over them Tawits.

"Each Trudum hire about two *Udkukut* (Uh-duh'-kut) singers and dancers. Them Uhdukut like clowns at your circus. They do everything wrong. They make lots trouble for them Trudum and cost them lots money. [522]

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159 "When we go to them tawits I go with my chawmish snake
756 basket. Chechin go 'head. He take step to one side, then step
796 to other side in time with them Uhdukut singin' and dancin'.
Them other snake doctors do same thing. Then Chechin take
snake out my chawmish basket. He hold left hand under
snake's head, hold front of snake's body along left forearm.
He hold middle of snake with right hand and rest of snake on
his right arm.

"Each Trudum dance 'round with his snake. His relation
dance 'round behind him. All time them Uhdukut singin' and
dancin' one-step dance.

"While them Uhdukut singin' and dancin', them people go
in circle in front of them Trudum snake doctors. They hold
one bare foot down over them snakes. Then they throw Indian
shell money, or white man silver money in Tawits with snakes.
Some Tawits got more beads and money than snake. People
[751] take their children through circle, too, so they don't get snake-
bit that summer.

[522] "Them Uhdukut got one clown doctor called *Kiyu* (Ki'-
yoo, Coyote). Everybody call for Kiyu. Kiyu was Indian
named *Sahlahpun*, from Tule River. Kiyu pick out bad snake
and tease it. Pretty soon that snake get mad. He strike Kiyu
159 on back his hand. Then them Trudum snake doctors try to
755 save him. They pay him lots money, 'bout fifty dollars for that
796 job. They rub ashes on him. Then they cut where that snake
bite and suck on it through wood pipe made from elderberry
limb. They take out bad blood, green things, maybe squirrel
bone, or hair. Then Kiyu get well.

159 'It's Kiyu's business to make lots of fun, too. He run
756 'round and get in them Uhdukuk, snake doctor's way. He do
796 that at every place I see that rattlesnake dance, Porterville,
522 Dunlap, Centerville.

"Sometimes them Kiyu got bad luck. Once *Puslilin*,
159 (Poos-lill'-in) from Squaw Valley, was Kiyu at dance at Dun-
756 lap. He tease big snake. Chechin tell him, 'Better you take
796 little one'. But Puslilin want big one. Then Chechin take
777 Puslilin away and talk to him. He tell Puslilin he see buzzard
kill squirrel. That sure to mean real bad luck for somebody.
That buzzard catch live squirrel and carry it high up in air and
drop it. It fall on Puslilin's bed. Then that buzzard come
down to eat that squirrel. But it on Puslilin's bed, so he 'fraid
to take it. He go away. That's sure real bad luck for Puslilin.

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"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, 159
so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to 756
pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors 796
got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that 159
squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all 755
night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each 796
arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake 159
dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds 756
a few details which are related below: 796

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white [302]
and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts 756
man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a 796
Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. 198 This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts [533
songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language. 192]

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756 He says, "Them Indian Doctor don't want them people to
● 796 know what he singin'. So he fix he's own word so they don't
198 understand 'em."

This is a wonderful example of the common behavior of all men. Until late historic times did not the legal profession practice in Latin? And until recently did not all doctors of medicine write their prescriptions in latin for the identical reason as did those primitive Yokuts medicine men. Following is the song, together with the interpretation given by Wahumchah:

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O, Chochin witche pah
(There is a bird's children)
O, Chochine miah wiche pah
(Oh bird, I want your children)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochine miah witche pah
O, Chochin witche pah
O, Yoe hete ketre ehe dinne
(Poor rattlesnake)
Kiowki nowu utu sudongtow
(I am looking in the tree)
O, Chochine miah witche pah
Yah weah - - - - - - yah!
(Everyone hear me).

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settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

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221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

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12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone. 221 361 484

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13] 221 164

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni´ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies. 221 769 [426] [574]

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors. [431]

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō´'o ka´maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation. 221 796 [613] [574]

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

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221 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies
796 dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were
484 regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare
[501] Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary . 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭípni) that forced success. 825 [778] 776

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

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796 standard pattern of ritual laving, gift exchange or ritual payment, and feasting. In a sense, the great Annual Mourning Ceremony combined two ritual series 796 for Yokuts and Western Mono: basically it was an exaggerated form of the 769 private or family mourning ceremony, but because of its size and consequent dependence upon adequate food supply it necessarily occurred in a season of abundance. Thus the seasonal, public, or community ceremonial series, and the non-timed, private, or familial series were combined in the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Both series had a feature in common: they were concerned with initial occurrences of certain events, those in nature of yearly repetition, and those of the individual life which, once acknowledged, were usually allowed to pass unnoticed at later recurrences. The formal purification of the person by washing, [783] in the private rituals, is indicative of the different psychological character of that series.

III

182 The dependence of subsistence and material culture (food, medicine, shelter, weapons, raiment, utensils, ornaments) upon environment is basic and of tremendous importance in all cultures so primitive that no extraneous supply of these things are available to relieve the people, as individuals or communities, from direct concern with their immediate natural resources. From the outset, we have taken this for granted as the fundamental culture-environment relationship from which, for Yokuts and Western Mono like almost all other North American Indians, there was no escape. But for these people the cultural concern with natural surroundings was not limited to utilitarian value.

182 Yokuts and Western Mono ceremonies were engaged with environmental 796 features of annual recurrence, and cosmic cultural history, religious beliefs, official status, and family relationship symbols were associated with their faunal co-habitants.

This is a culture-environment form of integration of more than a merely 182 mechanical sort: features of the environment which are not essential to basic subsistence are caught up into the ceremonial, social, and religious superstructure. Does this mean that a culture which carries more environmental references is less subject to change—is more stable—than one which has less? The general question cannot be answered with our data, but so far as the culture here used in demonstration of the problem is concerned, it would seem reasonable to assume that Yokuts-Mono culture, because of the form its interest in externals took, was held to its pattern by environmental stimuli.

With the exception of terrain (though perhaps in a locale subject to flood even this need not be excepted), "environment" is not a static thing—with a

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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796 826 614 [787] The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[22]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[23]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony [755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did [782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[22] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[23] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there 164 was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape [172] of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. ●796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
539
192
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tōwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tōwshut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Bamashut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaltin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhalt

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it.
192
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave me	with-a-little	sun	
anè	nan	yòt·au	teomeot'k (or toom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heneit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom 115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts 789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier. 796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who 789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him 578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans 791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of 789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

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796 He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground,
789 picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made
791 certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

791 After telling about the successful display of power by the
789 weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they
[222] would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

791 José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

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796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [531]

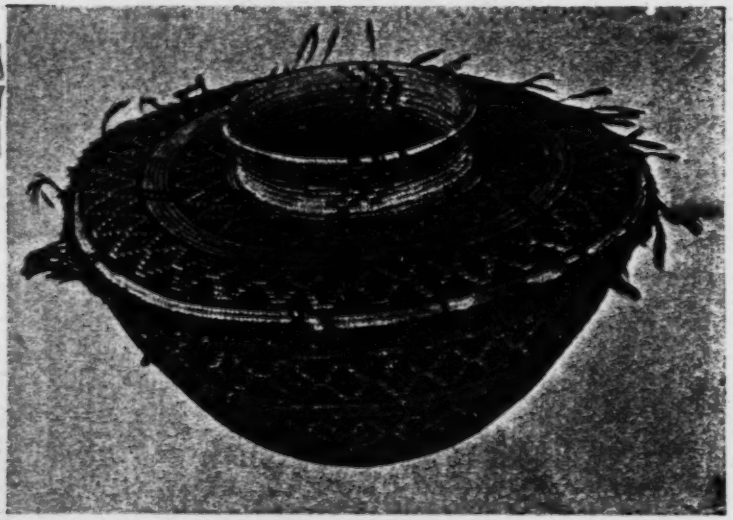

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be-
[789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

[952]

797 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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[177] 178 533 songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas [171] the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the [196] ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also [171] the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[8] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremoni-
[796] als such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[8]The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

Then he continued his narrative:

173
648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text continues top of page 159b, --- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra
[826] Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] [46] B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47] Gayton and Newman, 28.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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101 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium
197 between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts
161 at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo
177 to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized,
797 statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

or how long certain of these were under mission influence. There were Tachi brought across the mountains, but whether the whole tribe was moved or only a fraction, whether it remained a generation or only a few years, no one seems able to say. It is only known that the valley tribes from about the Fresno River northward were removed and missionized almost completely, and that their early virtual extinction was due to the effects of this process.

Nor do figures for the twentieth century population of the stock yield any approach to fixed conclusions for the eighteenth. The Federal census of 1910, the first that attempted to concern itself with such matters, reports only 533 Yokuts. The most widely spread stock in California, after the Shoshonean, to-day ranks twelfth in numbers. Not only Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun, but small localized groups like the Yurok, Karok, and Washo surpass the Yokuts. However much the estimate of original population be scaled down, it is evident that factors of most unfortunate potency have been at work. One such, and of proved fatality, is the concentration of mission life; but it is insufficient, for the southern and eastern Yokuts escaped it. It was apparently their open valley habitat, or at best hill abode, that crushed the Yokuts, through making them more readily and unmitigatedly accessible to the white man. In the mountains, civilization advanced slowly, or receded after the first rush of miners. The Indian shrank back, but had numberless corners left to himself. In the plains, the farmer followed hard on the pioneer, the soil was broken, fences began to stretch, and before long railroads ran their course and cities flourished. There was no way for the native to escape the full brunt of civilization; and it melted him away. In the Sacramento Valley the Plains Maidu and Wintun have vanished, compared with their fellows in the hills. Against 600 Sierra Miwok there are not two dozen of the plains division. More distinctively a lowland people than any of these, the Yokuts as a whole have been more reduced. All they have preserved better is the purity of their blood. The infrequency of half-breeds among them is noticeable; and the census that makes one-half or more of the Wintun, Maidu, and Miwok population mixed blood, credits at least three-fourths of the Yokuts with purity of strain.

If any doubt remains as to the strength of the factor of proximity to centers of Caucasian population, in rapidly diminishing Indian numbers, the Mono clinch the argument. Eastern neighbors of the Yokuts in the higher Sierra and the desert beyond it, they numbered at most a quarter or a third, perhaps not a fifth as many. To-day they are the largest group in California, and total nearly three souls for every living Yokuts.

The survivors, then, tell us nothing of the strength of their ancestors, because the wastage has been too excessive. The fragments are

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[facing p. i]

797

Padre Francisco Garces' Memorial in Garces Traffic Circle, Golden State Highway, Bakersfield, California. Padre Garces visited Kern River and the Southern Yokuts tribes in May, 1776.
—Photograph by Paul Adams

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 [797]

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 15 124

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots stories 'bout his people. 159

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people. [361]

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River. 159 101 103 131 361

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 159 648 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He 159

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge. 114 797

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested. 114

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated. [574] [648]

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

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114 trifle. To it is added a section entitled "Notes" which contains only a few supplementary remarks of interest. The lieutenant summarizes his observations on the nature and fertility of the land, advises that the proselytizing of the Indians be carried on in their homeland to obviate the nostalgia which caused the converts to abandon their new life at the strange coast missions, and suggests the region of Kings River outlet as a suitable location for establishing a mission and garrison. Pertinent items from these notes have been interpolated in the text given below.[5]

The translation is reasonably accurate: common sense rather than pedantry has guided the choice of renditions. Dubious words or passages are given in brackets, as are other remarks inserted by the present writer. At a few points the meanings are considerably obscured by the cryptic style of the original.

The *legua* of Estudillo's day was about equivalent to two and two-thirds (2.67) miles. The *paso doble* with which he measured the Chischa village was probably the *paso* of five feet, as this fits fairly well with his calculations as transposed into *varas*, the three-foot yard. The word *tular*, meaning a swamp or lagoon filled with tules, has been retained because of its peculiar aptness. A *roblar* is an oak-covered district. The inconsistencies in the spelling of native names are in the original.

The Diary

A diary which I, Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo, Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, made on the campaign by order of the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola, undertaken for the reconnaissance and inspection of the rancherías situated in the tulares of the plains of the Sierra Nevada, from that day to today.

Sunday, October 17, 1819.—After having heard mass I left the Presidio referred to at 10:45 in the morning, and at 1:30 in the afternoon arrived at the Rancho de Real Hacienda. After separating 183 horses I departed. I slept at the mouth of the arroyos where I arrived at 7 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from Monterey 8 leagues].

Monday, 18.—At 5 A.M. I left the said location for Mission Soledad where I arrived at 11, and at 2 P.M., in the company of the Indians Antonio and Victor, Tulareños [Yokuts], I left, to sleep at the place Los Ositos, which I reached at 6 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from starting point 11 leagues].

From this point I dispatched a corporal to San Antonio Mission for 11 Indians, and for 30 blankets to cover the soldiers of the party, and with orders to rejoin me at Mission San Miguel on the 20th.

Tuesday, 19.—At 5:30 A.M. left Los Ositos, and arrived to sleep at the hole [*poza*] of the cañon of San Miguel at 5:30 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant 10½ leagues]. At 9 P.M. the corporal Manuel Butron with the soldier who had accompanied him, rejoined me.

[5] Another copy, but partially done and in another handwriting, of the November 19 manuscript also exists. All three copies are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, where Professor H. I. Priestley courteously facilitated my use of them.

where the natives had their huts, distant from the last site, Los Alisos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Alamos], 12 leagues. Indications showed that the inhabitants had already been elsewhere many days. I ordered the company to halt, to allow the herd of horses to eat from what little the sides of the slough and swamps offered.

Knowing that the unconverted Indian named Gabriel who belongs to this Rancheria of Bubal had always been much attached to the soldiers, and with his companions had always gone out anywhere to help them, it struck me as novel that he had absented himself with his people. He [evidently?] had decided to let some other do it, and fled from our encounter. I remained considering what I ought to do in compliance with the wishes of the Superior Governor.

648 797 At 11 that day I observed with the spyglass two Indians some distance off: I sent two soldiers to overtake them, and they brought them to me in camp. After having disposed of the fear they showed, I examined them with kindliness. They declared that several Indians from Bubal (their companions) had been at the fiesta of San Miguel at the end of September, and they returned, telling that the great captain of the soldiers (thus they referred to the Superior Governor) was this time sending troops to catch and take away in bonds all the escaped Christians and unconverted [gentiles], and would kill them if they did not like it. [These natives said] that they would offer the Christians [for return], but that they would not expose those unconverted. Because of their fears some of the Christians had retreated into the interior of the lakes and swamps, and after receiving news of our coming, the rest of them had disbanded.

[They said] that at the Rancheria of Tache there arrived on the 21st three Christians from Soledad, sent with the news that we were already on the road to fall upon them, to recapture the Christians and punish the unconverted. For this reason the captain [copy of Nov. 19: *tiya*, chief] wished to catch the renegades that they had in the Rancheria and send them off. But this had been opposed and [on] their relatives the [rest of the] natives could not prevail. [They said] that they did not know where all the Indians were to be found if we awaited them, or moved to other parts.

They, with some few others, had camped together in a creek bed about 5 leagues away, where there was a little water, which could be reached on foot. After having news of our close approach, they maintained vigils, and last night they saw us as we crossed the sloughs. And finally [they said] that having been advised of our departure by the three comers from Soledad, our route on the plain was already known to everyone.

The information of finding this part of the Rancheria of Bubal at so short a distance, although in a swampy site, obliged me to surprise it, guided by these natives, and I resolved to leave for it at night.

Monday, 25.—At 2 A.M. took a route south, following the two gentile Indians, and at a distance of 5 leagues among tulares and swamps, I arrived at the side of a lake. I found the site where I had been told I would find those

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

whom I sought, but it was already deserted. We followed the tracks some 2 leagues, with the lower halves of our bodies naked, and the troop carrying rifles and shields, until we encountered them. They obtained 45 persons of both sexes and all ages. Some others who perceived us had fled, and could not be followed because of so much water, mud, and tules. 648 797

At 11 of the day I reached camp and the spot where [these people] were accustomed to live. On examination they told me that they had retreated because the two whom I had detained had not returned, and they were much afraid. All was like the recital that the two natives had made me before. [They said] that the Indian Gabriel had left for the Ranchería of Buenavista, invited to a fiesta being made by the natives. This Indian Gabriel, although unconverted, has always shown great friendliness toward the soldiers, accompanying them on previous expeditions. Although he is not a captain of the Ranchería of Bubal he is forceful, and is respected for his valor by the great numbers of people who inhabit the valleys and lakes of the tulares. Nevertheless, these natives informed me that he had much fear because of the ill treatment resulting from the expedition made three years ago [copy of Nov. 19: two years] from Mission San Luis [copy of Nov. 19: with the Luiseño Indians]. To put aside this fear I ordered Gabriel to be advised of my coming, and that I would wait for him until the 30th in the neighborhood of the Ranchería of Tontache [Chunut]. Also that he should bring with him such Christians as they had among them, and I would give them a paper of pardon for their return to the missions.

Among the 45 Indians taken was the Indian woman, Liberata, who, because of sickness, had had permission to return home to cure herself. She will return to San Miguel with the others that come. Thereafter they continued with me. This is the village of natives nearest to the missions and with greatest frequence has "made" Christians at San Miguel. Therefore I treated them with the greatest kindness, as I had been charged by the Superior, to the end of disposing of the fears which they had as a result of the influence of the runaway Christians. I told them to return to live at their sites, to go out to the lake where they [the others] were and advise them all to reunite [and live] as before. I sent them off at 2 P.M., but they told me that they would like to remain and not go out until morning to bring in their possessions all at one time. They asked my permission to send notice to Gabriel at once, and to the scattered Indians, to which I acceded with great pleasure, and 5 Indians went out in all directions.

At 3 P.M. the old captain of Bubal, Chape, and his wife arrived. He told me that while he was fishing in the lake the renegade [copy of Nov. 19: from San Miguel] Anastasio came, and he gave him the news of my arrival, and that he was freed from being captured for having run off into the water and hiding in the swamp. [He said] that, having returned to their homes, the old people who remained told him of the good treatment they had been given, and as he already knew me from having been at the Presidio, he [now] came to see me by virtue of the order which permitted them to come to me. He pre-

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 [223] [133]

sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

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Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

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Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

648 797 [162 621]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choijnocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

[36] 162

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[765]

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

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The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

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[197]
[252]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoca to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

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The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

[609]

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

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648 797 various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me 574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to [162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this [361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 [342] yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented [162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle- [252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

162 [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them 797 no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Jousps nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Jousps and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

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to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated. 648 797

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied. [431]

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutunutu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ränchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure. [574] [541]

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.] [222] [133]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer 769 [302] [262]

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769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women
[43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19; for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
[138] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

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quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Rancheria of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Rancheria of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the rancheria they should censure them and make them do the same.

648 797 They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiÿya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joasps had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet [576] me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

[622] At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings [226] River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under [48] five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco* [47] *Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told. 648

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one. [501]

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies). [361 262]

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No- [622]

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

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797 648 [622] [201] tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guchita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [†] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise [†], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, [162] knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M.... It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is [133] without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

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on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people. 648 797

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 5 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is w[illegible] Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain. [133]

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under?] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there. [143]

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

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the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19; and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bala pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *zarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19; with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

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648 tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the na-
797 tives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?]
[622 that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he
888] is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of

Thursday, 11.—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaijs. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

797 *Saturday, 13.*—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

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127 114 several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

*161 ●199 [10] We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

*161 162 172 There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

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*161 162 192 there are several hundred skeletons excavated from habitation sites in central and northern California, the ages of which have been determined and which constitute a fair cross section of the native population during the centuries immediately preceding invasion by the white man. Of these skeletons 22.6 per cent represent persons dying under the age of twenty years, and perhaps 10 or 15 per cent persons dying under the age of ten.

*161 162 197 Further light is shed by the baptism records of the missions San Jose and Santa Clara (these are discussed in greater detail in a later paragraph) which list gentile baptisms according to village and distinguish between men, women, and children. In the two missions, from approximately 1805 to 1833 there were baptized a total of 5,217 persons from villages in the valley region. Of these 930, or 17.8 per cent were children and 1,939, or 37.1 per cent were listed as men. The sex ratio is 0.826. Evidently the natives captured and brought to the missions do not give us a completely true picture of the composition of the aboriginal population, despite the large sample at our disposal. It is highly probable that (1) the natural sex ratio was nearly unity and (2) many of the men were killed in warfare or escaped the clutches of the convert hunters. Therefore we are justified in setting the number of men equal to that of the women. If we do this, the population represented by the 5,217 conversions was actually 5,626, of which men and women each constituted 41.8 per cent and children 16.4 per cent.

*161 162 Finally, we have figures from Zalvidea (MS, 1806) with respect to villages at the extreme southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. (These are discussed subsequently in connection with the population of that area.) At two of these, after adjusting for disturbed sex ratio, he found respectively 13.5 and 9.6 per cent children. However, Zalvidea's account states specifically that in these villages he carries the age of childhood only through the seventh year. If he had counted as children those under ten years of age, the percentages would naturally have been higher.

The data just set forth render it abundantly clear that the children constituted between 10 and 20 per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary figure of 15 per cent. If we apply this factor to Bubal the result is not less than an aggregate of 1,333 persons, much greater than the value set by Morage in 1806.

*161 162 197 With respect to the suggestion of Gifford and Schenck that the number of inhabitants of Bubal had been augmented between 1806 and 1814 by refugees from the missions the following points may be noted. In the first place, it has been possible to show (Cook, 1940) by means of the mission censuses that in 1815 the cumulative total of fugitives reported by all the missions in the colony amounted to 1,927 persons. Of these a great many who ran away in the earlier years were deceased. Many never went to the valley at all and the remainder were distributed from Sacramento to Bakersfield. It is highly unlikely that as many as 300 would be concentrated at one village such as Bubal. In the second place, the majority of the fugitives who did reach the village or its vicinity were former inhabitants of the locality who were merely returning to their old homes rather than coastal Indians, who would have constituted real refugees. On the whole, therefore, and this conclusion applies throughout the valley, true increase of population by immigration of foreign fugitives was negligible.

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*161 for the southern end of the valley as a whole 6,920, or in round numbers 6,900.

SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 6,900

THE NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

*161 114 The remaining portion of the Yokuts-Miwok territory lay in the valley and foothills north of the Merced River. This area (see maps 1 and 5, areas 8-13 inclusive), particularly the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, was entered relatively early by the Spaniards and by the year 1820 had been almost completely swept of its native population. The names of many whole tribes have been lost and the exact locations of many others are now almost impossible to ascertain. Of village names only those few are known to us which were preserved, often by chance, in the mission records and accounts of expeditions. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the aboriginal human geography but none has been entirely successful. Kroeber's account, which accompanies his discussion of the Plains Miwok and northern Yokuts in the Handbook of California Indians, is manifestly incomplete. Merriam's paper on the Mewan Stock of California (1907) is helpful, but probably the best work of the modern investigators is that of Schenck (1926). The early nineteenth-century accounts for this region are also less satisfactory than for the central and southern parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Moraga's record is useful only for the Tuolumne River, and the delta is covered only by Abella and Duran. It is true that both Sutter and Gatten give figures for villages south of Sacramento but their information pertains only to the badly depleted natives of the 'forties. Hence their censuses are of little value for assessing the aboriginal condition.

*161 127 797 One source not available for other areas is the mission records. The converts from the delta and lower San Joaquin Valley were brought almost exclusively into the San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara missions. The baptism books of these missions have been preserved, and two copies have been made. The first, of the San Francisco Mission, was made by A. Pinart in 1878 and is at present in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The other records, copied by S. R. Clemence in 1919, include the records of all three missions and are now to be found, in typed form, among the manuscripts in the file of C. H. Merriam. The baptism books set forth the name and village of origin of every native in the mission, as well as the date of baptism. Newly converted gentiles are readily distinguished from infants born in the mission itself, since the origin of the latter is ascribed to the mission and not to a village. In addition to the names of villages, not all of which can be located with certainty, the dates of baptism constitute almost conclusive evidence. If the baptisms from San Francisco and Santa Clara are tabulated by village and date, it is very clear that the villages of local tribes were cleaned out before the year 1805. At this point an entirely new set of names appears, most of which are undoubtedly in the Tulares. Hence, if the name of a village does not correspond to any now known to ethnographers and no baptisms are reported from it prior to 1805, the conclusion is warranted that the village was actually situated in the central valley. The same assumption may be made with somewhat less certainty concerning the San Jose records. This mission was founded in 1797 and its earliest converts were drawn from the Costanoan tribes on the east shore of San Fran-

*161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming in by that year Hence there is a chance of overlap. This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

*161 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abella in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since
[342] a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

*161 Luís Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition under the command of one Soto, whose party was attacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

*161 tacked on October 21. This places them in the locality shown by Schenck on his map (1926, p. 133), i.e., in northwestern T1S, R6E. No further information is given by Viader. The next year Abella found "la rancheria de los Cosmistas" in approximately the same region, but gave no data regarding size. Neither author implies in any way that there was more than one village. At San Jose 86 converts were baptized from "Jossmit," a number which suggests a village of fully 300 inhabitants.

Viader on his first expedition, on August 20, went south-southeast from Pescadero for 3 leagues and reached a village "cuyo capitan se llama Tomchom." He then went 2-1/2 leagues southeast from the Jusmites and reached "los indios Tugites." Both Tomchom and Tugites therefore appear to have been in the same general area. For this reason Schenck has placed the Tugites, as a tribe, directly south of the Jusmites and has called Tomchom a village of the tribe. It is perhaps more likely that there were two villages involved (rather than a tribe and an included village), designated respectively Tomchom and Tugites. This view is substantiated by the baptism data. Of the entire group 268 were baptized, rather equally distributed between San Jose and Santa Clara. Over half the conversions occurred in the year 1811. The San Jose book lists 126 from "Tamcan" and 7 from "Tuguits." The Santa Clara book has 125 from "Los Tugites" and none under any other designation. It may therefore be concluded that two villages, or subtribes, were involved, one of which was taken to San Jose and the other to Santa Clara. A total of 268 converts would imply a population of at least 500 persons at the time of conversion and probably more aboriginally.

The village of Nototemnes is mentioned only by Duran in his diary of 1817. In the night of May 22-23 he passed "la rancheria de los Nototemnes," but did not actually see the village or count its inhabitants. However, the rancheria furnished 97 converts to Mission San Jose. It must therefore have contained at least 200 people. Schenck shows the Nototemnes as covering nearly two townships in the northern delta region and calls them "a village plus." He cites, however, no authority for this view other than Duran, and Duran, as mentioned above, refers only to the rancheria of the Nototemnes. There is no reason, consequently, for assuming more than one village for the tribe or group.

In summary, the Bolbones tribal complex consisted of fully eight medium to large villages. Those belonging to the Bolbones proper, four in number, were estimated to contain 1,500 persons. The Jusmites were allowed 300 persons, the Tugites 500, and the Nototemnes 200. The total is 2,500, and the average village size slightly over 300 persons.

(Bolbones .....2,500)

Leuchas.—Schenck shows this tribe as living east of the San Joaquin River 10 to 15 miles south of Stockton. He implies that the tribe contained two villages, Coyboses and Pitemis (Aupimis), in addition perhaps to other settlements. The mission books mention all three names and show baptisms (figures in parentheses), which may be tabulated as follows.

*161
●797

	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
Leuchas...	"Leuche" (26), 1805-1812 (88 per cent in 1805-1806	"Los Leuchas" (81), 1805-1809 (85 per cent in 1805)

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	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
*161 Pitemis...	None	(60), 1814-1831 (98 per cent in 1814-1816)
Coybos....	(94), 1808-1826 (71 per cent in 1811-1812	None

To judge by the three separate periods in which the majority of the baptisms occurred there were three groups of people: the Leuchas, who were brought into the fold primarily during 1805 and 1806, the Coybos, principally in 1811-1812, and the Pitemis, converted two or three years later. The Leuchas were taken to both missions, but the Coybos were brought only to San Jose and the Pitemis only to Santa Clara. Abella said that in 1811 the village of Coybos had 180 inhabitants, a figure which has been used in computing the average village size. But the aboriginal population was probably greater. This view is substantiated by the events which preceded Abella's visit. In 1805 Father Cuevas of San Jose Mission went on an unauthorized expedition to the Leuchas—the best account is that by José Argüello (MS, 1805)—in search of converts.[3] He was badly treated and some of his men were wounded by the natives. This and the punitive expeditions which immediately followed no doubt accounted for the wave of conversions in 1805 and 1806. But at the same time the entire aboriginal group unquestionably suffered heavily from battle casualties and economic disturbance so that the population five years later must have been seriously reduced. It is thus justifiable to assume that originally there were three villages and that each was of average size. The population may therefore be set at fully 900 persons.

[48]

*161 Some further information is derived from the recollections of José María Amador (MS, 1877). This pioneer, who received his facts second-hand from his father, mentions (pp. 13-15) the campaign of 1805 against the "Loechas," who, he says lived 4 to 5 leagues from Livermore. This would put them west of the San Joaquin River, south of the Bolbones, in T1S, R5E, not on the east bank as shown by Schenck. Amador then goes on to say that after the Cuevas affair the Leuchas ". . . se habian ya cambiado el rio de San Joaquin a una rancheria que se llamaba de los Pitemis." They were all captured and taken to San Jose. It is thus reasonably clear that the Leuchas originally did live west of the river, and crossed over to the east side as a result of the punitive expeditions of the Spaniards. Furthermore, the village of the Pitemis was already in existence at this time, probably at or near the spot shown by Schenck. Coybos undoubtedly was another village within the same area. This region, therefore, at the time of Abella's visit in 1807 contained the established villages of Pitemis and Coybos plus a residue of unconverted, fugitive Leuchas who had taken refuge in them.

Amador's assertion that the Leuchas were all captured and taken to San Jose is not borne out by the baptism figures, which show only 23 Leuchas enrolled at Mission San Jose in 1805 to 1806. Many more, actually 73, were baptized at Santa Clara in 1805. The total is 96, and scarcely represents the entire personnel of the group. Nevertheless, if we add the casualties of battle, disease, and exposure to those baptized in the missions, and allow for the dispersion of the remainder, the sum will amount to no less than the 300 assumed above for the Leuchas.

[3] There are numerous other letters pertaining to this matter in the same volume of the Provincial State Papers.

*161 Guaypem.—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) regards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

[131] [999]

(Guaypem ..... 300)

Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck (p. 136). They covered, according to him, "the southern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Hermdo Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensiat, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2os estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensiat) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

[131]

(Quenemsias ..... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 26, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A84; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumes was found 8 leagues (leguas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

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*161 of distances. Here Duran counted 35 houses whereas Argüello says 36, a sufficiently close correspondence. As indicated previously, a population of 315 persons is probable. Continuing their journey, they went on for 4 miles (Argüello); Duran says approximately 3 leagues. There they stopped at a rancheria, "arruinada" according to Argüello, although Duran makes no mention of this.

On May 18 the party went on upstream, making during the day 4 leagues (Duran) or 16 miles (Argüello). Duran states that after going 1 league they got back into the main stream of the Sacramento. This was clearly at the head of Grand Island, close to Courtland. At 1 league beyond this point, on May 19, they found the rancheria Chuppumne, which was deserted. The location therefore was very close to that shown by Schenck on his map (p. 133) and, if we can put any credence in the Duran-Argüello account, a good many miles north of Chucumes. Near Chuppumne Duran saw three other rancherias in the distance (inland ?) but could not get at them. On May 20 the expedition pressed on upstream for 5 miles (Argüello) or 4 leagues (Duran), at which point they turned around and began the return trip. On May 21 Argüello says that they passed "algunas rancherias," all deserted, which may well have been those mentioned by Duran on May 19.

On the river frontage covered from May 17 to May 21 the expedition saw a minimum of 6 villages, 2 of which are mentioned by name (Chucumes and Chuppumne) and for 1 of which the houses were counted. If all these villages were of comparable size—as they may have been aboriginally—then the total population represented would have been 1,800. This estimate would of course not include other villages which the expedition did not see.

[795] The mission records show for San Jose a total of 377 persons baptized from Chucumne and Chuppumne, of [799] whom 322 were converted during 1823 and 1824. We may predicate, therefore, a residual population of 700 to 800 just prior to those years. That the area had suffered severely before that is attested by the deserted and "ruined" rancherias seen by Duran in 1817. It is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached a value of 1,500.

(Chucumes, Chuppumne ..... 1,500)

Chupunes (Chupcanes), Tarquines (Tarquimenes, Tauquines), Julpunes (Tulpunes) and Ompines.—This constellation of tribes is best considered collectively, first, because there are no direct estimates of their population, and second, because they occupied a relatively unified area.

Schenck places them along the south shore of Suisun Bay from the east entrance of Carquinez Strait and [131] through the slough region between the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers as far upstream as Isleton on the Sacramento. However, he points out that there is great uncertainty with respect to their exact location, an uncertainty which is emphasized by the wide divergence between his views and those of Merriam. Even the Spanish accounts present numerous discrepancies. In view of this state of our knowledge Schenck makes the very reasonable suggestion that the lower delta tribes may have been so greatly disturbed and shifted around during the period from 1775 to 1810 that the aboriginal locations were forgotten. It is worth while to examine in some detail some of the evidence on this problem. We may begin with examination of the area at and just east of Carquinez Strait on the south shore of Suisun Bay. This

*161 consideration entails a preliminary discussion of two small groups, the Aguastos and the Huchium (syn. Habastos, Quivastos, Juchium, Huchimes, Tuchimes, etc.).

This tribe or group of tribes, which must have been of some importance, is not mentioned by name by Kroeber or Schenck, but there is a brief set of typed notes in the Merriam collection in which the location is discussed (MS entitled: "On the East Side San Francisco Peninsula"). The multiplicity of synonyms, however, as well as the large number of neophytes involved, indicates that these tribes were very familiar to the missionaries.

The Merriam notes (pp. 5 and 6) point out the following considerations.

1. "Abella's diary (1811) speaks of present Point San Pablo as the Point of the Huchunes and says their territory extended on the mainland from this point to Pt. San Andres (Pt. Pinole)."

2. Several rancherias belonging to this tribe are mentioned as being on the east side of the bay.

3. "The mission books locate the Habasto tribe 'on the other side of the Bay from the Mission of San Francisco toward the estero which goes to the rivers (Suisun Bay).' Abella's diary calls Point San Pedro the Point of the Abastos."

Merriam therefore was strongly of the opinion that these tribes inhabited the south shore of San Pablo Bay and did not extend farther than Carquinez Strait.

On the other hand, the item in the mission books quoted by Merriam (par. 3, above) indicates Suisun Bay rather than San Pablo Bay. Moreover, there is another statement in the baptism books alongside the designation "Aguastos ó Huchum" to the effect that this tribe was 16 to 18 leagues by water from San Francisco. This distance would place them close to the site of the modern town of Pittsburg, that is, on the southern shore of Suisun Bay. But this area is assigned by Schenck to the Tarquines and perhaps the Julpunes, tribes which are also clearly mentioned by name in the mission records.

If the Aguastos extended from Richmond to Crockett or thereabouts, they were Costanoan and strictly bay people; hence not pertinent to this study. If they lived along Suisun Bay, regardless of their ethnic affiliation they may be included for demographic purposes among the delta tribes. Some further light can be thrown upon the problem by an analysis of the dates shown for baptisms in the San Francisco Mission records.

*161 If the baptisms of gentiles are tabulated according to village and year, it is seen immediately that the con-
●997 versions in the first year, 1777, were all from local rancherias. This group was extended during the following decade until the San Francisco peninsula had been completely covered. However, after the year 1792 all mention of the peninsula abruptly and entirely ceases. As early as 1778 on the other hand baptisms are listed from a village (Halchis) specified as being in the "sierra oriente de la otra banda." In the succeeding years villages ascribed to the "otra banda" become more frequent and reach a peak between 1790 and 1795. Subsequent to 1800 the conversions from these places diminish rapidly and disappear. Now we know by following the documentary accounts of expeditions that during the decade 1790 to 1800 the great effort of the San Francisco Mission was expended in securing neophytes from the east shore of San Francisco Bay as far north as the Carquinez Strait. There are no baptisms of gentiles whatever listed in the San Francisco books for the years 1797, 1798, and 1799. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the supply of Costanoans from the east bay had been exhausted. Fur-

*161 thermore, village names qualified by the term "otra banda" and appearing in the baptism record for the first time prior to 1800 must certainly refer to villages in this region. Among these are rancherias stated as belonging to the "nacion Juchium" together with the separate designation "Tuchimes." Thus it is clear that the Huchium lived, as Merriam believed, on the east shore of the bay.

After the inactive period at the end of the century a flood of neophytes began to pour into the mission together with a completely new set of names. One of the first of these is Habastos, a rancheria which contributed 137 converts in 1800 and 1801 and which is now stated, for the first time in the mission book, to lie "acia el estero de los rios." Later, the variants Quivastos and Aguastos are used. Conversions from this tribe continued until 1810, after which the name disappears from the lists.

* 161 The sharp segregation of dates of conversion are clear evidence that, whatever the racial or linguistic affiliation, there were two groups of Indians, one converted before 1801 and living along the shore of the bay generally south and west of the Carquinez Strait, the other converted between 1801 and 1810 and living at the east end of the strait and along Suisun Bay. There probably was no clear separation of the two in the minds of the Spaniards; hence the confusion of names. We are concerned here with the second group, the one uniformly designated Aguastos, which inhabited the approaches to the delta.

With respect to the aboriginal population of this group we have no direct evidence whatever. On the other hand the record of the San Francisco Mission shows 396 baptisms. This immediately sets a lower limit to the number of Aguastos for there certainly can have been no fewer members of the tribe than were baptized. Regarding the upper limit it can be pointed out only that the group was completely obliterated at the time of conversion and its name never appears again in either contemporary or modern records. Hence it is safe to assume that substantially all the Aguastos were taken to San Francisco and that the baptisms include the entire tribe. We may thus ascribe to them a population of approximately 400 persons.

We now encounter the Chupunes (or Chupcanes), concerning whom Schenck (1926, p. 143) has this to say:

> The Chupunes (Chupcanes), apparently a group, were located along the southern shore near the east end of Carquinez strait. West of the strait, also on the southern shore—in the Pinole region of San Pablo bay—were the Huchones.

The earliest documentary reference is to the diary of Abella, in 1811. On October 16 he went through Carquinez Strait by boat. Then he says that the strait ". . . remata en la tierra de los Chupunes, porque hay ya ensancha . . . ." The "ensancha" or widening begins at Port Costa and continues to Martinez. This, then, is the boundary of the Chupunes. On October 28, discussing the Suisunes on the north side of the bay, he says that "La rancheria citada de los Suisunes cahe al nordeste de los Chupanes, tierra adentro del Cerro de los Karquines . . . ." The Cerro de los Karquines is, of course, Mt. Diablo.

In his account of the expedition of 1817 Duran tells how he arrived at noon of May 14, by boat from San Francisco, at the "remate" of the "estrecho de los Chucanes," at a point 14 leagues northeast of San Francisco

[P. 62A]

*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that [114] there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near [361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at [226] least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

[79r] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of the Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

950

797 175 648In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 172 a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force (ṭ:pni). The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

● 801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ˇšna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points. 293 237 301

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *himhimna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.) 534 237 [173]

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture. 782 539

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired. 782 [175]

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode. [193]

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts. 861

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[305] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 ~~cok~~ in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[306]

436 Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[307]
804 states that the unit of measurement in the north was the chok; one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[308]

> The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802

1. yet	6. tu ´dipi
2. po ´ñoi	7. no ´mčan
3. so ´pan	8. mo ´ñus
4. ha ´po ´ñi	9. no ´nap
5. yu ´tanuk	10. ti ´´uv

[172] [305] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431 576] [306] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[307] Handbook, 498.

[308] p. 375.

802 11. ti'uv y·t 100. y·t p·č
12. ti'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ti'uv p·č
21. poñoi ti'uv y·t
22. poñoi ti'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

805 Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronunciation of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.
821
192

Times of day.--

sala´lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala´dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te´yao ču´ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču´kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču´ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu´šu ču´ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne´wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a´wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni´u´ši: evening (M.P.)
toi´yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'·´nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o´piu: day, light (M.L.); u´piu: day, light (M.P.)
he´če u´piu: today (M.P.)
šala´dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati´opo´do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo´do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda´o: Monday
pu´ne´uñ·č: Tuesday
supe´a´ta: Wednesday
hai´´obata: Thursday
y·ča´o: Friday
ča´od·tpi: Saturday
no´mč·n: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o´piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo´da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi´yo opo´do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u´p·s: moon (M.L.); u´p·š (J.B.)
haca´m u´p·š: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[809]

[809]Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki´wiš).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwiš; the clay pipe was šokmi. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´ši:n, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´ti:l) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called ši´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

302 192 386 822 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 616 Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

802 192 Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lɔop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi te´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi teyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi teyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi teyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam	etc.
12. bo´čtɔp	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi'ɔp	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 [616] Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[237] Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526

The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

192
802

NUMERALS:

1. *Yaet*
2. *Pu-noy*
3. *So-uh-pin*
4. *Hop-pu-noy*
5. *Yach-e-nil*
6. *Chu-luh-pe*
7. *Num-chen*
8. *Mu-nosh*
9. *Nah-nip*
10. *Treo*
11. *Treo yaet*
12. *Treo pu-noy*
[illegible]. *Treo so-uh-pin*
[illegible]. *Pu-noy treo*
21. *Pu-noy treo yaet*
22. *Pu-noy treo pu-noy*
23. *Pu-noy treo so-uh-pin*
30. *So-uh-pin treo*
31. *So-uh-pin treo yaet*
33. *So-uh-pin treo so-uh-pin*
50. *Yach-e-nil treo*
100. *Treo-treo,* [or ten tens]

192 The above list represents approximately one-twenty-fifth of the Wukchumne words collected by the writer, which in turn represent half of the complete vocabulary of the Wukchumne. They present only the common names which have not already been presented elsewhere in the text and serve to indicate how complete was the Yokuts vocabulary.

YOKUTS WILD FLOWER AND PLANT NAMES

824 One of the most amazing things concerning Indians is their extensive knowledge concerning their environment. This includes not only a knowledge of the geography of the country in which they live and the use to which the many things about them can be put, but also a vast fund of cultural information which to many persons of the white race seems useless.

The average Indian possessed a remarkable store of information about the varieties and species of plants and flowers with which he was surrounded at the different seasons of the year. The writer knows several educated Americans who have studied for years the wild flowers and plants of California, but

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 526 When they played for fun they did not keep the score. If they gambled they played ten or twenty points. The Winatun kept the score by marking on the ground with his toe.

[525] [802] The ring was made of tules. It was about twelve inches across. It had a hole about the size of my fist in the middle. It was wound tightly with tules. We make a point when an arrow hit the ring and stuck in it, not when it went through the hole in the center.

The Tulare Lake Indians had a football game, too. They called it *tahl'-wats*. For a football they used a burl from an ash tree. It was about as big as a baseball. We called the ball *aw'-lul tah-ow'-chit*.

Some Indians used a rock for a football. I heard that the Nutunutu did that. I never saw it. The wooden ball was heavy enough. We did not kick the ball. We caught our toes under it and threw it with our feet.

Two people played at once. They took the ball around a tree or a stake about two hundred yards from where they started. They called the goal *sick'-aht*. The players carried the ball around the outpost and back to the goal as fast as they could.

They went around the post in opposite directions. *Hipaets* (Hih-pa'-eets) the referee, ran along with them to see that they went around the outpost and that they did not touch the other person's ball. We kept the score with small sticks, which we called *we'-chet*. [802]

The *Chunut* (Choo-noot) had a shinny game, too. We called that *Kats-le'-wits*. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) had another kind called *Kawm'-wats*. A lot of people played in that game. I saw all of the Tokelewits at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-e) play against all the Nutuwits at one time in the Wowol game. I think there must be two hundred people in that game. My side, the Tokelewits, won.

In both shinny games we used a club made from the ash tree. The crooked part was made from the root. They made them nice and smooth and dried them in the fire. That made them good and strong. We called the shinny club *kah'-tahl*.

In the Chunut game we put the outpost about two hundred yards away from the goal stick. The goal stick we called *sick'-it*. The outpost we called *kaw-naw'-um wa'-uh* [the turning place]. It was a race between two teams. Each team had a ball. There were three or four players on each side. The

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest
[152] and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802
192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

|D| one old man who was able to give me, through a Spanish interpreter, his numerals, but nothing more. Following are the ten numerals:

[802 192]

One.	kil′-leh.	Six.	tukh′-tu.
Two.	cho-yo′-chi.	Seven.	po-ko′-i-chin-tin′-li.
Three.	u-yat′-si.	Eight.	pus′-in-tin′-li.
Four.	chu′-i-chau.	Nine.	hōs′-che.
Five.	loap′-chin-tin′-li.	Ten.	chi′-wa.

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words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing. 197* 192

	Identical Items in all groups	*Identical Items in all so far as known*	*Different Stems*	*Percentage of total formed by identical stems*
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	31	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	29	24
Mammals	2	3	18	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	49
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the composite nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aiticha

WUKCHAMNI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 ✗ 193 192

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-ñ; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: t-i, t-eu.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-ñad, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wue, hoyo-woe; cañ-cañ-wid-eite, kux-wud-eite.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; ma, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:

ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:

nihin-au, dul-au.

Numerals:

yete-am, eleven, poted-om, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:

tah-an, nah-an, xo-on.
tawat-a, dead.
yuwanwaca, marry.
hayu-ac, waxal-ac, tawat-ac.
laha-ite, moccasins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma		min
S 3			imin

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Aitícha
Choinimni
Gashowu

*197 Demonstratives:
193 ke, this, objective ki-n.
192 gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:
hoiteuc, tawat-a-c.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:
nim-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganiu, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:
● [802] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:
wan-ke, elk-ac, xahi-ac, ikā-ac, taut-a-c, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xoot-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Gashowu
Kechayi
Dumna

Demonstratives: 197 *
ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?). 193
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu. 192
ta, that.
han, what?

Numerals: [802]
yetcam, eleven; potcdom, cophiom, hatcpam, yit-tcam, tcolpom, nomtcom, munteom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen.

Verbs:
tah-an.
wan-aac, wan-ci; ika-ac, eka-ci; hatam-ic, xahi-ac, hoito-ic, tauta-c, xoo-oc, k'anuw-ac, heut-ic, waxal-ic, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ôn-oe (luk'in).
daw'hali-xo.
haya-wic-ac, teaplu-wic.
kam-ini, teic-lni.
xo-mi, wowul-mu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mân		

Demonstratives:
hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
hân, what?

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Dumna
Toltichi

*197 Nouns:

toa, digger-pine, plural tun-ła; ut'u, tree, ut'ô-a, timber. 193 These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other 192 dialects that are grammatically known. Nònei, plural of nòno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cutcon-au, (in the) brush.

ak^d-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ete, small, apparently from got-i, large.

Numerals:

[802] yetcam, eleven, potedom, twelve; copiom, hate'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'tcom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyue-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

114 A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the *197 San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, 193 a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical. [802] First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi

n, l, y, tc and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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197*
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[174]

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8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
DUMNA

114
*197 If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

*197 The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna
193 equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative
192 suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nâs	yet
[802] 2	bis	punoi
3	nayo	sôopin
4	âmin	hatepanai
5	hie	yitecinil
6	otol	te'olipl
7	makate	nomte'in
8	te'eitemak	mon'oe
9	wâ'dite	nônip
10	wadi'te	ta'ieu
person	wokote	yokote
man	wo'wâi	nônei
woman	mok'bwa	mok'âla
child	k'ow-ite	ak'd-ate
ear	xuk*	tuk
eye	xaxa	saxa
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xama	cama
hand	p'oâox	b'onoe
foot	ta'wau'	dad-ats
back	kataaw*	gadai, cotox

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim	197 *
S 2	ma	mam	min	193
S 3			amin	192
D 1 in.	mak		makin	
P 1 in.	mai			

Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, poss. ke-in, loc. ke-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

		[802]
11 yète-am	16 teolp-om	
12 batad-om	17 nomte-om	
13 copi-om	18 mune-am	
14 hotep-om	19 coponhot-min	
15 yite-am		

Nouns:

tatei, pl. tateèteayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxòxayi.
teunut, pl. teunòtati.
(wimiltei), pl. wimèlatei.
(weteixit), pl. witeèxatei.
(wowol), pl. wowòwoli.
(nutunutu), pl. nutant-ie-a.
witep, child, pl. witip-ate, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -e-xo.
Preterite: -ahin.
Future-present: -in.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by
335 means of one set of cords. The cradle frame (with its permanent mat) was called a'hi·'lič; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭiñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

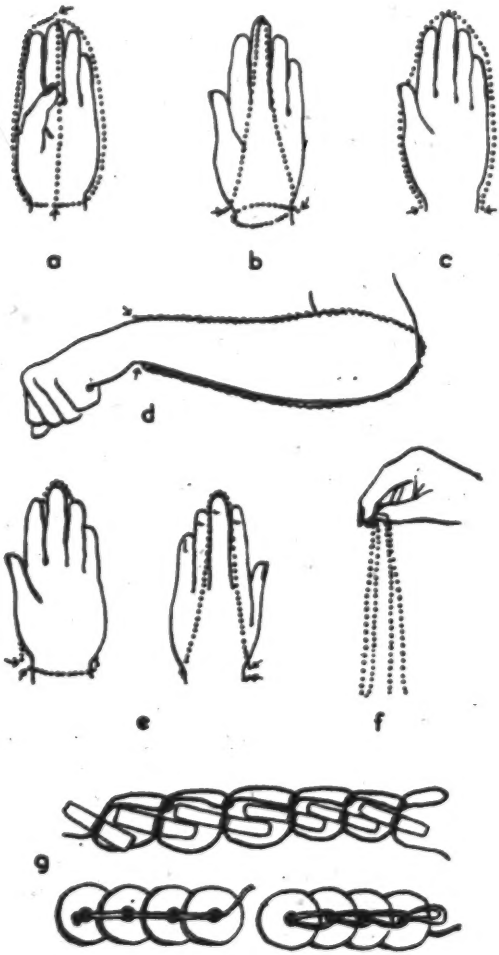
436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands
[439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home'tin (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoi·č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo'ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi'yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi'diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
●804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

436 attached to them differ slightly from in-
804 formant to informant (fig. 14, a, b). The čok,
435 the measurement around the hand, all informants agree, was equivalent to 5 cents. Other values were about as follows: 2-1/2 čok was called hista´'a and equaled 10 cents; 2 hista'a equaled 20 cents. A single strand which reached from the wrist around the elbow and back was valued at $2.00, but a continuously half-hitched strand covering the same distance



[284]

Fig. 14. Bead money measurements. a, b, d, Wukchumni. c, Kechayi. e, f, Waksachi. g, method of half-hitching beads together.

435 was $5.00 (fig. 14, d). This means half-
436 hitched or "chain-stitch" loops in the already
804 strung length of discs, which nearly tripled the quantity of a plain length from wrist around elbow and back to wrist.[205] A cylindrical bead called humna was worth twenty-five cents.

535 The participants and singers in a ritual like the mourning ceremony or an ordinary
465 pleasure dance would be given about 1/2 čok in payment by spectators. There was no fixed amount: if a person really could not afford to give more than a few beads he was not thought miserly. At times of display or for payment of individual performers, as at the death of Huhuna in the Huhuna Dance, long strings of money were thrown down.

556 A definite attempt to accumulate wealth was made by chiefs, shamans, and probably others who hoped to acquire prestige. Even when money was not the medium of exchange, value for value was the expectancy, not, however, with the shrewd, mercenary motivation of receiving, but with the courteous, generous motivation of giving, and maintaining moral status thereby.[206]

Kroeber, in a general reference to money,[207]
436 states that the unit of measurement in the
804 north was the chok, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the south the chok was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the hista, twice the circumference of the hand.

Powers gives a somewhat different evaluation, which may have been the rate of his day.[208]

The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone [sic], very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string and rates at twelve and one-half cents.

Numerals

802
1. yet
2. po ˈñoi
3. so ˈpːn
4. ha ˈpo ˈñi
5. yu ˈtsːnuk
6. tu ˈdipi
7. no ˈmčːn
8. mo ˈñus
9. no ˈnːp
10. ṭi ˈˈuv

---

[172] [205] A half-hitched string with a bead on each loop was a method of bead-stringing exemplified in Pueblo II material from Nevada (vide Cody, Simply Strung). This method may account for the "shingled" beads found with a bear burial in the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Hewes, Animal Ceremonialism, 589).

[431] [206] Taking small gifts of cigarettes or candy to old
576 Yokuts people presented a problem to the recorder because of their quiet insistence upon a return of some kind; refusal to accept a gift in exchange would be a subtle offense.

[207] Handbook, 498.

[208] p. 375.

263 to three-quarters of an inch in diameter,
439 carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was
263 paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity
of salt about as large as a pine cone would be
435 worth 50 cents in American money, in native
terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine
[804] cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

263 Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

258 The salt called 'alit' was derived from
263 salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

272 When manzanita berries are nearly ripe,
[423] women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from
222 them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe, the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

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[93] Handbook, 530.

[94] It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
324 the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard
[804] measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist
[804] around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
324 and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. N. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

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[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[48] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

W Y 482 [439] were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

W Y 436 [439] 804 All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čɛt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečɛt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilɛ´mkai in Waksachi.

W Y 192 802

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pɛn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitɛ´šnɛl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčɛn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nɛp
10. tsi´a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yɛ´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi´ao
21. punoi tsi´ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi´ao punoi
23. punoi tsi´ao sopɛn, etc.
30. sopɛn tsi´ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi´ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

W Y 526 The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowɛt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

W Y [525] This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
● 804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south,
[439] probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the
[184] cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less
[821] scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made 438 up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chin*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Yokuts bead money and three types of measurement used by various Yokuts tribes to denote one Chok, or unit of money. At the left is shown the measurement extending around the hand. At the center is the measurement extending from wrist to finger-tips. At the right is the measurement around the hand foreward of the thumb. The Indian woman at the left is wearing strings of bead money around her neck and in her hair.

Between the Wukchumne, *Pahdwishi* and *Kaweah*, the *Chok*, or unit of measurement of bead money—in other words, the Yokuts dollar—was the distance around the hand, measuring just outside of the thumb. Among the *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne), distant only twenty miles from the Wukchumne, it was the distance from the tip of the longest finger to the first wrinkle in the wrist. Incidentally, these two distances are almost equal. Some of the Yokuts tribes measured the chok around the rim of the hand. Ichow explained that in such cases the hand was placed flat on the ground and the beads measured around the hand from the last joint of the thumb to the last joint of the little finger.

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804
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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

438 Said Ichow, "When you trade with them people, you got
436 to know how much in their chok. You measure their chok and then you figure how much it is worth beside your chok."

In the old days one Wukchumne chok of beads of low value
435 would buy twenty bundles of hupud or ahnup. A half chok of
438 average shell beads would buy twenty bundles. Ichow explained how the half chok was measured: "You double the string
[804] after you measure one chok." Two shell beads of low value would buy one bundle of basketry materials, or one tanned deerskin. Ten average beads would buy one tanned elk skin or two tanned antelope skins.

From *Yoimut*, an aged *Chunut*, from *Pahmit*, an aged
436 *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) and from other Yokuts, I learned that both asphaltum and paint of various colors in standard pack were also traded and sold for money throughout Yokuts terri-
[804] tory. This standard size is uniformly described and approximates a size midway between that of a tennis ball and a baseball. Their statements were substantiated by archaeological remains in widely separated portions of Yokuts territory.

When the Smithsonian Institution expedition of 1937 ex-
436 cavated the old *Tulamni* Yokuts village at the east point of the
172 Buena Vista Hills in western Kern County, a number of balls of asphaltum were recovered. They were almost exactly the size described by my informers. Some appeared to have been wrapped in tules or in rabbit skin strips. This can be appreciated when one takes into consideration the stickiness of asphaltum. I also recovered similar balls of asphaltum in Indian cemeteries at Alamo Solo in southwestern Kings County, and at the Sweet Mound, about four miles southwest of Waukena in western Tulare County.

It is of interest to note here that Wahumchah states that
[201 these balls of asphaltum were burned by the Yowlumne to pro-
372] vide the black smoke for sending smoke signals.

At the Menjoulet Rancheria on Los Baños Creek in western Merced County I found two "standard pack" balls of red pigment and one of white, also several crude chunks of the diatomaceous earth from which the white pigment had been prepared. The balls of pigment showed the finger prints of the person who had formed them. In the Broder Mound (west center of Section 31, T18S, R26E, MDB&M) I recovered from disturbed burials one standard ball of black pigment, probably made of burned graphite taken from the old Yokuts diggings

T Y 343 no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front T Y of the center post. Firewood was kept in two [354] piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

T Y 515 Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely T Y to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´tɨm (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For 517 such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

T Y 524 MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.--Women played huču´wɨs, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

T Y Pottery.--Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the 323 coiling process were the only details remembered.

T Y Money.--The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. 436 A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

T Y Blankets.--F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of 286 rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

T Y Calendar.--A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, 805 meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

T Y Hair nets.--These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in 301 place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

T Y Yellowhammer strips.--Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´mən) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned [237] one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends T Y hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.--The flute (uṭoi´ʼi) 534 was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Xoso specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

802 11. ti'uv yɛt 100. yɛt pɛč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pɛč
21. poñoi ṭi'uv yɛt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

805 Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronunciation of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.
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Times of day.--

sala´lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now]
šala´dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te´yao ču´ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču´kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču´ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu´šu ču´ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne´wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a´wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni·u´ši: evening (M.P.)
toi´yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'ɛ´nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o´piu: day, light (M.L.); u´piu: day, light (M.P.)
he´čɛ u´piu: today (M.P.)
šala´dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati´opo´do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo´do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuḍa´o: Monday
pu´ne'uñɛč: Tuesday
supe'a´ta: Wednesday
hai´'obata: Thursday
yɛča´o: Friday
ča´odɛtpi: Saturday
no´mčɛn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o´piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo´da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi´yo opo´do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u´pɛs: moon (M.L.); u´pɛš (J.B.)
hača´m u´pɛš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

[209]Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

805 hiam mapı´nši u´pıš: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai´šu u´pıš: old moon (J.B.)
821 u´pıs tawi´či: waning moon [lit., dying
moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi´tıl: now dying, said
192 of waning moon (M.P.)
kamu´tu u´pıš: dark of moon [lit.,
lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u´pıs [or opo´do] kai´'iyu doi'ye´di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he' u´šıt nanu´nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 Stars, constellations.--

192 toi´tıs: any star (M.L.); čo´tač: any star (J.B.)
tawa´nıt: morning star (M.L.); tawa´nıl: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipı´čnım hi´am ti´ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo´d apo´d, a´mıd nım).
ni´ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)
goi´yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]
hoda´otšıd: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho´dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

823 met i´dık: a large stream, such as Kaweah River
192 po´čuč idık: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek
pa´'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kıd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
ḱomu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyed pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. ~~In this~~ S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 823 Directions.--These are listed in the order voluntarily given.

da´tu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pın: up
a´dıd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mıts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wıč; to the west, tokıyu´wıč; to the south, humtı´nın.

do´mtu i´dıkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dıkao: downstream

805 192 821 Seasons.--Some informants followed the general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.
821 ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)
192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɛš), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɛč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´´u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɛš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɛt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɛšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order
[525] normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

825 Just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their 616] neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846] infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and 843 morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177] is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The
[757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no´mčin, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčin, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not
[551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´wis) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805 177]

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[164] [243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 156 a] Dumwa

●805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]
821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yeš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lel (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lek (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nen homoti
823 (to go south); to´xel (west; toward the plains); toxel tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxel pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tel (directly down, also downhill); tanen atel (to go down); atel tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pen (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipen wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´met (to run); witi´net (to fall down); haswe´net (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´let (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswe´net (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40]Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41]Dunnell, 122.

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who
821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol:č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

● 805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Mobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

821 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
773

u´pɨš: sun
toiyu´nam u´pɨš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɨš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačɨt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

wɨ´čɨn čano´´onɨt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

● 805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yɨt u´pɨš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɨn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɨpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

825 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
386 follows:
822

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors
192 got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52]One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53]This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siw:´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´n:č) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´':ša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, :niša´n nan wan upuš n:m (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan:č or site´lši tawan:č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

W [P. 229 b] Western Mono NS25

Y

821 An eclipse of the moon or sun is attribu-
782 ted to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W The following four seasons were dis-
Y tinguished: pua´kin, fall, acorn-dropping time
805 [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu,
221 spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

W B.O. gave the following information in Wak-
Y sachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O.
805 for the Michahai.
821

192 Times, stars, nature:
552 tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´šso´š: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

Y
W
823 Directions:
192 pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

W
Y
823
192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r•: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W
Y
825
192

● Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y
[184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

W
Y
773
821

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W
Y
825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušl·l·n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W
Y
773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

W
Y
622

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
604 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south,
[139] probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the
[184] cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less
[821] scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
114 and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
● 805 with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about Novem-
132 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa´o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10]

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops.

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten.

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs.

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10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´´og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expres-[515] sions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayer-[777] ful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

bodied in Yokuts verbal narratives (mythology). The grand chronology was 805
divided into two major parts—a remote past or prehuman era, and recent times
or human era—an ancient "then" and an immediate "now." The prehuman era 805
was that of a world created and occupied by birds and animals of superanimal 773
and superhuman powers. To Eagle, with his bird and animal assistants and companions, was attributed the building of the world, the institution of certain cultural, social, and physical features of man and his way of life. This prehistoric period, described in a fairly full but not elaborately detailed stock of stories, came to an end with the creation of mankind by Eagle and the subsequent transformation of these bird-and-animal people into their present known forms. All this happened beyond the memory of man, but the past continued into the present in the immediate ubiquity of the animals themselves. Beliefs about them were being constantly reinforced by daily happenings in the circumjacent wilds.

The "earth-diver" creation myth was singularly appropriate for the San 773
Joaquin valley people: in aboriginal times the valley bottom was filled with water and as far as the eye could see stretched tule beds thriving along the innumerable sloughs and swampy shores. At least once in the memory of each generation the seasonal flood increased to enormous, alarming proportions. Entirely congruous then, was the belief that once the world was all water and that Eagle, in his omniscience, asked Duck to dive and bring up a speck of sand from which to make a solid earth. Then Falcon and Crow, each flying north on parallel routes, dropped earth to form the pair of mountain ranges, Coast on the west, Sierra Nevada on the east. Coyote stole the sun to provide light, and Jack Rabbit stole fire which Bat had discovered. Falcon and Crow got Tobacco, which gave itself to them; Deer gave himself as food; Cougar hunted him, though Coyote spoiled easy success; Bear made a sweathouse and showed other animals how this should be done; all animals save the carnivores drank *Datura* ceremonially. Eagle wanted immortality, but Coyote argued against it, thereby losing his son, Blue Lizard. Falcon was a hero; his wife Duck, when stolen by Condor was sought by Crow and Bottle-Fly. When Eagle finally created man, Lizard offered his hand as a model. Then Eagle felt the animals should leave and he gave each his choice of habitat and of future service to human beings, as (beside those named above) Skunk and Owl would help shamans, Quail would help women in childbirth, and so on. Then they all "flew off" eastward where today they still exist and know how mankind treats their counterparts on earth. During the animal or prehistoric era the social system was like that of today: Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, Coyote a clown, Magpie an advisor, and so on.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

525 all withered, but with a lower jaw as of iron, and features denoting extraor
777 dinary strength of will—a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of the others—after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate *wiatak!* It was amusing to see the savage energy
[152] with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

Following are the Yokuts numerals, taken at three places:

802
192

	KINGSTON.	KAWEAH RIVER.	FORT TEJON.
One.	yet.	yet.	yet.
Two.	po-no′-eh.	pūng′-o-eh.	poan′-oikh.
Three.	so′-pin.	so-o′-pin.	so-o′-pin.
Four.	ha′-to-po-noh.	ha-to-pang-ih′.	ha-to-poan′-oikh.
Five.	yit′-sen-it.	yi-tsing′-ut.	yi-tsin′-et.
Six.	cha′-lip-eh.	chu′-di-peh.	tso′-li-pih.
Seven.	nōm′-chil.	noam′-chin.	noam′-chikhl.
Eight.	mo-noas′.	mu′-nūsh.	mu′-nus.
Nine.	se′-po-noat.	no′-nip.	so′-pon-hut.
Ten.	tsi′-oh.	ti′-i-hoh.	ti′-i-hoh.

805 On the Tule River Reservation they have coined names for the days
192 of the week. They are these: Wu-lo′-a, Po′-ni-o, So′-pi-o, Hots′-po, Ya′-ti-so, Chol′-po, Hu-lo′-sa.

753 Their theory of disease is, that it all resides in the blood. To prove this, they cite the fact that the blood always collects underneath a bruise and makes it dark; and also the fact that drawn blood coagulates. Hence
757 their favorite remedy was scarification with small flints. And when they
[304] became acquainted with the process of cupping, they wearied the reservation surgeon with applications to have it performed on them for every little
[278] ailment. For diseases of the bowels they boil up a mess of a large and very stinking ant, and give it internally.

262 Their range of food is extensive. Around the lake they cut and dry the seed-stalks of a kind of flag (*Typha*) which has a head something like a

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

● 821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

If a person were feverish, a layman with
[755 supernatural power might rub him all over with
823] a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

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[56] A Palligawonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

821 Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety,

789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 A very long time ago there were two girls
776 called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´, elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu'us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power
[756] were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's
821 dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

802 11. ti'uv yɛt 100. yɛt pɛč
12. ṭi'uv poñoi etc. 1000. ṭi'uv pɛč
21. poñoi ṭi'uv yɛt
22. poñoi ṭi'uv poñoi
etc.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS

805 Informants differ somewhat in their designation of the day's phases and in the pronunciation of words; such differences are indicated by the individual's initials.
821
192

Times of day.--

sala´lwidao: morning (M.L.); hiam [now] šala´dwidao: early morning (M.P.)
te´yao ču´ka: before noon (M.P.)
ču´kao: noon, noon meal (M.L.); hiam ču´ka: noon, noon meal (M.P.)
wakhu´šu ču´ka: afternoon (M.P.)
ne´wao: sundown (M.L.); ni·a´wi·ao: sundown, early evening (M.P.)
hiam ni´u´ši: evening (M.P.)
toi´yuma: night, dark (M.L.); hiam ta'ɛ´nši: night dark (M.P.)

Designation of days.--

o´piu: day, light (M.L.); u´piu: day, light (M.P.)
he´če u´piu: today (M.P.)
šala´dwidao: tomorrow [lit., morning] (M.P.)
ati´opo´do: short day as in winter (J.B.)
wa opo´do: long day as in summer (J.B.)

The days of the week have received native names which are based on the numbers 1 to 7, as follows (J.B.):

wuda´o: Monday
pu´ne'uñɛč: Tuesday
supe'a´ta: Wednesday
hai´'obata: Thursday
yɛča´o: Friday
ča´odɛtpi: Saturday
no´mčɛn: Sunday

Phases of sun and moon.--

o´piu: sun. The sun goes into the lake [Tulare; ocean?] every night and comes up on the other side every morning (M.P.).
opo´da: sun (M.L., J.B.)
woi´yo opo´do: solstice (lit., turning-back sun). The solstice was noted, and recognized as the turning point for the length of days, but otherwise was without significance (J.B.).
u´pɛs: moon (M.L.); u´pɛš (J.B.)
hača´m u´pɛš: new moon [lit., young moon] (J.B.). If the new moon in winter showed the faint circle of its complete sphere, it was said to be "making its house," and was regarded as a sign of rain.[209]

[209] Cf. Hopi (Beaglehole, Notes on Hopi Economic Life, 35).

805 hiam mapɛ´nši u´pɛš: full moon (J.B.)
hiam katai´šu u´pɛš: old moon (J.B.)
821 u´pɛs tawi´ɛi: waning moon [lit., dying moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi´tɛl: now dying, said of waning moon (M.P.)
192 kamu´tu u´pɛš: dark of moon [lit., lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u´pɛs [or opo´do] kai´'iyu doi'ye´di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he' u´šɛt nanu´nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 Stars, constellations.--

192 toi´tɛs: any star (M.L.); čo´teč: any star (J.B.)

tawa´nɛt: morning star (M.L.); tawa´nɛl: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipɛ´čnɛm hi´am ti´ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo´d apo´d, a´mɛd nɛm).

ni´ye'ao: evening star (J.B.)

goi´yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]

hoda´otšɛd: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho´dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

Nature.--

823 met i´dɛk: a large stream, such as Kaweah River
192 po´čuč idɛk: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek

pa´'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kɨd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
ḱomu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyɨd pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 823 Directions.--These are listed in the order voluntarily given.

da´tu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pɨn: up
å´dɨd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mɨts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wɨč; to the west, tokɨlyu´wɨč; to the south, humtɨ´nɨn.

do´mtu i´dɨkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dɨkao: downstream

805 192 824 Seasons.--Some informants followed the general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.

●821 ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.); May (J.B.)

192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.); June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).

wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)

tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.--There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´wɛš), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´wɛč). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´wɛš) first. The shinny stick (ku´tɛt), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dwɛšu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order normally won the game. An onlooker was selected [525] to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be
754 a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
778 under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ:pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ṭa) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with profession-
al entertainment occurred not more ~~than~~ once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

536 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 156 a] Dumna

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); mɛ´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yɛla (big rain from the west). Ma´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´ɛs (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yeš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lɛl (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lɛk (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nɛn homoti
823 (to go south); to´xɛl (west; toward the plains): toxɛl tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxɛl pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tɛl (directly down, also downhill); tanɛn atɛl (to go down); atɛl tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pɛn (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipɛn wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mɛt (to run); witi´nɛt (to fall down); haswɛ´nɛt (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lɛt (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswɛ´nɛt (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Dunnell, 122.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[p. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l:k) and supernatural power (t:pni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted [821] to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t:pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y:l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who
821 are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol:č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiňa´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was
276 poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summer-time and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

[P. 162 a] Kechayi

821 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
773

u´pɨš: sun
toiyu´nam u´pɨš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nɨš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačɨt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čɨn čano´´onɨt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yɨt u´pɨš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɨn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɨpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

825 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
387 follows:
822

192 ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina´tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

756 galia] and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
764 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who
821 grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean, 824 would kill a person without provocation. Other 766 doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing 626 themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legiti- 683 mately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

N 276 [439] they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

Y M 805 192 The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siw:´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

Y W 821 782 The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´n:č) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´':ša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

W Y 821 The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, :niša´n nan wan upuš n:m (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawan:č or site´lši tawan:č." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

W Y [773] The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 2296] Western Mono N525

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An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

W
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The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

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B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:

tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´eso´e: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

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Directions:

pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

W
Y
823
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peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r•: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W
Y
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Seasons:
ta•´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to•´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y
[184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

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The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

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Y
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Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušlıln, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

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The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

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The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

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the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]

6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.

7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.

8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.

9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.

10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.

11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

W
Y
[821]
[778]

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.

13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

W
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The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

W
Y
[778]

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the 436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the 804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the 184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of 436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or [437] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the [184] cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of 846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be connected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less [821] scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. 252 272 757

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wōkitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wōkitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tōwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tiwahlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamahlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yuhlahlait

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pūna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave me	with-a-little	sun	
anò	nan	yèt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heneit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

302
386 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hıt, M.L.; white color, čau´ded, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a 304 permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief that it prevented one from getting old and [827] wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

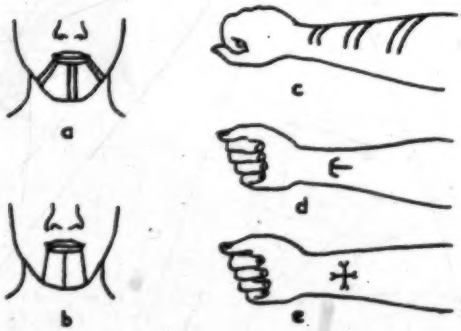

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.M.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

621 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
723

u´pəš: sun
toiyu´nam u´pəš: moon (lit., night sun)
tawa´nəš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačət: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čən čano´´onət: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people, the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokel[illegible] couldn't holler very good." Coyote was n[illegible]ved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the [illegible]ccurred, a horse was killed, in additi[illegible] the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pəš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčən, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´ləpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
386 follows:

822
192 ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

302 192 who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

386 hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the 822 ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

302 Face patterns E.M. could not describe be-
616 yond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436 Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numeri-
802 cal system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following
192 Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. te´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn, etc.
11. yɛ´čam	
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

526 Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on [616] each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts [237] were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with supernatural power might rub him all over with
● 823] a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina, Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has
262 four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

[56] A Palligawonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

821 Earthquakes (ye´lya) were infrequent, and not attributed to any special cause by J.A. When she was a little girl, she and her little sister were sitting on the ground together when a very heavy earthquake came (1872 ?). She said it caused a tree to fall over.

823 A flood (hu'u´lu'un) of unusual proportions forced all J.A.'s people to seek refuge on a hilltop when she was little more than an infant; she remembers no other. Floods have become infrequent owing to intensive irrigation in the San Joaquin Valley.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 Chunut chiefs functioned much as those of the foothills, according to J.A: they set the time for mourning and other celebrations, discouraged quarrels, assisted poor people, and played host to visitors. The position was inherited in the paternal line. The chief's wife and children were also called by the chiefly title, ti´ya, but while a brother was called tiya, his children were not unless he succeeded to the position.

622 554 J.A. stressed the chief's wealth, but could not specify exact methods of acquiring it. She implied that the chief made a slight profit on all money exchanges which he handled. Moreover, any traveler coming with something to sell first went to the chief's house, as any visitor would, where the chief had the first opportunity to buy and, as a result, could resell at a higher price. J.A. said, "Anyone down here who saved money could get to be tiya," but one had to dream [of Eagle], and "anyone who helped poor people was called tiya." But such a man was not confused with the chief of a chiefly lineage, and he could not acquire an Eagle lineage totem by this means. His prestige was due to his success, and his influence lay in his personality.

622 Every village had a chief. If groups of people happened to camp together there might be as many as three chiefs, any one of whom officiated over all the people regardless of their moiety affiliations.

While J.A. stated that women became influential as chiefs in their own right, she could not name any, "this was just what she had heard about the old times."

Regarding Motsi, J.A. said that she was not a chief herself; she was the mother of Mu'ustu, the wife of J.A.'s paternal uncle, Pohasa, who was a chief. "Motsi wanted to be called tiya because she had lived with Bob 'Tista," a doctor of chiefly lineage who had much personal influence among the Indians of the plains.

About 1875-1880, at Pisras, there were three captains, Pohasa, Tokelyuwich moiety,

Rain-Making

789 The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

[823] Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[93] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[94]

---

[93] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[94] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but are, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

805 hiam mapɛ ́nši u ́pɛš: full moon (J.B.)
821 hiam katai ́šu u ́pɛš: old moon (J.B.)
u ́pɛs tawi ́či: waning moon [lit., dying moon] (M.L.); hiam tawi ́tɛl: now dying, said of waning moon (M.P.)
192 kamu ́tu u ́pɛš: dark of moon [lit., lacking moon] (J.B.)

That the moon served as a month or time marker was disclaimed by J.B., which is not credible. In this connection he said there was "an old lady who told what kind of weather was coming; she was just like an almanac." He had no notion of how she acquired this ability.

An eclipse was called by the entire phrase: u ́pɛs [or opo ́do] kai ́'iyu doi 'ye ́di (moon [or sun] Coyote eats). During an eclipse of either planet, people rushed out and shouted: am pi' he' u ́šɛt nanu ́nwa (not eat leave-some please) (M.L.). The same idea was rendered in English by M.P.: "Leave me some sweet stuff!" The grandmother of M.L. had told her that it was so dark for two or three days once that people had to carry torches in order to secure their wood, food, and water.[210]

821 <u>Stars, constellations</u>.--

192 toi ́tɛs: any star (M.L.); čo ́tač: any star (J.B.)

tawa ́nɛt: morning star (M.L.); tawa ́nɛl: morning star (J.B.). All men of character were up in time to greet the morning star. The Yaudanchi, Tm.W., said that on his way for his morning swim he would say to the star: "My elder brother comes now" (nipɛ ́čnɛm hi ́am ti ́ši). Other men or women made prayerful remarks of the same sort. Some asked help of the sun and moon. To the sun Tm.W. would say: "I talk to you Sun, help me" (na man haiyo ́d apo ́d, a ́mɛd nɛm).

ni 'ye 'ao: evening star (J.B.)

goi ́yuma: Pleiades (lit., young women) (M.L., J.B., M.P.). These always appeared in the fall when it was cool; they marked the beginning of winter (M.L.). There is a popular myth, localized by each tribe, that these girls left their husbands and flew to the sky.[211]

hoda ́otšɛd: Milky Way [lit., to race] (J.B.). Falcon and a fast flying duck (ho ́dodo) raced there; Falcon won.[212]

<u>Nature</u>.--

● 823 mɛt i ́dɛk: a large stream, such as Kaweah River
192 po ́čuč idɛk: a small stream, such as Lime Kiln Creek
pa ́'asi: any pool or lake, such as Woodlake

[210] This might be a factual statement or hearsay derived from myths of Coyote's race with the Sun and the subsequent darkness (Gayton and Newman, 83, abstract 96, note 3).

[211] Ibid., 26, 65, abstracts 44-52.

[212] Ibid., 67, abstract 54.

823 po´kɪd: a spring of water
hota´o: rain (M.L.); hoto´'o: rain
192 (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
hosyu´mai: a big rain after a thunder storm (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
taka´'a: thunder (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
komu´da: thunder, another name, but not a different kind (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
howo´ṭa: hail (Tm.W., Yaudanchi)
tida´ša: wind (M.L.)
wi´ti tida´ša: a slight wind, breeze (M.L.)
wu´hna tida´ša: a hard wind (M.L.)
čedu´ditu: a cessation of wind, "a wind died down" (M.L.)
wo'o´kyɛd pa´'an: earthquake [lit., trembles or shakes ground]. J.B. said "the old folks were afraid of earthquakes," but he did not know what caused them. Nothing was done when they occurred, nor does he recall any damage done by them. He is of the opinion that earthquakes are a recent manifestation, "there weren't so many in the old days." One very severe one he recalls from his youth, possibly
[772] that of 1872. He never heard of successive world creations and destructions. In this S.G. concurred, saying that "this is the first and only world," and that Eagle made it.

192 <u>Directions</u>.--These are listed in the order
823 voluntarily given.

da´tu: west, plainsward
ho´mot: south
huši´m: south
do´mtoi: east, mountainwards
ti´pɪn: up
a´dɪd: down

The mountains to the east (the Sierra Nevada) were called du´mɪts; to go up into the mountains, domta´o; nuta´wi was also given as mountainwards by M.L.; to go toward the plains, da´ṭu. People to the north were called hošo´ma; to the east, nutu´wɪč; to the west, tokɛlyu´wɪč; to the south, humtɪ´nɪn.

do´mtu i´dɪkao: upstream
da´ṭu i´dɪkao: downstream

805 <u>Seasons</u>.--Some informants followed the
192 general Yokuts pattern of three seasons. The choice of three might be due to the influence of "ritual numbers" (3, 6, 12 for Yokuts), but
824 seems attributable to the natural phases of the climate, a brief mild sunny season, spring; a long, hot sunny season, summer; a brief cold rainy season, winter. The introduction of a fourth season ("autumn") seems due to European influence, yet may merely be a further refinement like the "late spring" given by J.B.

tiša´miu: spring (M.L., M.P., J.B.); February to April (J.B.). When the flowers were in bloom; women began repairing their

755 Coyote man" (i.e., of Coyote lineage) who did
[522] so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (l:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen.
845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

755 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 113a] Wukchumni

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ·pni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which opened at the owner's command. The rocks were [531] usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·šiu (lit., ● 823 dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

789 825 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments, [301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear at other seasons because they attracted thunder 301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an 821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitumen?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the [823] top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of [535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

726 P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

● 823 Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

361

103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4]Ibid., 29, 30.

[5]Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokum N529
[P. 156 a] Dumna

805 Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was in-
192 terested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]
821 He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); me´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yela (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nas (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yaš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lal (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lak (water).

Directions were particularized as follows:
192 ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nan homoti
● 823 (to go south); to´xal (west; toward the plains): toxal tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxal pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tal (directly down, also downhill); tanan atal (to go down); atal tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pan (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipan wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mat (to run); witi´nat (to fall down); haswa´nat (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as
192 follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal
561 boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lat (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswa´nat (dead person).

764 Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

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[40] Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41] Dunnell, 122.

621 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
723

u´pəš: sun
toiyu´nem u´pəš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nəš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačət: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čən čano´´onət: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pəš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčən, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´ləpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
805 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of
301 which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

Paint.--The colors and sources were as
302 follows:
387
822
192

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɛn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɛn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´´ɛč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɛ´lɛč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on [611] the male line.

766 they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

756 The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa ̌čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

776 The supernatural creatures helped only
616 members of the moiety with which they were as-
756 sociated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die
● [823] whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. re-
756 members only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals
[562] and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned,
756 or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die.
764 Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

756 Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a
556 doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark
422 of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

[252] [851] house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking [823] stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which [262] came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The [562] first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 229 b] Western Mono NS25

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An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´ow" nawa´rit.

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The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´k:n, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

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B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´´uñus: after sundown
totsoi´´idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´ow": moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´šso´š: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´´uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´b:p: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
t:p: granite
pahe´: soapstone

Y ●
W

● 823
192

Directions:
pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

W Y 823 192

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r•: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

W Y 805 192

Seasons:
ta´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

Y [184]

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

W Y 773 821

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

W Y 825

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puĕl:l:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

W Y 773

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

W Y 622

Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "Mičkit [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ainič (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 Shamanistic power among the Yokuts comes both unsought and
778 to men desirous of acquiring it. It is most commonly derived from
787 animals or monsters inhabiting the water, or from their appearances in dreams after their haunts have been frequented; but visits by dead relatives, which are so frequent a stimulus among the northern California tribes, are also mentioned as a source of the conferment. The bear doctor, of course, has bears as his spirit; the rattlesnake shaman, the sun, as with the Yuki. The rain doctor alone has his power associated more directly with an amulet than with any spirit.

[823] The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface. A Yaudanchi, with two boy companions, caught a *wetapkul*, a long, large-eyed fish, which makes doctors by swallowing them. At once a great whirlwind circled, the trees broke, the water rose, and the three persons fled for their lives. That night in his sleep the monster came to the young man and gave him this song:

[539]

> Whose is this fish to shoot?
> Your hand feathers are panting!

The hand feathers are the *wacham* dance ornament used by doctors; they seem to symbolize the moving gills of the water monster.

Another southern Yokuts at dusk met two strangers, who took him with them into the stream, through two doors, one formed of a snake, one of a turtle. He had become unconscious. Inside their house the otters, for such they had become, resumed human shape. They offered *tipni* power to their guest, with the threat that he could not live if he refused. He took the gift, but asked for instructions concerning it. "You shall cure the sick, not kill human beings," was the naïve order he received with his song. When the man awoke he was on land once more, and dry as if he had never left the earth. This is his song:

[539]

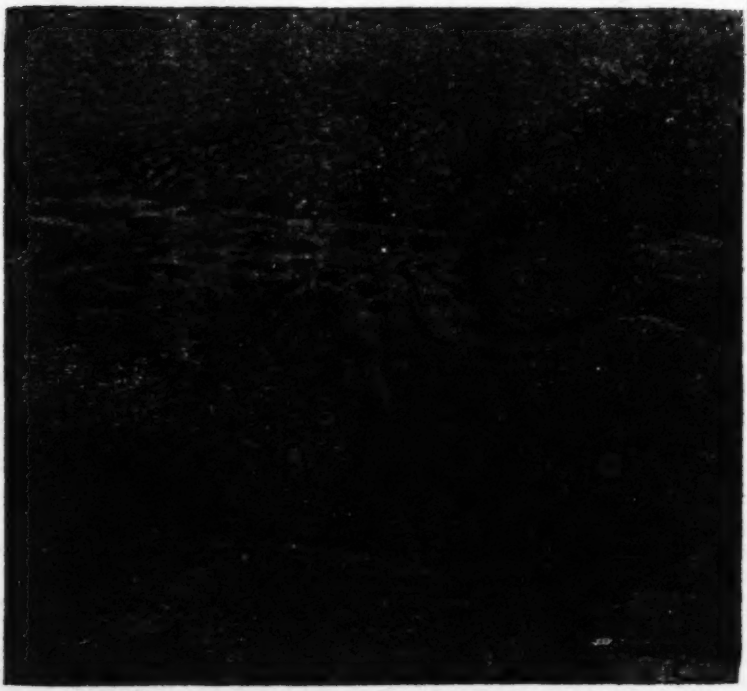
> The other says: Run in the brush;
> Run in the brush, I hear continually.

Two instances of the genesis of bear doctors:

A Yaudanchi hunter was taken by a grizzly into its hidden house inside the rock, where it drew off its skin and became human. Others joined the circle, and a dance began. Suddenly a dog barked and the dance stopped. The man remained with his hosts several days.

A Tachi bathed at night. At last a bear appeared in his dreams and instructed him. After many years, not before middle life, he reached the power of becoming a bear at will. He swam in a pool, emerged as the animal, and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



[45]
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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auhury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped. 411 224

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal. [824]

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound. [823]

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed. 411 726

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a [258] crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews [823] were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the name. 159 103 361

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good friends did not have any land on the lake. 159 166 361

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of my old Chunut things. [191]

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck, and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of the water to make the world. 159 773

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer. [821]

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once *Wahl'-wut* (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the race. [823]

When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it would not rain the next day. 159 [821]

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores. [252 272 757]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono. 439 484 648

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment. 439 133 [823] [616] [775]

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of 101 823 133 439

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
● 823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the finger-nail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk
619 were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

622 The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi
754 who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

278
754 She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets afitawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that [823] would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

754 Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. [177] But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

754 Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[62] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but
757 the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

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[62] See anecdote, p. 397.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

782 34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.
192
539

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he
539 motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third
192 phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.
[788]

ukunka	kin	ilka	tōwayutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tōwshlut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	bamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Bamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

782 36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to
192 take of it.
539
● 823

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
behi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.
192
539

heueitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave	me	with-a-little	sun
anè	nan	yòt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)
(not)	for-me	altogether	eat-it
heueit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 18] Western Mono NS25

Y
N
285

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

TWINED BASKET TYPES		YOKUTS			WESTERN MONO	
		CHUNUT	WUNCHUMNI	MICHAHAI	WOBONUCH	WAKSACHI
	close twined, always 4 red bands in plain or herringbone pattern					
1 COOKING BASKET		?	pete'ne	pe'ne	pete'n	tepone'E
Y [824] [438]	close twined, stiffened with soaproot juice	obtained from the foothill tribes				
2 BURDEN BASKET		a'nes	a'hal	a'nal	wene pe'ne	?
	medium open twined, handled					
3 SEEDBEATER		ha'lai	yamaki te'eyuk	ka' phai	pete-'	tonake
	fine open twined, no handle					
4 SIEVE		?	te'eyuk	ka'phai	pu''en	?
	coarse open twined, no handle					
5 FISH SCOOP AND CARRIER		?	a'pet	ka'phai	pu''en	?
	close twined, stiffened with soaproot juice					
6 WINNOWER		unknown	obtained by trade ?	obtained by trade ?	te'e'li^{u}e	?
	open twined, cage has lid					
7 HANGING BASKET OR CAGE		used by all tribes (native word not recorded)				

Fig. 2. Yokuts and Western Mono twined basket types.

302 could paint his face any way he liked if he did not want to follow a totemic pattern. After ceremonial washing a man's face was covered with red paint; sometimes a little white paint was put on a woman.

The following information is from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly put his data on Tachi moieties at my disposal.

302 The Tachi employed moiety face paints. The
616 toxelyuwic painted a "pink" stripe of wild rose-
[824] bush powder[48] from the edge of the hair on the forehead down to the tip of the nose, and a horizontal stripe under each eye. A small black spot was added under each horizontal stripe of pink.

The nutuwuts moiety painted the right side of the face solid white, the left solid black. No spots were added.

It seems probable that the informant who gave these data described patterns characteristic of some animal (lineage totem) associated with each moiety. There is no suggestion of specific moiety patterns from any informants of
[613] moiety-divided tribes. The lineage is the essential unit; but if forced to characterize moieties, an informant will choose some important animal (lineage totem) of each, most frequently Coyote and Eagle. Without further detail being given, it would appear that all persons of one moiety or the other had these animals as totems. I believe it is thus with the two paint patterns described to Gifford: that the informant oversimplified.

Money Manufacture

436 The shells for money were obtained whole
321 from the Tokya (Chumash, Salinan, or other
[439] coastal people to the west). By laying them on a rock and giving them a sharp blow with a stone held in the hand, they were broken up into several parts, which were again cracked into smaller pieces by the same method. Each piece was given a circular shape by rubbing down its edge on a large, flat, hard rock. The
[412] discs were then drilled by means of a drill (wa´lai) of bone which was imbedded in the end of a button willow stick. The palm of the left
[237] hand,[49] gummed with fish glue, rolled the drill on the left thigh while the right hand pressed the disc against the rotating tip.

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[48] Concerning the possible derivation of this powder Professor H.L. Gardner, of the University of California, writes me [Gifford]: "There is a fungus growing on certain species of roses which causes distortions in the branches of the rose, such distortions being filled with masses of orange colored spores. It is barely possible that these might make a temporary pigment."

[49] Practices with the left and right hands are uncertain with this informant, who is herself left-handed.

796 her husband, W.At., who had never seen it. J.A. knew of it, as performed by the Wukchumni and Gawia, but she could not describe it well. She [237] knew of one man, Sapa´te, who did this dance; the singers used cocoon rattles; it was done in 534 the daytime. It took place in the fall, after the acorns were down; acorn mush could not be eaten, otherwise.

Bear doctors, however, were not uncommon in the lake region.

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not made by the Chunut, Tachi, or Wowol; it may have been made by the Gawia, Yokod, and Telamni; J.A. definitely attributes it to the foothill people. She once saw Pušl:´l:n, a Choinimni, "go around with a snake" which he stepped on; that part [752] was called tatlawas. She knew of no purpose in the performance: when one was bitten by a rattlesnake one called an ordinary sucking doctor. Neither did she know of coyote impersonation in this or any other connection.

First-fruit rites were merely called "little party" (witi lonu´iw:s), and seem to have been scrupulously observed, yet remained unelaborated. J.A. thinks the Tachi and Wowol were like the Chunut in the observation of these rites, which pertained primarily to 796 berries and seeds. All seeds (pa´was, so´pas, 616 tsos, su´kun, ya´ha´´al, tsa´m:t, and ṭaltoi´ya [mushrooms]) were classified as Tokelyuwich, whereas berries, birds, and animals[100] were Nutuwich. The little ritual was a reciprocal function. The moiety associated with the foods, as Nutuwich was with berries, would obtain a supply of them when they first became available each year. The chiefs called the people to assemble, and the Nutuwich people presented them to the Tokelyuwich, who thereupon ate them. Then the Nutuwich were free to do so; the new crop remained tabu to them until the Tokelyu- [824] wich had eaten of it. If Nutuwich people ate blackberries (ma´m:l) too soon, their children would "break out with berries all over their bodies." The same procedure was followed with seasonal foods associated with the other moiety.

J.A. referred to the Bear Dance and acorn 796 tabu in this connection, knowing it as an analogue in foothill culture. However, she did not know of any first rites in connection with salmon or migratory birds. Clover "belonged to [262] everybody" and was eaten at any time of year; tobacco was also freely used. She was unable to give any details of the ceremonial eating, to name the participants, etc.; it seems reasonable to assume that the chiefs and their families were the first to partake as in the northern foothill region.

A seed-growing dance, which was at once a prophetic ritual and display of magical powers, was given each spring by one or two shamans who

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[100] J.A. could not classify the Nutuwich foodstuffs, rather vaguely making "berries" the sole food involved for this moiety.

343 one each side of the entrance. Manzanita wood
[824] about one inch thick was preferred, as its smoke was believed to be less irritating to the eyes than that of other woods.[149] About the edges of the room lay such tule mats as various individuals brought in for their own comfort. A flute-player might habitually thrust his flute up into some little cranny at the roof's edge (J.P., S.G.).

Kroeber's unlocalized description of the Yokuts sweat house agrees in general with the above.[150]

The sweat house, moah or mos, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends, and dirt covered. It was small, not over 15 feet in length, and in no sense a dance house or assembly chamber.... The door faced the creek, or south, and was sometimes sheltered by parallel wind-breaks.

The single-post sweat house differed from the larger form only in size and in the relation of roof poles to center post. The center post was forked and supported a few radiating roof poles laid into its crotch. Others were laid against these, and the resulting bunch of pole ends were lashed together and about the post with coarse rope. The interstices were filled with slender rods, and the whole covered like the larger form. No door frame was made, the doorway being merely a narrow opening between poles spaced apart for the purpose (J.P., S.G.).

The Yaudanchi sweat house was a two-post affair. The floor was excavated about two feet. Then a frame of sticks radiating from a center beam to the ground was lashed in place, a willow roof laid over it, and the whole thing covered with mud. The doorway was about 4 feet by 4 feet, which seems excessively wide. The fire was just within the entrance. About ten men were accommodated. Any man was free to enter and sweat, but youths did not attempt it until about twenty years old. Usually there were two singers who sang during the evening sweat.

342 Dwellings.--The construction of a house was a family affair; friends helped each other only when assistance was a physical necessity to the builder. Some men might build a little house for an old woman who had no relatives, but more often such a person would take up residence in an abandoned house or vacant storehouse. The work of house-building was divided. The man of the family obtained the poles and heavy withes for the framework, dug out the floor space, and set up the framework. In the

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[149] The Wintu also preferred manzanita wood (Du Bois, Wintu, 122).

[150] Handbook, 522, 523.

[text continues on p. 63a]

411 The arrow, shikid, generically, had three
237 forms among the Yaudanchi, known as t'uyosh, diibaku, and wuk'ud. The war arrow had no foreshaft, but a rather long wooden point, notched. It measured from the finger tip nearly to the opposite shoulder or a trifle more than the possible pull of the bow.... The ordinary hunting arrow had a long sharpened foreshaft, but no real head. The deer arrow had foreshaft and flint head, but the foreshaft was socketed without glue or tie, so that the main shaft would disengage after hitting.

Powers saw two types of arrows:[178]

411 Of arrows, the Indians living on the plains made some for themselves of button-
[824] willow, straight twigs of the buckeye, and canes, but the most durable came from the mountains. There are two kinds, war-arrows and game-arrows; the former furnished with flint heads, the latter not. The shaft of the war-arrow consists of a single piece, but that of the game-arrow is frequently composed of three pieces, furnished with sockets so adjusted as to fit into each other snugly. When the hunter,
[224] lurking behind the covert, sees the quarry approaching, he measures quickly with his eye the probable length of shot he will have to make, and if it is a long one he couches his arrow with three pieces; but if a short one, with extraordinary quickness he twitches it apart, takes out the middle section, claps the two end sections together again, and fires. An arrow made of what we should call the frailest of all woods, the tender shoot of a buckeye, and pointed with flint, has carried death to many a savage in battle. I have seen an Indian couch a game-arrow, which was pointed only with a section of arrow-wood, and drive it a full half-inch into the hardest oak!

411 The arrow straightener used by all Yokuts
324 has been described and illustrated by Kroeber:[179]

The prevailing arrow straightener among the Yokuts is the Southern California form: a well-shaped rectangular block of stone, often rounded or ridged on top, and invariably with a polished transverse groove. This implement is undoubtedly associated with the employment of
411 cane for arrows: the Yokuts are known to have
322 used the plant, though not exclusively. The joints were warmed in the groove and bent by hand or on the ridge after the stone had been heated; the groove was also used for smoothing. The holed straightener of wood or horn for
[171] wooden shafts, as employed all over northern California, has not been reported from the Yokuts.[180]

Cane arrows were realigned before and after each usage. The cane shaft, with foreshaft removed, was grasped at each end and drawn across the hot groove with a rolling,

[178] P. 374.

[179] Handbook, 530, pl. 49, e.

[180] Latta (Uncle Jeff's Story, 20) recently reports that a perforated stone disc was so used by the Choinimni. A.H.G.

283 rocks without being allowed to dry, and pounded with a stone, then rolled on the thigh into a two-ply cord (see Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II, for fuller account of method). Making of cordage was a man's task throughout (M.L.).

A medium-weight cord was made of milkweed (ša'). It was used for wide carrying bands, tying cords, fish and duck nets, trap strings. Its manufacture is described by Kroeber for the Yokuts generally.[199]

[824] The commonest string material was milkweed, Asclepias, called shah or chaka. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fiber, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply.

[824] Another and finest string (čit:k) was made of hemp or dogbane. This was used for the ordinary narrow tumpline, carrying and head nets, belts, bead stringing. M.L. said ho' was willow, ša', milkweed, and čit:k, nettle. Neither the "hemp" nor "nettle" was identified by the recorder.

482 The carrying net (wa'dak) and tumpline
283 (šu'ñd:č, any rope or band for carrying burdens) were always made of hemp (?) according to M.P. and J.P.; other informants (M.L. and S.G.) say that the finer grades of milkweed twine were used (fig. 13, a). Women always placed the tumpline across the upper forehead, occasionally wearing a coiled basket cap for protection. Men placed the burden strap across the upper chest and deltoid muscles (see vignettes, fig. 13). Bundles were never carried on the head and seldom in the hands.

286 Formerly the making of straps and nets was a man's work. A carrying net was begun by coiling a length of cord around the left hand four or five times and tying the ends together, forming a ring about four inches in diameter. (The dimensions herein are those of an ordinary carrying net owned by the informant, M.P.) This was fastened to a ramada post, a tree, or any convenient place at about the shoulder height of the maker. The twines used were always of double thickness. That is, a length of twine was chosen and its center point thrust into the split end of a wooden needle: the two dangling ends were rolled together on the thigh
[284] to form a single length of twine. The open end was fastened to the rope ring with a few half-hitches, then the netting stitch began.

[199] Handbook, 534.

[text continues on p. 85a]

252 nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be
262 eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

[222 481] According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; [224 286] those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

[439] This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

262 Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. [144] However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

252 Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

251 Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

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[90] This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91] Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

Medicines

278 824 757 Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American [177] medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

[752] A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono[1]." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

[751] To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

278 area was covered with dry wormweed which was
824 then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in
757 his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

224 Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

224 A man could carry one deer by means of a
482 tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was

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[96] An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 188 9] chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--
mentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[203] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[824] with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
284 was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[204]

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[203] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower (carex?).

[204] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" (redbud?).

412 in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was from a long straight limb of a tree growing [824] more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

[824 222] Long poles for shaking down acorns were made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

412 322 Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres or uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[109] Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

411 Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

[324] The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

501 Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

227 In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

436 Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown
321 Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

Šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead (long or short?) was worth a

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[824] [113]From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114]Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-wili (ʼ ʼ ʼ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 a] chukchansi

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

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[824] [139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʻošaʻ[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, W Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkɨd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akhɨ ʻlɨč). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (toʻoʻdi) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called teʻʼenaʻošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Tsudzuki put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 35.

THE YOKUTS: THE CONCRETE BASIS OF LIFE.

Dress and bodily habits, 519; houses, 521; the food problem in California, 523; Yokuts plant foods and their preparation, 527; the mortar, 527; the taking of game and fish, 528; the bow, 530; boats, 531; textiles, 531; cradles of the Yokuts and other Californians, 534; pottery, 537; pipes and tobacco, 538; games, 538; æsthetics, 540; the type of Yokuts civilisation, 542.

DRESS AND BODILY HABITS.

Clothing sufficed only for the very limits of decency, as we see them. Men wrapped a deerskin, *sep*, around the loins, or went naked. Old men in particular were wont to go without even this covering. Boys and little girls also were nude; but from the time of puberty on women wore a two-piece fringed skirt of the usual Californian type, the hind part larger. With the Yaudanchi, both portions were made of willow bark, as among the Mohave. The Chukchansi made the back piece of buckskin, the front of pounded masses of a long grass called *chulochul*. The well-known rabbit-fur blanket protected against cold and rain on occasion, and was excellent to sleep in. Moccasins of deer and elk skin were worn only as there was special need. Rude sandals of bear fur have been reported as worn in winter.

Women's hair was worn long, but for men the custom was more variable. Both sexes were wont to gather it under a string when at work. In mourning, men burned their hair off to the neck, women, for a near relative, close to the head. A glowing stick was used, and the Chukchansi controlled the singeing with a natural comb of *tumu*, which has close-set parallel branches.

Women, but not men, had their nose septum pierced for ornaments of bone.

Tattooing was more practiced in the north than in the south, and more extensively by women than by men. It ran in lines, zigzags, and rows of dots, chiefly down the chin and across from the corners of the mouth; the Mono style of marking the upper cheeks was not followed. The general type of women's face pattern tolerated infinite individual variety, as in the Yuki region; the Yurok and their neighbors clung strictly to a tribal style. Chukchansi women might be tattooed across breast, abdomen, arms, and legs also. The method followed was to rub charcoal dust into cuts made with flint or

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

as the Kaweah River and Tejon Canyon, back of present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. 796 574

YOWLUMNE BOWS AND ARROWS

The Yokuts Indians of the San Joaquin Valley had probably developed the science of hunting with the bow and arrow further than had most Indians. The Yowlumne, of Kern River, were foremost among the Yokuts in this work. At least three types of bows were made. The most common of these was a bow made of elderberry wood. On first thought it would seem that this material would be the most unsuited of any, but it makes an excellent bow. It can be secured in long, straight, clear staves and can be made into as heavy a bow as is wanted. It has a smooth, strong cast, which it does not lose for many years. 411 824

I once carelessly put a strung elder bow in a closet and did not discover it for more than a year. I unstrung it and stood it in a corner near my desk. In twenty minutes it was as straight as ever and had as good a cast as when it was first made. Elder-wood bows were easily made and were used exclusively in the San Joaquin Valley by boys for hunting all kinds of small game, and even by men for hunting antelope, deer, and elk. Strings for these bows were made of either hemp, sinew, or milkweed fiber. [283]

Good bows were made from native laurel, or bay wood. This tree grows in the Sierra in clumps of many small, straight trunks. It is easily split into staves, which are stronger for their size than those made of elder-wood.

Aged Yowlumne Indians state that the Frémontia of the Sierra can be used to make a complete hunting weapon—bow, string and arrows. They say that the bark can be stripped off and twisted into a good string. The large branches can be split into staves and the small, straight branches made into arrows. With a few primitive tools a disarmed Yowlumne in a few hours' time could manufacture a complete hunting weapon. [283]

The finest Yokuts bows were made of juniper and were backed with sinew. Juniper staves were traded from the Monache, or Piute to the east, or were secured in Yokuts territory in the upper Coast Range mountains. Bows of juniper were shorter than those made of other woods. They required more skill and labor to produce and were highly valued. [439]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

The great variety of San Joaquin Valley game also made useful the two-piece arrow. With only a few good arrow shafts, a Yokuts could quickly attach a point to shoot squirrels, birds, ducks or any kind of game he saw. There was another very important reason for using the two-piece arrow, especially in hunting large game, such as antelope, deer, elk, raccoon, wild cat, fox, and mountain lion. Raccoon, wild cat and mountain lion would fight the arrow with their paws. They would break the arrow off, generally inside their bodies. Antelope, elk and deer would do the same by rubbing against brush, trees, rocks, or tules. Then the wound closed and much of the bleeding stopped. 411 224

It was not often possible for a Yokuts hunter to kill large game outright with a bow and arrow. The Yowlumne found it necessary to follow antelope and deer for several hours, and sometimes days, before they became helpless from bleeding. So it was important to continue the initial bleeding as long as possible. When a wild cat or lion clawed at a foreshafted arrow the long mainshaft immediately fell free, leaving the foreshaft projecting from the wound. The Indian picked up the dislodged mainshaft, replaced the point, and followed the wounded animal.

The foreshaft was made of the toughest wood the Indians could secure, generally live oak, chamise, or wild lilac (ceanothus). It could not be broken easily and the barbs of the arrow prevented its being removed by clawing, or by being rubbed against brush, trees, rocks or tules. But the constant effort to remove it by these means stimulated the flow of blood and hastened the collapse of the injured animal. [824]

The sinews attaching points to game foreshafts were water-proofed by a coating of asphaltum. Otherwise the blood would soon soften the sinews, allowing the point to become detached and the foreshaft to be drawn from the wound. [823]

The sinews attaching points to war arrows were not waterproofed. An Indian was more intelligent than the wounded animal. He could twist the foreshaft about and remove it, together with the stone point. For this reason the stone points on war foreshafts were attached as loosely as possible and the sinews were not waterproofed. As soon as they were wet with blood the sinews loosened and allowed the point to remain in the wound when the foreshaft was removed. 411 726

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Yowlumne

411 Arrows were commonly fletched with feathers from the tail of the red-tailed hawk. Feathers from the wings of this 237 hawk were also used. When red-tailed hawk feathers could not be secured, tail and wing feathers were used from the other native hawks, and sometimes from the great horned owl. Feathers were fastened to the mainshaft by means of sinews [823] which were commonly waterproofed with asphaltum. Feathers were trimmed to shape with the glowing edge of a fired piece of sycamore bark.

411 Yowlumne Indians state that the best arrow shafts were made from long, straight shoots of spiny gooseberry. These 824 were very strong and, when once straightened, remained straight. But most arrow shafts were made of the heartwood of buttonwillow, which was also very strong. After it had been straightened and hardened by being seasoned over a fire, or on a heated soapstone arrow straightener, it also retained its shape very well. The native cane or bamboo was also used for making arrow shafts. These were straightened on the heated [258] soapstone arrow straightner. The Yowlumne also harvested a crude sugar from the leaves of this same cane in much the same way that salt was harvested from the leaves of salt grass.

411 Spears were also commonly used by the Yokuts. For some kinds of hunting they were used almost entirely. Raccoons and [224] bears were most often killed with spears. There were two kinds of spears. One, to be held in the hands and used for repeated thrusts, was short and heavy and was made of one piece of elderwood.

[824] A second type of spear was actually a primitive javelin. The shaft was also made of elderwood, was tapered smaller toward the rear, and was from five to six feet long. Javelins were foreshafted like the two-piece arrows, but used a much larger stone point, some as long as four inches. As all spears [823] might be used in the water (but never to spear fish) all sinews were waterproofed with asphaltum.

A roll of tules was also fitted to the foreshaft of the javelin when it was thrown at raccoon, beaver, or otter in the water. This converted it into a skip-bomb weapon.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
[317 blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
135] I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint
[302 for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439 White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies
[317 near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices
[204 to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

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Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with [824]
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such [261]
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance 302
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of [317
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 323]
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called [103]
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

291 travel uncomfortable were brought by the white man. It is
[177] probable that in some instances, particularly in rocky, brushy country, some sort of moccasin was used.

137 It is interesting to pass along the roads of the San Joa-
177 quin Valley with the Indians of the older generation and have them point out the plants which came with the white man and
824 those which are "old timers." Among the introduced plants are fox tail, cockle burrs, Spanish thistle, puncture vine, sand burrs and many others, any one of which would have forced into the language of all Yokuts Indians a word for some sort of foot covering.

YOKUTS WOMEN'S DRESS

291 As regards dress, the Yokuts woman was, until the year just passed and the coming of the "new look," quite modern, short skirts and no stockings having been in style for many years before Hollywood modes were adopted. Painting was
[304] not unknown, although it was often done in permanent form by tattooing.

302 The Yokuts women often wore bangs and allowed the remainder of the hair to hang loose over the shoulders, or gathered and tied it behind the neck. Young unmarried women are said to have made themselves more attractive by separating the hair at the back and forming it into two wrapped coils, bound by strings of beads or other bright ornaments. This practice was called *pin-ke'-itch*. They sometimes wrapped string around their heads and stuck feathers under it at the back of the head. In this they followed very closely the ancient customs of their red sisters throughout America.

302 When in mourning for a brother, sister, father, mother, husband, or grandparent, it was in some tribes customary for
765 Yokuts women to bob their hair. It was cut off short across the back, sometimes by means of a piece of glowing sycamore bark, the hair being clamped between the parts of a split stick. They called this operation *hu-pahn'-man*. [during the period of mourning there was a tabu against washing, or bathing and the eating of meat]. The hair removed was tied to a rock and thrown in a deep hole in the river. I have been assured by individuals of tribes among whom I have worked, that none of
[283 their people would have used or even preserved hair removed in this way; this in spite of the fact that I have found in Yokuts
172] graves numerous lengths of cord, made of twisted human hair.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

600 It is surprising to most persons that the life of the Indians was so complex. It requires volumes to recount the many details of their life regarding the securing and preparing of food stuffs, wearing apparel and the multitudinous materials utilized by them. Even at the present time the surviving full-
●824 blood Yokuts Indians will be found to have within their houses in addition to the food stuffs known and used by us, many additional seeds, plants, roots, herbs and other materials. It is impossible to attempt to cover all of these things in detail.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW PROBLEM

606 Probably the most interesting convention of the Yokuts was
591 their custom concerning the relationship between the mother-in-law and son-in-law. When the young Yokuts man married, it was in some tribes customary for him to go to live with the parents of the bride for a period of time approximating one year. During this time he helped with the hunting and other arts and pastimes and shared the responsibilities of the head of the house. Out of this practice there developed a problem which civilized people only too well understand and which led to the mother-in-law taboo. Among tribes where this practice was common, it became customary for the son-in-law never to speak to the mother-in-law and for the mother-in-law never to speak to the son-in-law.

There was no ill feeling between the two because of this. It was simply a necessary custom, and they conformed to that custom religiously. It is said that in some tribes the mother-in-law, upon meeting the son-in-law, would turn to one side and cover her face. This probably represents the custom at its extreme practice. Among some tribes no taboo of any kind was known.

As the period of sojourn with the bride's parents was over, the young couple removed to a distance varying from a few yards to a half mile or more, as the experience of the past year would seem to dictate, and built for themselves a home.

606 The following experience was related by a man who worked
574 for many years among the Yokuts. He had traveled many miles in the heat of summer to visit a Yokuts basket maker on one of the Sierra streams. Upon arrival at her little shack, after a walk of several miles from the end of the road, he found that she was gone upon a long trip for the purpose of gathering roots and other materials for basketry. At home were the husband and an elderly lady, who was a stranger to the visitor.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

threw the basket in which she had been gathering acorns, sometimes also a child three or four years of age. This burden often reached a weight of about two hundred pounds. 222 262 [482]

During the summer of 1930 the writer saw one of the two then surviving *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) women carrying just such a load. She had waded Kings River in water almost to her waist and was just starting on a three mile trip to Del Piedra. Although she would undoubtedly have traveled the entire distance without resting, it is of interest to note that she willingly, and probably very gladly, accepted the offer of a ride.

The ahngush is carried with the large portion slightly below the level of the head and is held in place by a flat strap, called *sho-mit'-te*. A basket cap was often worn under the carrying strap. This protected the head of the moke. The Indians call this cap *wah-coo'-moots*. In the foothills the fiber for making carrying straps is obtained from a tall milkweed called by the Indians *hung'-uts hung'-uts*. Along the streams in the valley the fiber is often obtained from wild hemp, called *shock'h*, and sometimes from the fiber of the nettle, called *tro-we*. The strap is passed around the basket about half way between the top and bottom and across the upper portion of the forehead. 222 262 482 [824 ● 283]

It will be appreciated by any one that great effort was necessary to bring a two hundred pound burden from the ground to the back of the moke. The basket was sometimes lifted upon a rock, or in the fork of a small tree, or upon a bank. The moke then placed her back against it, pulled the strap over her head, and walked away with it. Sometimes other Indian women, who were helping to gather the acorns, would lift the basket and place it upon her back.

Upon arriving at the rancheria, the acorns were placed in a granary. This granary was made of small branches which were bound into a circular form. The bottom of the granary was sometimes a foot or more above the ground. The granary was lined with grass and the acorns emptied into it. Some aged Indians have stated that this grass is both moth and squirrel repellent. The top might be eight or nine feet above the ground. These granaries would hold from ten to thirty bushels of acorns. 251 262

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CHAPTER IX

BASKETRY

YOKUTS STITCHED BASKETRY

The Yokuts tribes will probably be noted throughout all time for the wonderful basketry which they manufactured. There were several types of this basketry, as well as a number of forms. These baskets, mortars, steatite vessels, round wooden boxes, dried animal bladders and crude bags were the only containers known to these Indians. 285

Practically all of the Yokuts baskets were of coiled construction. They were not woven, but were stitched together. This process was much slower and more difficult than that of weaving, but produced a basket as strong as though it were made of sheet metal. Many Yokuts baskets were used for cooking and, when completely dry, would become water-tight twenty or thirty minutes after they were placed in water.

The filler, or coiled material, was obtained from a tall grass which grew in clumps along the valley streams and sloughs. To pioneer white cattlemen of the Joaquin this was known as bunch-grass (Epicampes Rigens). It had no joints, being perfectly smooth from one end to the other, and attained a length of more than four feet. The Indians called this material *chaw'-kish*. 285 824

The white, or light, straw colored material with which the stitching was done, came from the root of a swamp grass (Cladium Mariscus), which was at one time quite common throughout the entire overflow area of the valley

Cladium roots attain a diameter of about three sixteenths of an inch and a length of three or more feet. Yokuts women still dig it from the ground by means of pointed sticks. The bark is removed from it and it is split into two, three, or four parts. [412]

The splitting of this material requires great care and much practice. One piece is held between the teeth, the other two between each thumb and the next two fingers. By equalizing the pressure between the two hands and the teeth the root is split into three equal parts. In this way Yokuts women can split a root four feet long into three parts so even in size that the dif- 285

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285 824

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386]

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285 412 [237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *akketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285 [824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285 415

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

in excellence of stitching, but in mathematical regularity of detail. 285 531

In addition to those designs which are worked into the basket itself, it is often embellished with the feather top-knots of quail. This was particularly true of the bottle-neck, or *aw'-suh*, of the Yokuts of Kaweah, Tule and Kern Rivers. In addition, various kinds of beads were sometimes fastened to the outside of the baskets. [237]

It must be appreciated by readers that in an article of this nature, which has already exceeded proper limits, the subject of basketry designs can scarcely be approached. In addition to the forms already discussed there are countless numbers of designs reproducing almost every possible geometrical form. Some of them, we are told by basket makers, are used simply because they are *pah-yo'-me* (pretty).

It is of interest to note here that at least some of the basketry designs were used on the fabric made by the southern Yokuts. These tribes, the Tulamni, Tuhohi, Hometwoli and Yowlumne made many large circular mats or bags of fabric which probably were used for many purposes about their camps. However, the only uses of which we have definite knowledge are two, as shrouds for dead bodies and as linings for the sand basins in which acorn flour was leached. These fabric mats or bags were started of fiber thread much as were the blackberry gathering baskets and were twined, not woven. One piece of such fabric shows the rattlesnake pattern, worked in black thread. Although all existing specimens of Yokuts fabric have come from graves and are partially decayed, several designs can be distinguished on them. Material used in making Yokuts fabric is thought to be the fiber of the native hemp and/or milkweed. [286] [764] [172] [824] [283]

How the native woman was able, without pattern or example in nature, to bring into being countless numbers of beautiful designs and, with no tools other than a bone awl and a sharp rock, to form them into a basket, can never be comprehended by the layman until he has watched that work for many weeks. The artistic taste and mathematics involved in this one Indian art alone shows more plainly than anything else we know about them that the mind of the Yokuts Indian was equal to many many things far beyond anything that we have appreciated. [412]

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531 517 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

824 386 The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth colors which were more or less common throughout the territory bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 317 386 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were more or less common in the very locality through which we were then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe this, because he had never seen any of that color within a range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped and the discussion continued. After a few moments the cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

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NUMERALS:

1. *Yaet*
2. *Pu-noy*
3. *So-uh-pin*
4. *Hop-pu-noy*
5. *Yach-e-nil*
6. *Chu-luh-pe*
7. *Num-chen*
8. *Mu-nosh*
9. *Nah-nip*
10. *Treo*
11. *Treo yaet*
12. *Treo pu-noy*
13. *Treo so-uh-pin*
20. *Pu-noy treo*
21. *Pu-noy treo yaet*
22. *Pu-noy treo pu-noy*
23. *Pu-noy treo so-uh-pin*
30. *So-uh-pin treo*
31. *So-uh-pin treo yaet*
33. *So-uh-pin treo so-uh-pin*
50. *Yach-e-nil treo*
100. *Treo-treo*, [or ten tens]

.192 The above list represents approximately one-twenty-fifth of the Wukchumne words collected by the writer, which in turn represent half of the complete vocabulary of the Wukchumne. They present only the common names which have not already been presented elsewhere in the text and serve to indicate how complete was the Yokuts vocabulary.

YOKUTS WILD FLOWER AND PLANT NAMES

824 One of the most amazing things concerning Indians is their extensive knowledge concerning their environment. This includes not only a knowledge of the geography of the country in which they live and the use to which the many things about them can be put, but also a vast fund of cultural information which to many persons of the white race seems useless.

The average Indian possessed a remarkable store of information about the varieties and species of plants and flowers with which he was surrounded at the different seasons of the year. The writer knows several educated Americans who have studied for years the wild flowers and plants of California, but

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

who do not possess an amount of information concerning these same plants and flowers equal to that which was once possessed by an intelligent ten year old Indian child. 824

The story was once told to me by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, noted authority on California Indians, that he obtained the name of a third and unknown species of manzanita from a *Miwok* Indian woman in the Sierra foothills below the Yosemite Valley. Two species of manzanita had already been studied for years and Dr. Merriam was attempting to find how far into the mountains the low-land manzanita grew. As both species were well known to the Indians, it saved much time to gather this information from them. He came to a little hut near a stream and asked the Indian woman who lived there how much further up the stream the low-land manzanita grew and whether the up-land tree extended down as far as her house. She hesitated a second, looked him in the eye, and answered, "They all *three* grow right here." 824 114

Dr. Merriam was sure that he had been misunderstood. While he was trying to explain to the Indian woman what was meant, she spoke two words to her eight year old daughter, who immediately left, and returned in less than one minute with three branches of manzanita. These the Indian woman took, and by means of the flower and leaf, pointed out to this noted scientist that they were from three different species of manzanita. He was dumbfounded. The means of identification used by the woman was that used by scientists and she had clearly identified a third species of manzanita. This noted man was kind enough to name this third species *Miwokiana*, after the tribal name of the Indian woman who first identified it.

Continuing in the vicinity for several days, Dr. Merriam became impressed with the amount of information possessed by the little eight year old girl. He found after continued questioning that she was able to identify more than 300 plants, birds, and animals common within a few miles of the cabin where she was born and was then living. Her mother knew more than 500 varieties.

Both the mother and daughter knew not only the names of the plants, but also where they grew, when they ripened, and whether the plant had any food or medicinal value. If it was of any value they knew what it was good for, how and when to harvest it, how to prepare and administer it. They could also

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

824 identify it among all other plants. If it was poisonous they 11L knew that, and were careful not to mix it with other plants being gathered. This knowledge extended to the birds, animals and even to the surrounding rocks. This meant that for each thing identified the mother and daughter knew approximately ten related facts. The number of facts furnished to this noted scientist numbered many thousand. Of added interest is the fact that the data furnished by the daughter checked accurately with that furnished by the mother, a record never attained by white school teachers in formal education. What educated person belonging to the "superior" white race has an equal store of information about his immediate surroundings?

192 824 In the belief that the names of the various wild flowers and plants common in the San Joaquin valley will be of interest to readers, the following list is appended:

Amaranth, California	*Choi-ni choi-ni*
Brodiaea, Purple Harvest	*Ho-lo'-wih*
Brodiaea, twining	*Kang-wah wid-dah*
Baby Blue Eyes	*Ah-du'-trun shesh-eh*
Bush, Button	*Cu'-chuy*
Brickellia	*Kaw-wats-ah'-puh*
Bush, Silk Tassel	*Shin-way*
Bamboo or cane	*Kod-kid*
Columbine	*Dum-tin'-un in-dip'-its*
Calycanthus occidentalis	*You-mut*
Daisy, Yellow	*Chaw-wung*
Ericameria	*Chaw-dud'-pot*
Fern, Great Chain	*Mun-no'-kits*
Fern, Maiden Hair	*Le-wit'-tah*
Flax, blue	*Kah-wah*
Fern, California Golden	*Yaw-kow'-ho*
Houses, Chinese	*Tawk-haw'-daw*
Honey Suckle, wild	*Ti-you la-ou*
Harebell-Satinbell	*Tah-pu'-you*
Lotus, Hill	*Shah-dum'-its*
Lily, Leopard	*Yah-am'-yuh*
Mustard	*Tro-mud*
Mistle Toe	*Taw-do*
Milkweed	*Chet-tik*
Milkweed, woolly	*Che-tik*
Milkweed, narrow leaf	*Shock*
Monkey flower	*Chow-ahcu'-dah*

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Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum* 192
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus* 824
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. 758 White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. 824 This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. 756 He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, 683 or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death.

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a 755 weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

221
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12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the lower San Joaquin River.

823 Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward, [778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

[824] To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously [778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a [782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere [515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was [782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to [777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

20 There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
[501] lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 A chief's house was usually larger than
554 the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. re-
622 members Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of
[184 patrilocal residence customary with the lake
591] people (but not with those of the foothills).

The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins
343 were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

The subsistence of the tular region was
22 composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits,
262 and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats
● [825] (čɛ·mčɛm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed
[231] to the Chunut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her
[184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

Balsa Construction

50 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi in- [524] formant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) [386] made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were de-
302 veloped as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain
● 825 comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

30 221 were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[32] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it [171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[33]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 825 The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust [262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" [237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill 844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [32] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[33] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-
825 klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); Cali-
fornia jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general)
(hohò´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-
k‹ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); Cali-
fornia [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in
old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker
[Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat);
northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird
(tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird
(tolo´hono); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk
(po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka);
crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane
(u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m‹k); chicken hawk
(sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h‹l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wuk-
chumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap‹´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´'‹n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tatahe ta´'ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat‹k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t‹l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n‹ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´'‹ts ken‹ts).[24]

The tarantula (tu´muñ) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´'o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k‹´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

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[192 [24]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that
828] there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times.
Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and aleta´'‹ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that aleta´'‹ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black
spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is
●825 called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful
shamans, which means "true, real, big, power-
ful." Another spider with black, red, and
yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu)
"because every time it is thrown away it comes
back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol
call to be bitten by one 'to be broken'
(ta´ṭaiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis
results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal
cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventu-
ally returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared
because "it stung with its feet and there was
no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-
t·ts) was "partner to that other one [centi-
pede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a
round body and a little tail that sticks up and
stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi.
136 "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
was solo´toi'i. A small lizard (wile´li) and
825 another one "with colors on it" were known in
773 the foothills and called by the same name.
"This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are
not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho
ma ṭ·´pni; wile´li t·´pni)." Lizard was some-
times euphemistically referred to as "my ten
fingers" (ṭi´y. nan pu´ntuk), referring to his
hands which served as the pattern for human
hands.[35]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao´i) "had some kind
of song in old times; another one (po´'ol·lwai)
was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog
(we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another
creature which might be a skink, as he was
"something like a waterdog but more like a
lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
I was kneeling on the ground when I heard some-
825 thing say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I
said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right
under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana.
Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you
must always say how pretty he was or he would
make you sick. So I just kept on picking
onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," al-
though I didn't know whether it was a boy or a
girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and
ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'·tawat.
The bullfrog was called o'oi´·ts by the Tachi,
but wipel·ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chumut
"because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to
put them back. They were never eaten.

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[35] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were de-
825 scribed by J.A. One was called "acorn" (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbɔ´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 If a person were feverish, a layman with
823] supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina,
262 Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of waṭa´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

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[56] A Palligawanap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokuh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a
756 person sent for a doctor other than the one who had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of
825 evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed
556 to have private caches where the wealth they accumulated was hidden: such a cache is called
778 tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called hs´u´te´:ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (i) na ṭipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

[85] Ibid., 404.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi´i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
276 used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi´č:k, who handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
825 snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toič:k got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toič:k could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le´'alawa, the handling, dai´was or tatla´wes.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[184] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115] [99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsanni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
535 Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl: ´l:n was an old man who could make that
[825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaudanchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ´šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata´m:č or wa´tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa´taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance,"
535 referring to the songs which were about birds and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two
539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi´awe na ko´no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa´o wa na ko´no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho´hima) is singing.

he´li ipai´ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both
sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa´pɛt)
756 and in unison they held these -- in both hands,
at opposite edges, and tray face outward --
over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela´lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha´'at), weasel (po´hɛt), or beaver (?) (waki´'as) skins fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te´pɛk] could
[825 not be used for this purpose; if it were, every-
753 one present would have pains and sickness.)
These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Šapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people
spent in preparation for the big cry (ma´tɛk
pa´hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

796 The singer accompanists wore their usual
668 ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwɛl).
[534] J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai´na·na·ni na´na·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 The dance itself, called soto´twi kam
668 (going around or circling dance) and also hi´´thɛ´twi kam (to drag the feet dance) by
535 the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 The dance ended at break of day. Then
668 everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together.
[413] On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Čo'opol] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

On the last day of the Ghost Dance a
[535] special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within
[825] the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tɛpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya´ a· ya´ e· hai´ya kawai´yo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 Then word that the white settlers were
668 coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible
648 torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɨ´mɨk), "wolf" (iwe´yɨt, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɨ´šɨt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly [624 the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn:'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn:nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778 The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as
●825] Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed
[304] mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

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[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

624 that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa´tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Panchó spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali [winatum] after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) [825] was diya. Limik [falcon] was hiauto or war leader as was also poiyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide´t:ts)[231] was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho´toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide´tič and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta´sow:k (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and Ka´osuna (a Telamni).

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[231] Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelmani) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visit-
616 ors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
769 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich ac-
616 cording to their tribal affiliations. To ex-
619 emplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as follows:
616

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či´čen (Rattlesnake); Ta´sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po´hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča´na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu´šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li´sːš (Owl); U´nun (Owl); Sa´pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiya´mai and his brother, Po´sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati´sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

When J.B.'s attention was called to the
616 fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

616 825 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

616 It is clear that the moiety was not a basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 825 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616 825 192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
   ṭu´´ud: rattlesnake
   ñahõ´´õ: grizzly bear
   ṭa´´ǃswide´ǃt: black-and-white woodpecker
   du´hun: cinnamon bear
   aho´´ot: weasel
   sañsañwide´´ǃt: tree squirrel
   po´´hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahõ'õ got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´´iyu: coyote
   a´dja: fox
   tu´med: wildcat
   wahu´sǃt: cougar
   iwe´yǃt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´´i: dove
   so'o´no: pigeon
   hǃ´mǃd: quail

No comment.

616
825
192

4. ṭu´hɩt: eagle
u´wɩk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sansanwide´´ɩt: tree squirrel
aha´´ot: weasel
po´´hot: ground squirrel
he´ñhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɩp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.--The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

[231]

231 Pets.--Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the pošam probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, which was believed by many young girls. It was [773 825] thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu´šıt) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyıt, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a´duwıts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko´widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tuned) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.--When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
the pošam could not eat it. No special dis-
782 posal was made of the carcass, according to
this informant, a statement which I have always
432 thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
782 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
all the chief's relatives would gather to pay
539 for their totem; a winatum called them to come.
432 All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that
dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or
three chiefly men in a village they would
divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing
feathers, another the leg bones, and another
the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the
meat. "The chief would not let those people
gathered there go away until all the meat was
eaten." When the killer had finished, the
chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in
water so that it would be revived and return to
its supernatural h[illegible] he did this he said,
"tuñdi´ta po´dta [illegible] ´nita" (? ? you go
up). This was the [illegible] phrase used by a hunter
when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
782 called his people to pay for it. The coyote
lay on a blanket, the people threw down their
432 strings of money over it, and cried. If the
hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it
would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man
"buried the whole thing right then because no-
body ate that meat."

825 <u>Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions</u>.--J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic
animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduw:ts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone
having deer as poša (though he could be a
dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other
birds. No person killed or ate any portion of
his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these
informants could recall for Wukchumni people.
They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other
tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

[P. 110 a] Wukchumni.

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
778 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal
756 might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mets hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as dream helpers are formulated in the following
776 comments by informants. These powers are those randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a
825 lineage association.

Eagle.--Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.--A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.--A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

787 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted
776 to show he had power through Cougar would wear
825 the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.--"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.--If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.--The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.--Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 All shamans had a collection of talismans,
778 which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he
[764] tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like
[237] plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with t·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and
[753] persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan,
056 Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the
285] woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the
[821] sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit.,
756 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun,
754 grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could
825 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
756 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
789 would change into an owl that went and talked
754 to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed
756 that persons with supernatural power, not
789 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves
778 under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanši's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible
[613] for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ.pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through
789 space, while mentioned, was only incidental.
756 Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ·ṛni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš·šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as [531] Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed
776 of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain.c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[359] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake;
[752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši
789 was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets,
776 having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[360] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

5. The power of flying, known to northern
756 neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by
789 S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a
237 Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was
787 chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[359] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[360] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
the ensuing night and then came home and slept
787 until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He
swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for
breakfast. Haičača continued this routine
until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni
way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho´toi),
[778] who promised him aid "if he would only believe
in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's
wing which, as a talisman (ainič), he kept
close to his person. About a month later a
shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged
Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could
hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainič) singing
under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talis-
man. Haičača denied that he possessed one,
"but it was no use." The doctor threatened to
make him sick and kill him if he did not give
it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he
cried for an entire week over the loss.

At about this time Haičača's mother's
756 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave
787 him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate
it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was work-
ing, and after crossing the river he coughed
up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his
first dream of Frog, and when he reached there
he vomited. He remembered his dream and called
on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where
he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The
man had lain down by the water and the frog
jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an
object that "looked like blood all wrapped up
in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little
frogs came up around his feet and sang.
Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went
right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at
his approach and did not return until Haičača
left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare
to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was
hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the
shoulder of it. When he put on the garment,
his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest,
however, and a little later a woman "burned it
up for him." Instead of being cured, the
shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and
finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly.
"He nearly died." How he was cured of this
ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catho-
lic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be
a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were
lots of women doctors south of Kern River."
[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P.,
of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-
head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and
sucked out blood in the shape of two little
frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
596 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter"
825 (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will
eat fish "because their father was sick for a
long time from fish." [264]

[264] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Konoʼ·lk·n. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (ep·s) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho´no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an 262] ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring ●825 and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up continuously while the men jumped and walked backward to their former positions three times. The whole performance lasted no more than ten minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be repeated under any circumstances until the following year. For this reason it was particularly admired, and urgent demands for repetition from the onlookers, with consequent refusals from the dancers, seem to have been a traditional part of the affair. If the spectacle were to be witnessed again that season, it would have to be in some other village or tribe with other dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spectators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's see your hair!" At once the black portions turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[in the Bear Dance. -Ann Lyst]

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533

koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu añtu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

796 [756] [184] M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825] I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rainmaking, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His 796 756 description of the rite is as follows:

...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

796 displays appear to be the kernel of the cere-
756 mony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 From no informant was I able to obtain a
[825] description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

One of the participants at Diapnuša was
224 J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill;
[534 J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle
237] (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´miš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

796 The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

796 Then people began shouting for the "biting"
825 display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

224 The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušl:l:n get snakes for a dance at Mašt:nao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´m:s. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu´čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or m:ts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokon:k (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiw:n (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on.
[285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi´č:t, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

524 were called: ča´pai (tray); ho´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič:´l) were held by a scorekeeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wukchumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, ● 825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to´h:l: eagle
ŏ´lŏ´i: roadrunner
to´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ṭuna´o: badger
ti´ši: raccoon
su´hup: chicken hawk (su´pa, Western Mono)
wihs´ŏ:t: cougar (tuwa´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hots: buzzard (wi´ho, Western Mono)
kai´yu: coyote (hu´'ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahŏ´'ŏ: bear (bi´ow:ši [sic], Western Mono)
he´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭe´'el: rattlesnake
hutu´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother, 626 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

231 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer
825 liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Mastinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about Lmk [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants
648 named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki''i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni'ła); crying ritual (aha'na); washing ritual, either at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 149 a] Choinimni

624 An official speaker was called di´'e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [63] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not recognize a description of "first fruits" eat- 825 ing by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɛl: eagle
naho´'o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɛt: long tail cat[18]
hots: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i'o´i': roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´ñhot: weasel
lɛ'mɛk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi´lɛts: fisher [or martin]
ta´tčai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´'ɛk: blackbird
ma´o: tree [grey?] squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɛn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɛts: condor
tono´hop: black bear
wehu´šɛt: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´'i: dove
to´ñol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɛš: beaver
šo´'šo': kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɛ´čɛl: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɛn: acorns

[18] Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iweyɛt, colloquially known as wolf.

[19] P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20] Calendrinia.

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, 616 which does not agree with more reliable infor- 825 mation from the neighboring Kechayi.

Tokelyuwich, west

to ´hɜ:l: eagle
wohe ´ñut: cougar
a ´luwets: crow [blackbird?]
ho ´toi: raven
hum ´k: jackrabbit
na ´čoč: rattlesnake
te ´´ɜ:l: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki´: king snake
oi ´u´i: roadrunner
tono´l: a large, red, wildcat
te´pek: beaver
u´´wek: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa´hat: crane
ši´kel: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi´´ina: horned owl
po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho´´o: bear
čai´čai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope´l: gopher snake
koto´nɜč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o´čoč: magpie
upla·li´: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha´´ɜ:t: otter
šo´kšok: kingfisher
če´ha: dog
hots: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (ţɜ´pni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana´ts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te´´is; B.W. claimed a ´ñtu was the Gashowu word.

[P. 162a] Kechayi

621 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
723

u´pəš: sun
toiyu´nem u´pəš: moon (lit., night sun)
tawa´nəš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačət: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čən čano´´onət: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yet u´pəš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčən, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´ləpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

● 805 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
387 follows:
822
192 ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52]One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53]This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

622 Čo´k:t, Nutuwich, and his wife, Č:nk:´lw:t, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´':č (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate':č was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's [782] "party," the yate':č "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were 616 given voluntarily in response to a general ●825 question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´x:l: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´y:l: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi·hi·´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	·so·´tot: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o´č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai'´ṭai': blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

[P. 164 b] Kechayi

616 ulu·´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča´pit:´tna:
kingbird
wihe´š:t:
cougar
ki·´či:
raccoon
te´p:š:
beaver
xu´mix:
jackrabbit
te´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši´tx:l:
ground squirrel
homu´ča:
wood rat
te´'el:
rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:
lizard
ta´hai'ew:ts:
grasshopper
pu´tus:
"round" acorns
e´š:n:
a "mountain" acorn
te´p:n:
acorn mush
li´m:n:
acorn gruel
a´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:
sourberries
ča´n:t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe´l:s:
a seed
naho´'o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´'ušu:
coyote
a´oja:
fox
čo´i:
skunk (large)
če´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma´o:
grey squirrel
gai´h:t:
salmon
ma´m:l:
blackberries
kisi´'i:n:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety
262 animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were
[559] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 Redemption of totem animals.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people
825 put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which
231 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pıt, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until
[231] they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hıp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipıt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the
[301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yıl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
422 to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
556 belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and
776 these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana´nıt a´mın časa´šti (coming his helper; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all
756 the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački,
825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´m:č (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai':č was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and [564] brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čip:t, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čip:t fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

BELIEFS

773 825 [756] Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force (ṭ:pni). The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.--This dance (h:č: ˇšna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata ´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha´t:š, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-
[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries, etc., while the young father's family had pro-
852 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and ma-
783 ternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

Quail soup might be given an infant two or
853 three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
had reached the age of at least two months. The
[856 purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

Children nursed several years. Though
853 nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

When children were old enough to talk,
863 they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

When a child was too slow learning to
856 walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

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761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder
and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a
specific incident known to J.R., but the
familiar yet elusive connection between rattle-
snakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts,
persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave
three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade
went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

Spirits of the dead caused sickness, some-
[753] times merely a nose bleed, other times fatal
illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to
cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people
thought the dead turned into birds and animals.
825 [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transforma-
tion of the people of the prehuman era into
birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a
village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there
is a big time he calls people around." The
captain, said M., decided when the Mourning
Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or
ceremony, but he had no other function. She
maintained that the captain himself went about
from one village to another to tell them his
plans: he would come down here, then go up to
Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him.
However, this statement seems in doubt, parti-
cularly as J.R. accurately described the usual
Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R.
Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His
younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič
was already an old man when J.R. was about
fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi
chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian
name was not known, was another Chukchansi cap-
tain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some rela-
tion" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he
was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

Each captain had an official messenger,
624 called wina´tum. This man was selected by the
captain and retained his office for life. [Not
a totemic, family-inherited position, apparent-
ly. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed
the messenger's functions at the time of the
Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune
and tell the people how many days it would be
till the fandango, or something. When they
came up here, everything would be ready for the
big time. All that man does is "taking news
from here down there, give them orders to be

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
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624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. --A.H.G.

[P. 199a]

Chukchansi

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825
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Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

787 The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a
224 certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild
825 deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 M.W. said he had an aunt who received power from Deer. Once when she was a young
825 girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.
She did not know whether white people
787 dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
682 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
278 dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
self would die [at the poisoner's hands ?].
Even today these people [poisoners] are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.
There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

756 joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was
752 the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

756 There were shamans who had learned from
825 their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said
787 J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he
[237] was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

756 The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were
825 fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

Y 756 825

count may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

M 756 825

J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

Y 756 825

J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

[150] This family, N.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

756 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he
825 sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her
[522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians
[535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doc-
789 tors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 The spectacle was in the evening. An
789 enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

W Y 224 [381] portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

W Y ● ● [825]

W Y

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

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W Y 224

Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti´la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 221 a] Western Mono N525

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inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi ʿčʿt toho ʿna min šo ʿne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

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The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo ʿnʿn, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa ʿomus ipo ʿkuʿk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče ʿyu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

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The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

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The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

W Y 423 825 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

W Y 223 343 The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in the same manner as that on the ground. It was a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main consideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Y 231 825 Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as well as for decoys. In either case they were lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always tame" (B.O.).

Y 223 343 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[161]

[161]Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

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peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

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Seasons:
ta´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

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B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

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Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

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Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puš̌l:l:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

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The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[145]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[145] cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

Y W 778 825 432

Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

Y W [766] [432]

Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

W Y [231] W Y 231 432 825 778

The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

W Y 231 778 432 825 W Y [423]

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K:lmi´š:t, winatum, and the chief, Pao':č, at Tušao.

W Y 223

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao':č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K:lmiš:t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K:lmiš:t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao':č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao':č was helped by all his ain:č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K:lmiš:t would help hoist him up.

W Y 281

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao':č and K:lmiš:t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Y W 432 778 825 W Y [436]

<u>Bear</u>.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

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[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

Y M [773]

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit·p nuš (will be baby (?)), and the act of giving birth was called ax· diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 243 b] Western Mono NS25

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distance, was called mai´'iwɛn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[106] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɛč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[106] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

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saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko´'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my pošа ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

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The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

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The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha´gɐ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u´dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

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The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

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The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

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A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W Y 796 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokon:k and Pučl:l:n, who were snake doctors (te'e´li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya ´´:n" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokon:k and Pušl:l:n each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ''in, maiya ''in." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (tu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

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with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

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Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

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Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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825 616 796 [171] This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

616 582 611 As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

622 556 622 773 The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to 622 know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The [562] son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

616 622 While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal. 796 756 [787]

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor." [825]

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year. [198] [302]

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own. [755]

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people. 778

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing. 778 192

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions. 778 756 825

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body. 756 776

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*.

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*.

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne.

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located.

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced 224
into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and [251] eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the sur- 324
round. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding 825
the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of [776] *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the [533 Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or professional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual cere- 769] mony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts 224
methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

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CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 285 531 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 531 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 531 825 776 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winatun*, for *Tihpiknits*, the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

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285 Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a
531 messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out
825 punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant
773 had the most painful sting of anything about them. The
[776] story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs
531 and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind 796 when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to ●825 know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw,* an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw,* no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

[115] From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary 776 of *Tihpiknits,* keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more 825 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On [285 some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back 531] rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water [237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

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775 there every night, just like they used to do here. They play games and have a good time. They eat *toi'-uk* seed mush which never gets any smaller, no matter how much they eat. In the morning they all disappear and nothing can be seen of them until the next night, when the *Win-at'-un* [dove, the messenger] builds new fires for the dances and calls them all back to their natural selves. You may walk through any nice place in the trees where the Indians hold their Lonewis dances for Tihpiknits Pahn. In the daytime you can not see any of the people. They have changed into a rotten log, clam shell, or something. At night you have to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural] to see them. I never saw them. I just heard Indian doctors say that. But we always go very quiet through a nice place out in the trees.

775 825 In Tihpiknits Pahn, *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are always playing the old game of *Hih'-sa Na'-us*. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Kiyu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pulls feathers from him.

Kiyu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of the winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Kiyu won that time". When we heard *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying. Watite was the Winatun for the Ahanich who sang at the Lonewis.

159 825 Watite, the little ground owl, lives in squirrel holes. His head looks like an Indian woman's head when she has cut her bangs and her hair off with a fire stick and is crying for someone who has died. We used to sing a nice song about him. It is a *Wowol* song. My mother taught it to me. When I cried about anything she would hold up her first finger and say, "*Lahn'-he*, listen, Watite hears you crying and he is singing for you." She would make a little play. She would put her hand on top of her head to make it flat like Watite's. She would make a move with her other hand like she was cutting her hair off and cutting her bangs for the Lonewis. She would stand on one leg and draw the other up like Watite does. Of course my mother was an old woman when she died. But I remember her to sing this song for me when she was a young, pretty woman. She was always good to me. Every day she

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159 825 [539]

would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah*
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

775

A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it.

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

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159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

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773 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed
825 places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošá´m, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no
825 person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may
782 call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary. 825 [782]

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor. 825 224

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭí·pni) that forced success. 825 [778 776]

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the 796

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first. [585]

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thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weazel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a condi-
182 tioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are
153 accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and
182 came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed
787 to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things,
825 and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and
152 Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the
182 dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between
787 tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security"
825 perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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 825 152 182 787 [757]

shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28] 182 155

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as: the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul- 182

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and tocoac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[53] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

754

Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[54]

[825]

[53] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[54] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the [illegible] in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, [illegible]ating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] [825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild 262
sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. [231]
Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. [171] Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the 825
rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the [773] universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *hai'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *kai'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed 757
by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

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757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying 164 thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. 796 They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards ● 825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

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 825

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders. 791 796 [302] [177]

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step. 535 [177]

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites. 181 648 [177 302]

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate- 583 585 435 834

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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver. 171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 637 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
[501] for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when
439 obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
262 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
823 were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
[578] Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
[578] Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
[578] the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys
825 following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285]
[415]
[531]

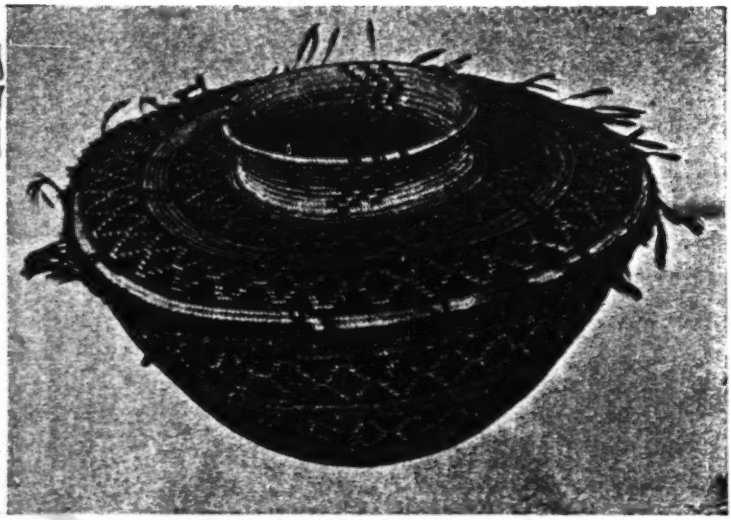

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down be-
[789] hind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket.

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

[952]

790 175 648 In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition 533
and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention.
In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few
to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the
earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many
as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter
recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area
were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75).

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive 538
character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This
song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power
to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi
area.

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yao okonaw palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke way na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on
	the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, 539
Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater en- 756
trance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the
place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he
met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with
voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to
strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces.
Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake [789]
(kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma [825]
and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile.
He thus passed them by.

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to
[197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13]Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14]Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15]Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16]System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p. 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p. 11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary code.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of
754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything. Then he played the chip and pole game
539 with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[254] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[254] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

756 heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the
769 onlookers as there were at games: the spec-
789 tators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-
[826] skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the
[152] contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

Then he continued his narrative:

173
648 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text continues top of page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

648 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain [826] for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] "B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47]Gayton and Newman, 28.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
they were all scared and hid around in the
[609] hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s
father, his brother, and himself A bullet had
hit his brother. They went back into their
village B.W.'s father was the headman and he
asked the white men to leave their guns at home
unless they wanted to have fights. The white
men said they just wanted to make friends.
Then his father called all his people together
and told them to go down [where?] to the "white
fandango." About twenty or thirty went and
were given food, hats, and coats. Then others
went down. They had been told to come once a
month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and
sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians
to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi,
everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his
father. The government wanted to make schools.
Each morning two white men and [native] inter-
preters told them what was going to take place.
Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings
River to see the Indians there, but he got
killed. The Indians called him Ca'wis. The
government sent no money at this time. But
this was the beginning of all bad things --
sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians
went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the
fact that some white land owners charged Indian
women for the privilege of coming on their
property to get the grasses and roots needed.
He said that "over on Kings River" some men
charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basket-
ry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they
●826 were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the
dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono con-
versed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people
(Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the
Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them
alone.

648 E.M. recounted the story of a war with
Mono people which occurred before she was born.
462
222 Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number
of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi,
and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant.
They had all gone there for acorn-gathering.
It was the general practice that the men, im-
mediately after the morning meal, went out to
shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be
collected by the women, they then went off for
the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they
returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 237 b. Western Mono NS25

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[32]

826 614 [787]

The bear men remembered are Unurigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Teineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in 796 giving the dance was as follows:[33]

A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony [755] during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did [782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they 344 would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[32] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[33] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[301] Abalone shell ornaments (sa´wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi'i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

302
386 (hoso´ša, J.B.; hošo´hıt, M.L.; white color, čau´dəd, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

302 Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application. The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek. [822] Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when at- [791] tired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

304 Tattooing.--Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief [827] that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

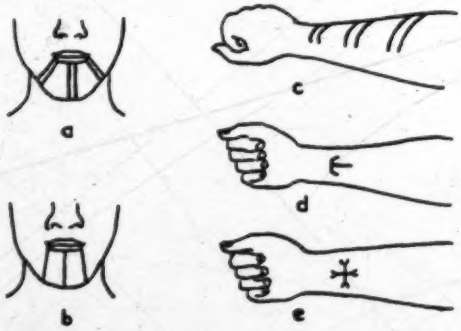

Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

757 cutting. "The chills and fever came right out of the top of the head" (M.P.).

755 If a person met a ghost (tawa´tsa) after dark it might cause the intrusion of such objects as fingernails, hair, or clots of blood. These had to be sucked out from a cut. (See Anecdote 8 below.)

If a woman had an intimate man friend who died, he might come back and have intercourse with her. An orgasm during sleep was attributed to this. But a severe headache was believed to result, which had to be sucked out through the top of the head by a professional shaman.

754 Most illnesses were attributed to evil shamans who were thought to "shoot" the intrusive object in order to be called to treat the case and so receive payment. (See Anecdotes.)

[827] J.B. said all sicknesses with pain were caused by shamans. Pain was called ho´ba (the word also for blood). Shamans shot pains into the lumbar region of woman's backs.

756 When curing, shamans wore the same dress regalia as when dancing: feather headdress, 535 weasel-skin wristlets,[25a] down-strand skirt, feather bunches hanging from the wrists, ear 292 plugs, and other ornaments. Not every shaman 237 owned such a complete outfit: the most important item, after the feather hand bunch which after all was an implement of work, was the feather hat. Any man who was going to do something special in a ceremonial way would buy or borrow one of these, whether he was a shaman or not.

755 Cases of slight sickness did not call for singing or dancing. The doctor pressed his patient all over, asked for symptoms from both patient and attending relatives, and also asked about the patient's recent activities in order to explore the possibility of the sick man's having had some weird experience (such as meeting a ghost) to which the illness was attributable. Then he smoked, communed with his helper, and proceeded with whatever treatment he deemed best. A more stubborn case would call for singing and dancing. This was done in the house beside the patient and in the presence of the family. As the shaman danced he repeated aloud what his supernatural advisor was telling him. (But he was not possessed; it was not the helper's voice or words, but his own.) If the doctor "wanted to make a show," he would have the patient removed to the public fire where people assembled to watch. During this performance the shaman might hire a singer 755 to accompany him and a winatum to assist him. It was the privilege of anyone who wished or 522 dared to give a clowning pantomime of the shaman's activities, "but it was usually a

[826] [435]

[25a] These protected the vulnerable seat of supernatural power in the wrists. M.L. said a shaman would pay one hista (about 25 cents) for a weasel (aho'ot) skin.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named
825 without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hohô´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo´-k‹ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo´hono); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m‹k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h‹l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet
[184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat
262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on
[262] coals, a dish called tap‹´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was' ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´´‹n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tatahe ta´´ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat‹k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t‹l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n‹ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´´‹ts ken‹ts).[34]

The tarantula (tu´mun) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´´o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k‹´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider, 'He

[34]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´´‹ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´´‹ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

[192
828]

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and
"some other plants" pounded up in a mortar;
753 this was called mets añta´wa, real or true
poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ´nɛl, was made
of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to
protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty,
just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go
near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at
it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[89] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɛpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787] objects and burned them--for instance, a person
in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it
● 828 would kill the doctor who had placed it there.
But when this was not done sickness resulted,
not only to the owner of the clothes, but also
to others. Also the poison might be blown
around by tɛpni people; they could not make
"airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.:

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and
[683] died. A few days later the woman's husband met
the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɛpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɛpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

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[89] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal US22

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te´ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo´pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati´sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wu´ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo´´no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo´no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.M.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

787 to his sanctuary, he would swim in it either
776 going or returning. If the stream were small
778 or merely a spring the supplicant would sprinkle some water on himself.

When he returned home he immediately went to bed. If a dream helper came to him in ensuing sleep and it was the one which was wanted, it was cherished thereafter, and he prayed specifically to this helper when in sickness or in trouble. He might, if he felt inclined, go out again occasionally and pray during the night but "he needn't go so far this time." One of the chief benefits derived from having
[754] supernatural power was the assurance of long life for, if the person were in danger of being "shot" by a malicious shaman, his soul or life substance "would not be there (where his body was) but away off on that hill where he had gone to talk."

"What a man dreamed he kept right on him":
787 he kept a tangible talisman symbolic of the
778 supernatural helper. A curing doctor might have many helpers, all the birds for example, and he could call on one or more or all of these to aid him when he was curing a patient. He had a talisman for each one.

[828] A dream in the daytime was useless; nor was one on a full stomach of any significance (S.G.).

Although theoretically any one might seek
756 power by this means, and the dream was its only
778 source, there was a tendency for shamanism to "run in families" just as there was for other
787 occupations, such as hunting, and for the same reason: the children were better instructed by their already successful parents. So my informants argued, and the assumption is reasonable. There was no inheritance of power, or of a shaman's position or function.

Any person, man or woman, could seek dream help and use it to help himself or his family. Women, however, never became professional. "There were none up Wukchumni way, there was just one down south" [that S.G. had heard of, probably the oft-mentioned Poi'ɛn].

[776] The dream helper was called ai´nɛč (from ana´ñatswad, to dream), as opposed to poša, the lineage animal symbol acquired by kinship; the same name was given the talisman representing it.

Supernatural power (tɛpni) bestowed by the
787 dream helper imbued a talisman symbolic of the
778 helper which every tutelary's protégé possessed. A person might have several talismans representing various helpers. But once a talisman had been used to accomplish some act of curing, it was necessary to have another dream of the helper it symbolized to revitalize it, so to say. The word for any talisman was wai´'ač, a word which also meant "necklace" (a string of beads or anything hanging from the neck; a talisman was sometimes worn that way). The word ainɛč was more commonly used for a talisman when it referred to the helper whose power

787 Plain people who did not seek to become
756 doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

787 It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

[777] It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

828 E.M. could not define the nature of dream
774 experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly re-
787 lated the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

787

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

W Y 787 782 181 so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

W Y 787 778 776 The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainič. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tʻ´pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

W Y [425]

W Y 787 828 As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha´bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has <u>all</u> dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often

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[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

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W Y 787 828 dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe'wia nü u'bunit, Waksachi).

W Y 787 778 [577] 756 Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking tipni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

W Y 755 756 Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

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W Y [606 153] [179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt
756 as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different
182 factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two
626 factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white
671 intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food
262 supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated prop-
[574 erty ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were
431] received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own
[431] culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality
[565] of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life
182 may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought
773 habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared
829 in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or
[787] possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same
182 laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision
829 in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex?

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex

621 Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
723

u´pːš: sun
toiyu´nam u´pːš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nːš: morning star
tomo´lo'o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačːt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čːn čano´''onːt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best; the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yːt u´pːš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčːn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lːpi, six).

823 Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women
301 wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 Paint.--The colors and sources were as
387 follows:
822

192 ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52]One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53]This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewːnu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wːša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

589 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime con-
[835] sideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wːt (husband), yi´wːn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawːnːš (to have intercourse), yewːnuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his
[551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law,
607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was
[831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or
831 arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105]
Sometimes red or black roots were woven into
designs across the bottom; these, too, showed
the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were
no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new
baby was not carried on the back, but in the
arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on
the back because its eyes might fall out," said
N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby
hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle
by means of a milkweed string band about two
inches wide which passed through loops along
the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on
its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
[237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing
prevented movement of any kind. Under the lash-
ing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin
blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a
cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under
the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until
it could walk and talk. Confinement in the
cradle is not continued as long as formerly:
Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept
in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to
second and third cradles, the last being some
thirty-five inches long. All were of the same
construction as the first save that the hood
was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chuk-
chansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was
woven as an integral part of the supporting
hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had
corners which were merely tied to the top edge
[482] of the frame with milkweed string. Large
cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage
on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the
child had outgrown them and, as long as they
were in good repair, were used for younger in-
fants of the proper sex. An infant girl would
not be put on an older brother's former cradle,
or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zig-zag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

W Y [831]

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahun ile´h:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 796 668 "We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´'a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775] W Y [783] Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535] Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [302] [83] Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517] During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

T Y 796 276

If some boys wanted to take jimsonweed, they would announce the fact in early winter (about December), and then abstain from meat and grease for the next two months. During this period they remained quietly about home, neither hunting, playing, nor participating in social affairs. About two weeks before the drinking, a doctor would retire with the boys to a private camp, where he instructed them in deportment, how to address jimsonweed when praying. Boys who participated were about sixteen and, according to F.M., were expected to remain continent for about three years. The retreat lasted two or three days, and on emerging, they set the day for the drinking twelve days in advance.

T Y [833]

Each boy had a sponsor whose duty it was to prepare the drink for him. These were men who "knew how to do it and had taken jimsonweed themselves." When one was digging up jimsonweed, a prayer was made, and eagle down would be sprinkled on the plant in order to obtain a large root. The size of the root does not correspond at all to the size of the plant, or the ground might be hard, or stones might interfere: the prayer and down obviated all these uncertainties. A man always went to the same spot to obtain the roots. The roots were mashed, added to water, and boiled a little.

The boys and spectators gathered in the early morning. Each boy was provided with a large coiled basket which held about one to two quarts. The basket was made by the boy's mother or, if necessary, bought, as it had to be of fine workmanship. It was received as a gift-payment by the sponsor, and after the ceremony could be used for any purpose. The sponsor held the basket to the boy's lips; the boy must not touch it; he must finish it all at one draught.[134]

T Y [285 431]

A man who was in charge of the ceremony made one prayer for all the participants. Neither F.M. nor S.G., the interpreter, could state what this was, save that he "called on Sun, Eagle, Cougar, and all those big ones" to give the drinkers good life and protection. Meanwhile several good runners and a "loud shouter" were assembled, and these, with the shouter leading, and the drinkers ran three times around a specified circuit. If a drinker fell before the laps were completed, his life would be shortened by so much.

When the drinkers became unconscious they were laid on deerskins or tule mats with a woman at the head and feet of each. By evening the coma began to wear off, and the women sang songs to rouse the boys. Toward morning they became voluble and made their revelations: people assembled to watch and listen. The drinkers could see people who were far away, and could see, too, who was traveling. They

[134] Although the basket might hold as much as 2 quarts, the amount drunk was not specified by F.M.

291 ably it was of wildcat skin which was not split. In donning the garment, it was folded over the belt at the back, the belt being pulled tight and tied in front. As the clout hung thus at the back, the inner flap was about two-thirds the length of the outer. The outer, longer length (the clout proper, so to say) was pulled forward between the legs and forced up under the tied belt. There was sufficient length for the front end to hang in a flap of about 6 to [281] 10 inches. Wildcat skins did not allow for so long an inner length at the back, though this always had to come well under the buttocks or the clout would loosen and pull out at the back when the wearer stooped or sat. Powers states that the breechclout was not removed during [834] bathing, but none of my informants made any such claims to modesty.[159]

Men's dress.--It was not unusual for men to go entirely naked at any time. A loincloth [281] of deerskin (sep) is mentioned by Kroeber;[160] my informants spoke of its use on dress occasions but not as a daily garment.

283 The belt was of milkweed string woven ("sewn") in the same manner as the burden band 291 (fig. 13, c-f). This belt was 35 to 40 inches long, which allowed some 6 inches to hang down [301] after it was knotted. A belt for special dress had small beads (koi koi) inserted in its strands and was called koikoi''ič (fig. 13, g). 291 Today all such belts are woven on the bow loom 294 which was perhaps diffused through Spanish influence. A belt of milkweed fibre and red wool, 286 woven on the bow loom but old style in effect, was worn by a Chukchansi informant.

291 A sandal (daki''ič) of thick hide, deer neck or bearskin, was worn by men during very 294 hot weather or when making a long journey. Several layers of hide were cut to the foot 281 pattern, then slit at proper points, and binding thongs were inserted. Then the bottom or "sole" layer was added and all sewed together with sinew. Holes were punched along the edges with a fine, sharp, deer bone awl. The sewing was around the outside. Informants disagree on the position of the binding thongs.

291 Sandals were not worn by women. No type of fibre sandal was known. Powers mentions 281 sandals but does not describe them beyond saying that they were "very rude" and that elkhide was preferred. Kroeber speaks of "rude sandals of bear fur" which were used in winter. The statement by a knowledgeable pioneer that no foot covering of any sort was worn and that there was no Yokuts word for such an object is unquestionably an overstatement; yet it serves to emphasize the scarcity of footgear.[161]

[439] Moccasins were bought from the Eastern Mono. The attempts by informants to describe

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[159] Powers, 382.

[160] Handbook, 519.

[161] Powers, 375; Kroeber, Handbook, 519; Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 38.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe ŏokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied 171 themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panamint, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, 791 chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their 796 arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have [302] either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger [177] Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not 535 inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted [177] from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred 181 a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they 648 take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead [177 of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the 302] appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

583 Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a 585 virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay 435 anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the 834 arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
494

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yewːnuˇša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wːša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

582 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had [835] intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wːt (husband), yi´wːn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawːˑ´nːš (to have intercourse), yewːnuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his [551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, with the sexes reversed, of course. A man 607 "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was [831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt‹´n›n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohat were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

586 children. In a sense, the arrangement depended on the solidity of the establishment: "it was easier for him to get out" (M.L.). On the other hand, a woman might "get mad and go home and take her babies" (M.L.). Children who were weaned, say of five years and over, went to either grandparents' home. The parents-in-law and the separating spouses discussed these arrangements. Often the children shifted about or went into the new homes of either parent when they remarried.

[585] Infidelity, especially on the woman's part, was not overlooked. Although virginity was not essential at marriage, constancy was expected 586 from a wife. The husband was entirely within 837 his rights in fighting and even killing the wife's lover. M.L. said that, if the lover had a wife, she too would "come out and fight the other woman." In other words, offended spouse [579] fought offending spouse of the same sex. When women fought they hit each other with their digging sticks or rock-lifters, pulled hair, and gouged with their long fingernails.[246]

When the husband was unfaithful, the wife "couldn't do much" (M.P.). "She might get mad and go home but it didn't do any good if her husband didn't like her anyway" (M.L.). As [181] usual in Yokuts culture, personality, not regulation, resolved each case according to circumstances.

586 Divorced men and women were entirely free to remarry, although protests might arise, and be ignored, from the parents of a wronged spouse. There was no return of espousal gifts, M.L. said, in broken betrothals (but one suspects that quarrels may have resulted if an equivalent value were not eventually returned to the losing family at some time; see the Chukchansi, Pt. II).

587 The levirate was commonly practised, but was not compulsory; the sororate was known but less common.

Widows remained single one to two years, a widower three months to one year. Again, personal desires and circumstances affected one's actions; the periods named were those conventionally recognized or expectable.

The Transvestite

838 The berdache had a special place in Yokuts society as a handler and burier of the dead and [767] singer of mourning songs. But of the Wukchumni informants interviewed only M.L. would admit their existence. She stated that a paternal uncle of hers was a transvestite. He dressed as a woman, gathered and pounded acorns, and made baskets in the company of women. The informant's grandmother told her not to make any objection to his presence on their seed-

[246] M.L. said women often "got mad over their cooking" and a winatum would come around and make them keep quiet -- these were verbal battles.

Y W 601 The husband was termed lotɔ´pnɜm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɜn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai´ɜkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´´otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

Y W [587]

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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494

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

764 fact that cremation was once practised, the remaining bones and ashes being buried. Relatives moved to a different locality to ease their grief; "they would get sick if they cried all the time." J.A. said the Chunut burned the house of a deceased person, whereas the Tachi merely moved away. M.G. denied any notions of life in the afterworld.

The following is from E.W. Gifford's notes on Tachi moieties.

At a funeral three women from each moiety, six in all, attended to making the funeral pyre, or nowadays to digging the grave. They were appointed by the respective moiety chiefs. These women were called onotim. According to my informants, berdaches (lokowitnono) had no [838] established functions at funerals. Kroeber states the contrary for Yokuts in general.[76] His information being the older and positive is probably more reliable. Moreover, with a scarcity of berdaches women would no doubt function as substitutes.

The ceremonial functions of the toño´čim (corpse-handler) at the time of a Tachi's death are given in some detail by Kroeber.[77]

765 The Tachi had a more elaborate ceremony,
764 known as tonochim hatim, "Tonochim's dance," on the occasion of the first gathering after a death. In this the performers wear long false hair, made to project over the forehead like a beak. They represent long-billed birds called yakeyakman, perhaps loons. They have the privilege of taking for themselves any property, which must be redeemed by the owners after the dance. They draw a mark on the ground; whoever crosses this is captured by them and thought to be unable to leave his imaginary inclosure. Even should he escape his watchers, it is believed some mysterious force would compel him to return against his will. Such a person must have his liberty redeemed by payment, else he is kept in confinement until the conclusion of the ceremony. This ritual would appear to have been a local custom.

At burial, the dead person was admonished not to return.

> You go to another land
> You like that land
> You do not live here.[78]

Kroeber also states:

764 The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned everyone of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they did not bury the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena

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[76] Handbook, 497.

[77] Ibid., 500.

[78] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 375, and Handbook, 509.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.46 b] Paleuyami

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Čowi´yɨt, was yo´wekod, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

[177 657]

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 285 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767 838] Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, otherwise they would die.

767 764

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was Wɨli´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took place, the buriers had a special dance
767 (to'onči'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonoč:m,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

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838 gathering trips, that he would hurt no one, and not to laugh at him. He had no facial hair. "Finally," said M.L., "he took a man and that killed him. He said he hated women."

Death, Burial, and Mourning

764 A death in a family might be announced by any of its members publicly or to any of the deceased's relatives. Relatives in other villages were usually notified by a winatum. Burial usually took place the morning following the day of death; but if death occurred late at night, then burial would be postponed until the morning of the second day. Since relatives were normally within a day's traveling distance the corpse was kept until their arrival, but it was never kept more than two full days. The bereaved persons wept and wailed until inter-
[767] ment. Some professional corpse-handlers (tono č:m) sang doleful songs. Especially grieved individuals fell on the ground and threw ashes over themselves. (M.P. saw her maternal grandmother do this when M.P.'s mother died.) The corpse of a person who died not
[482] more than one day's journey from home would be brought back on a litter by three or four men.

Immediately death was recognized, the corpse was prepared for exhibition and burial by some relative by marriage, i.e., one outside the individual's lineage. Thus a man's body would be washed, the hair washed and combed, and his best clothing put on by someone in his wife's family, his sisters-in-law or "aunts"-in-law, but never his mother-in-law. A piece of shell money was put in the mouth; the eyes were not closed. The wife herself often helped. The opposite, of course, held true at a woman's death. Children were given this preburial care by someone in their mother's family, not their father's to whose lineage they belonged (J.B.).

Another informant (M.P.) said that the family who would do the ritual washing at the Annual Mourning Ceremony (the "opposed" party called by the term gu'i) came at this time to prepare the corpse. Furthermore, just before the corpse was flexed and wrapped, it was the privilege of the gu'i to remove beads and other ornaments from it and keep them. Also, at this time the gu'i brought gifts of money to the relatives of the deceased, and in return they received gifts of food -- the jerked meat, dried fish, and salt -- which the mourners now could not eat. A family which was extremely sad would give away everything, especially if a daughter died (M.P.).

[767] Still another procedure was described by M.L., who said that the women buriers (tonoč:m) came to wash and dress the corpse, as well as to flex it for burial.

[431] All persons who came to visit the bereaved at the time of death received a little payment from the grieved relatives.

764 All Wukchumni informants stated that it
767 was the women tonočam who finally arranged the corpse for disposal and that the disposal was invariably interment. Cremation they attributed to the Monachi and to "people up north."

764 M.S., the ancient Yaudanchi, said that flexed burial was always practised by Yokuts people, cremation only by the Mono. She knew of a Waksachi doctor, wai´'as, who was cremated
[766] by his two wives, Mawo´kono, a Wukchumni, and Pawečiku´do, an Entimbich. They lived in Drum Valley.

For burial the corpse was always flexed, knees to chin, hands to sides of face or temples. It was tied in this position, then wrapped -- in deerskins if the family had wealth, in tule mats for most people -- and tied again. After European blankets were introduced, blankets of the deceased were used as wrappings.

[767] Meanwhile other tonočam were digging a grave by means of digging sticks and shallow baskets (usually old seed-beaters). A grave was about 4 or 5 feet long and seldom shallower than 3 feet. Cemeteries were located one to two miles away from a village.

[482 The corpse was carried to its grave by one of the strong female tonočam by means of tump-
286] line and carrying nets. Such women had extra large and strong nets for this special purpose. As they walked to the cemetery they constantly called to the previously deceased to watch for this relative of theirs who was now coming. The corpse was carried three times around the grave and then deposited on its back. As she did this the carrier or leader of the tonočam said, "I have carried you, čoinamniu [Choinimni person, or whatever]. I have taken you to the graveyard. You are going to get buried. These people [accompanying relatives] are going home." Then the relatives added, "We are going to make a mourning ceremony for you. Don't come back. You must not see your people any more. You have to go north now. Ṭapni is there. You have to stay there" (J.B.).

Then all present, tonočam and relatives, threw in earth and they all ran home lest the spirit follow them; no one might look back (M.P.). The earth was filled in and tramped down by the women who dug it (S.G.). No food, gifts, or any objects were left at the grave. According to M.P., on their return home the mourners washed the tonočam and paid them for
767 their services. They were under no restrictions of foods or activities beyond this time of cleansing.

[838] Whether all the tonočam were transvestites is a moot point.[347] Perversion (in these persons) was denied by M. and J.P., J.B., and S.G. M.P. pointed out that her husband's maternal grandmother was a funeral singer and

[347] The native word, tonočam, has been used throughout this discussion in its meaning as "burier" or "corpse-handler," not "transvestite."

767 burier. Among the Yaudanchi, too, women who had borne children were funeral singers, for instance M.S.'s stepmother's mother, Yaka´nič, and another known mother, Tu´nič. S.G.'s denial is perhaps understandable in the light
767 of M.L.'s statement that one of his paternal uncles was a transvestite, a fact S.G. de-
838 clined to admit. If any of the group of tonočim was a transvestite, it was probably the one who actually carried the corpse to the grave. Informants all said this was "a big strong woman." There is also the question of how many berdaches in female guise would be available in any village or tribe; expectably they would be really few. S.G. stated that even in a large tribe of more than one village there would be about three women who normally looked after the tasks of burial; if there were not more than one in any community, the chief would appoint some other women to help her and these, too, would be called tonočim. Thus it seems possible that some, but not all, tonočim were transvestites. S.G. also said that, if a burier had female children, they would carry on the profession.

J.B. claimed that tonočim were of either sex and, like others, he denied their homosexuality or transmuted habits.

765 Mourning was marked by singeing off the hair, the degree to which it was shortened indicating the amount of discomfiture. A wife would have her hair cropped short at her husband's death; so would a daughter for her father or mother. Men were less extreme in their outward exhibition of grief. It was the practice to forego washing and, to heighten the disheveled appearance, pitch was applied to the face and chest; on this dirt accumulated. It
[262] was permissible to wash the hands. Meat or grease was strictly tabu, and an almost complete fast was attempted by some mourners. Absolutely no participation in public gatherings was permitted, although it appears that this prohibition was motivated by melancholy rather than by a sense of spiritual uncleanliness.

Possessions of the deceased person were hidden away until after the release of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The bereaved did not want to look at these reminders of their sorrow.

Some women mourners wailed ritually morning and evening until after the private mourning ceremony. While in mourning retirement women spent all their time making baskets for the forthcoming mourning ceremonies.

Private mourning ceremony.--For about two or three months after the death of a spouse or parent, a bereaved man or woman refrained from eating meat, from washing more than the hands, and from participating in social activities. In the case of a spouse's bereavement the family of the deceased decided when the tabus should be lifted; that is, the relatives-in-law provided for a small cleansing ritual and

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokum NS29
[P. 236a] Western Mono NS25

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Y

The Transvestite

838 [767] The male transvestite (tono čɨm, Michahai; tai ʼyap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

W
Y

[787] [767] The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočɨm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

W
Y

[773]

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

W
Y
[767]

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

W
Y
561
192

na ʼna hua čiči: newborn boy
hu ʼpi hua čiči: newborn girl
na ʼnači: boy about two years old
si ʼi ʼsači: girl about two years old
hua ʼwuha na nači (or si ʼisači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
na ʼnop na ʼnači: boy five to ten years old
hu ʼu ʼpi mo ʼnanop: girl five to ten years old
moa ʼbi na ʼnop: youth twelve to twenty years old

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group. 616 622

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. 624 [361] When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion. [651]

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures. 624 522 838 767 624

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people. 648

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts 727 [773]

Puberty

[841] 881 Menstruation was called paiya'h·n (pai'ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little ceremony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 587 591 A young man went to a girl's house and remained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 613 The lineage was primarily a nuclear exogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 [152] The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

292 encompass the head, and tied with strings at the back of the head. These strings were sometimes wound around the hair which had been pulled into a bunch at the nape.

Personal care.--Both sexes brushed the
302 hair daily with a soaproot brush. Men would do
515 this in the morning if they had no immediate work. Women more often brushed and arranged their hair in the early afternoon after returning from seed-gathering, pounding acorns, or other arduous work. For washing hair, chips of
[388] dried soaproot were put in a large basket of warm water. This was done at the creekside if possible and the hair was rinsed in running water. Normally the hair was not washed while swimming.

Both sexes took care in the disposal of
754 hair which, if found by a malicious shaman or by an evil person who would take it to a shaman, could be used for contagious magic. (How this was accomplished M.L. could not say.) Women hid their hair combings until a large bunch had collected, then took this to a spring of water where it was buried under a stone. To do this not only ensured safety from magic but aided the hair on the head by causing it to grow
[826] more luxuriantly. Combings were not burned because this would cause the living hair to fall out prematurely. Menstruants scratched the
[841] head with a stick; otherwise the hairs would split and fall out.

Spittle was covered over to protect it from shamans.

Nail "parings" (if any) were not protected.
826 Some people tore off nails but most kept them ground down by rubbing them on a small water-rolled stone. A woman, particularly an old one, might let a left thumb- or big-toenail grow excessively. This served as an instrument in shelling nuts, seeds, splitting basket materials, or even as a personal weapon. When such a nail broke off, it was left anywhere.

M.L. recounted the following of her maternal grandmother who had a long toenail.

826 One of Ju''ulneš' daughters had married a man who was a reckless gambler. He lost everything. Then he played the chip and pole game
539 with a man, bet his wife as the stake, and lost her. The men became angry and began to fight. The old woman, looking on, was very mad at her son-in-law whom she already despised as worthless. She grabbed some ropes of ča and [presumably with the help of the man's opponent] succeeded in tying up the culprit. Then Ju'ulneš picked up some stones and hit him. As he fell she kicked him and cut his penis with her long toenail. She was so pleased with her success that she kept her nail long thereafter.

Ceremonial dress.--The fundamental parts
292 of ceremonial regalia, usually worn by shamans when engaged in public dances or rituals, were the feather headdress and feather skirt. Additional ornaments of feathers, skins, beads,

[text continues on p. 69]

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tuberous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

[P. 166. b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during
[343] pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841] There was no separate hut for birth or
343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´´ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed
[856 from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

The food and working tabus for both
844 parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

Twins were thought by some to be a mis-
845 fortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-
[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akhi:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her

W Y [841] fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual («pla´oña) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
604 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south,
[139] probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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There was no separate menstrual hut, nor any dance nor public ceremony at a girl's adolescence. For six days a woman took no meat, fish, or cold water. Some tribes allowed her to cook, work, and stay by the sick; others forbade her to prepare food or to leave the house. The additional observances at puberty were unusually slight, the most regular being the prohibition against the head being scratched with anything but a stick—a peculiarly deep-seated bit of taboo, encountered among Pacific coast tribes as far as Alaska. 841 [171]

NAMES.

The name of the dead could under no circumstances be spoken. For this reason a new appellation was assumed on the death of any namesake. Among the southerly tribes the inconvenience caused by this practice was guarded against by the custom of each child receiving two names, one to be used as a reserve in emergency, as it were. If nevertheless both namesakes died, the person deprived of his designations was spoken of and addressed as *k'amun hoyowosh*, "No-name." Many names are meaningless; some denote animals or objects, such as "Buzzard," "Otter," "Pine nut"; a few are names of tribes, as Pitkachi, Yaudach; many are verbs: "Tap," "See," "Make-fire," "Dead," to which may be added the curious one of "Seven." Almost all names were those of ancestors or older relatives. 551

DEATH AND MOURNING OBSERVANCES.

The Yaudanchi and Yauelmani buried their dead unless they died at a distance, when they were cremated and the ashes interred in the graveyard of their home town. The underlying idea seems to have been to deposit the remains where the person had lived. All California Indians have strong sentiments on this point; old people will express satisfaction at the prospect of being buried adjacent to the house in which they were born. The Tachi, like some Costanoan groups, burned every one of any account, believing that burial gave wizards an opportunity to steal the hair of the deceased and thus evoke their ghosts; but they also buried the ashes. A group of ancient bodies discovered in the Buena Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules (Pl. 41), and others incompletely cremated before burial. Perhaps they perished in an attacked and burning house. The Chukchansi left the body one night; then four men carried it on a litter to the funeral pyre. 764 184 [754]

The favorite of Yokuts ritual impositions, the abstention from meat, applied also to mourners for a period of a month. The alleged reasons are that one would be eating the flesh of his child, or kill his second wife. The Yaudanchi absolved the mourner only after he had paid a friend for the privilege; the friend, if the same occasion 765 [262]

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very
862 gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and
pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those
things better and wanted them all the time."
Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling
them what they must do. M.L. said naughty
children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning
childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O´mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad
fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been
withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[842] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[842] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe šokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

<u>Gum</u>.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up 262 and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

● 842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A 847 woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied 171] themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119] The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wul-will (ʼ ʼ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120] Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

Y W 601 The husband was termed lotɔ´pnɪm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɪn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. W 595 Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on 842 the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife 837 "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɪkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W Y 582 [648] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they W Y [186] didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. Y There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the W [587] Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their 616] neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and 843 morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 843 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle 854 for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
161 southwest on east side of valley
103 9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opni´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po´o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

●843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (šo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second
[789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

226 "all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Mean-
616 while the Tokelyuwich got out their "new"
796 acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

262 Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to
616 the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ič) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken
[252] to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

843 Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɪn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɪn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam- [823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand- [603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ˈɪč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɪ´lɪč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 789] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene- [611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown W Y [431] away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as čaˑn witˑp nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called axˑ ˈdiši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

30 were many songs connected with this practice,
221 but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[52] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it
[171] from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[53]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

136 The following birds were identified by
825 J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´lıts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´nıts; from towo´´ə, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust
[262] all over themselves." They were eaten by some people; but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´ina) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'"
[237] (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill
● 844 (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[353] [52] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[53] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[73] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

846 The mother remained on a bed of hot stones and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[73] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wiči lonu´'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´ṭoñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that [343] delivery took place in a private hut. If the separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či''up, či''up, či''up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed [787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

844 A hollow was made in the floor to one side of the fire pit. It was filled with sand or dry earth and some pieces of old tule mats laid over it. The mother squatted at its edge and pulled on two stakes driven into the ground. (These were not digging sticks.) The assistant stood behind her, pressed her head, her back, her abdomen, always with downward pressing movements. If labor were prolonged, the parturient would get up and walk about between spasms.

As the infant emerged, the assistant caught it off the mats beneath the mother, easing it onto some old deerskins. Pinching the cord about two inches from the infant's [412] body, she cut it with a cane knife and tied the stump with a piece of fine sinew. The cord and afterbirth were taken to the river and fastened to a stake so they could not float away: this prevented the child from ever being sick at its stomach (M.L.). The afterbirth was thrown in the river so the baby would never be sick, according to M.P., who added that often a girl's,

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat
[553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was
[853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the
[314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro-
[177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O´mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[242] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[242] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no.9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ṭo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone [illegible] had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

● 844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, [789] the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɛn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɛn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during
[843] pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841] There was no separate hut for birth or
343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ˀɛč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɛ´lɛč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put
846 in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed
[856 from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree
789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name
553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

The food and working tabus for both
844 parents were observed only for the first child.
846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

Twins were thought by some to be a mis-
845 fortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the gene-
[611] alogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

Birth took place in the dwelling, not in
844 a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also
237 rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

<u>Naming</u>.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
842 longer, before a young couple had their first
163 baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
according to N.W., and kept that name through-
852 out life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

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[824] [119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʼ ʼ ʼ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

Y W 432 778 825 and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown W Y away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to [431] anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

W Y 231 432 Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

W Y 432 778 825 Coyote---Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

W Y 843 There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

W Y 844 A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit:p nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called ax: ´diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ´oša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, W Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W The shaman was the only man present. The Y husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´l:č). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

[237] A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (ṭo'o´di) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´'ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello": more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane
[184] or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel. and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

[P. 102a] Wukchumni

844 The place of birth was in the dwelling, according to M.P., but M.L, older and more knowledgeable in aboriginal ways, insisted that delivery took place in a private hut. If the [343] separate hemispherical structure were not erected for her by her husband, she would clear out her storehouse and use it. The baking pit for use after delivery was outside the dwelling, and it may be this, rather than delivery itself, which M.L. had in mind.

At the onset of birth pains the woman got her mother or whichever female relative was to help her. They heated water. Meanwhile the husband was preparing coals, hot stones, and bark to be used in the heated pit, although he did not go near his wife during delivery. No 845 men were ever present, unless a shaman was 755 called in a case of seriously difficult parturition. A shaman gave a drink of pulverized [237] bear's claws to aid the birth. The shaman Haičača had a long bear claw to help women in parturition. He rubbed his hands on it, then on the patient. Then he blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Squatting before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come" (M.P.). But often a woman had some method of her own. M.L. had a little supernatural power; Quail was her dream helper. When aiding her daughter in labor, she called on Quail to help. Immediately some quail calls sounded near by, či´'up, či´'up, či´'up: "the baby heard them and came right out."

The maternal grandmother of J.P. dreamed [787] of a roadrunner who told her how to help women in labor. Although she was not a doctor -- "this was just her dream" -- she aided other women with her knowledge.

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755
[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (lɨmɨk). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared
[237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in
755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He also blew on the woman's back and abdomen.
845 Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ainɨč) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was
[776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an
823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took pre-
789 cautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

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854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the [856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree 789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

● 845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

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[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line. [611]

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were tʿpni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was
584 looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yateʼʿč) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

Birth took place in the dwelling, not in
844 a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
163 longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (♩♩♩). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ´oša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, W Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 245 taliaman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´l:č). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn [856] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [777] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been [237] prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to´o´di) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´´ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

616 796 Eagles belonged to the toxelyuwiš moiety chief. Dead eagles were danced over and carefully buried.[75] People not of the toxelyuwiš moiety who wished to obtain money would kill an eagle and take it to the people that owned it, the toxelyuwiš people. The eagle thus killed was a free wild bird, not a captive. When the toxelyuwiš people saw the eagle being brought, they would arrange blankets upon which to lay the body and then cry for the dead bird, scattering beads over it. Beads were also given to the man who brought the eagle. The nutuwuts people did not cry for the dead eagle.

For a slain coyote no ceremony was held; in fact, anciently people were afraid to kill coyotes. No animal of the nutuwuts moiety received such respect as the eagle of the toxelyuwiš moiety.

...Although some of the creatures [totemic animals] were occasionally kept captive ... there would seem to have been less actual keeping of birds and mammals in captivity than among the Chukchansi, perhaps because of less fixity of habitation.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

844 [756] If delivery was difficult, it was attributed to the evil force of some shaman. Ordinarily no man was present during a childbirth, but a shaman was called if necessary. He knelt before the squatting woman, held the top of her head, pressing his sacred talisman upon it, then similarly pressed her abdomen and sprayed a little water on it. Then the birth occurred; it was attributed to the power of his talismans. Sometimes women lay on a bed of hot ashes before the birth in order to hasten it. A decoction of burned whippoorwill feathers was thought helpful.

The cord was cut by an assisting female relative with a cane knife (ka·pi) which was used for no other purpose. The placenta and cord were put on the end of a buckeye stick and shoved down under the water in some secluded corner of a stream or pond; the stick pinned the objects to the mud at the bottom.

The navel stump (tutu´sami) was put in a little skin bag (nowadays beaded) and worn on a string about the neck. J.A. knew no purpose for this custom. The father of the infant ate no meat until the stump had come off.

The mother remained on a bed of hot stones
● 846 and ashes for about two weeks. When she got up she was washed by her husband's mother and presented with some new clothing. This little ceremony was called hiam e´p'·n (ep, to wash with water, to swim). The eating of meat was

[75] The eagle buried with abalone ornaments over its orbits may be an example of this practice from the more southerly Yokuts near Buena Vista Lake (Gifford and Schenck, The Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, pl. 13).

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwis "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 553 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little party" (wiči lonu´'iwis) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´ṭoñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and 843 morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, 854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

846 The father ate only "soft" food until the navel stump came off; the mother continued her abstinence from meat for three months. She might eat "greens" and any vegetable foods so long as they had no strong flavor or odor; because of its strong taste, fish was not allowed. (M.P.'s grandmother particularly restrained her from eating fish while nursing, as "it went to her breast.") If the mother should eat yellowjacket larvae (tabu because yellowjackets eat meat) the baby would get a sore mouth. The
[757] cure for this was to wash the infant's mouth with a mixture of pulverized ša'apuš (unidentified plant) and dried, pulverized yellowjackets.

553 During the first week the baby was called yet no´mčin, literally "one-seven," i.e., one week, and during the second po´ñoi nomčin, "two-seven" or two weeks.[238] It was then given a name by its paternal grandfather: if a boy, the grandfather's name [or great grandfather's], if a girl the grandmother's.[239] Names belonged in families; persons who were not kin could not
[551] have the same name (M.L.).[240] Wukchumni names were meaningless, said all informants. "If a name meant something it must be a nickname" (M. and J.P.). The grandmother [maternal?] gave the infant its permanent cradle, upon which it slept for one to two years.

846 Three months after delivery the mother was given a ritual cleansing and celebration (wi´ti lonu´wis) by her husband's mother. The mother-in-law brought "new clothes" (a deerskin apron if she could afford it), beads, and a "washing" basket and deer meat. She washed the mother's face and hair, combed her hair and put red paint on her face, and hung beads (koikoi) around her neck. Both paternal and maternal aunts were there, having brought large quantities of food with them. Village friends called, both men and women, with gifts for the mother -- beads, a basket, or some trinket -- and were given a present of food in return. The food was "usually eaten right there, though they could take it home if they wanted to." This "reception" continued for two or three days. Thereafter the mother resumed her normal existence, slept with her husband, and ate almost any foods save the "strong" ones.[241]

[805] 177

[238] Probably "one-six" before the introduction of the seven-day week which "came with the Catholics." It is even possible that this designation of age by weeks is of European origin, although the "week," a native concept, is not.

[239] This is an over-simplification, as genealogical evidence shows. The tendency was to carry names through alternate generations, but those so bestowed are few compared to those seemingly chosen at random from the family's stock.

[240] This statement is entirely borne out by genealogical data.

[241] M.P. made a confused statement, which we never got disentangled, to the effect that after the mother's "party" she went home with her mother-in-law who "took care of the baby for her and the mother brought it food sometimes." Perhaps this was in case of birth during the initial period of matrilocal residence?

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to
361 southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. to´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´´o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po´o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´´ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušl:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second
[789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

● 846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´´ič) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it
[177] only ten days. The second (aki´lič) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču´ša). The pieces used

[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during
[843] pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 There was no separate hut for birth or
343] menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother
844 or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this
[237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier.
[616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-
[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-
[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´'ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at
[553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

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789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

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553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

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846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65]The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66]A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on
[611] the male line.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

553 Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

551 A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
177 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

● 846 Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
852 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
783 held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was
852 still within the shelter, picked her up and set her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was
[292] arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825 more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter
237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
● 846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or
three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
[856 had reached the age of at least two months. The
825] purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though
nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ´oša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, W Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W The shaman was the only man present. The Y husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadk:d) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akh: ´l:č). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead- Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o´di) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´'ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W meat tabu would either grow very fat or become
Y emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman
846 sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W The naming of the child took place about
Y twelve days after its birth. Until that time,
553 and often for a month or two after, it was
852 called a ´ktač (S.O.); called we´čap if a boy,
and wi´tep if a girl (D.). Personal names were
[551] used in direct address from two months on
through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this
W was done at the mother's ritual.

The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho¹
Y unu´malo", washing daughter-in-law) took place
846 the third moon after her delivery. On the
783 morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172]The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

W Y [841]

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (:pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

727 scalp celebration or victory dance. It can accordingly be concluded that scalping customs were of relatively little moment in Yokuts life.

MONEY.

436 Ordinary money consisted of strings of shell disks, of the wampum type, *keha*. During the past hundred years the Yokuts derived at least part of their supply of this currency through visits to the ocean. It is uncertain whether such trips were made in purely aboriginal times. The unit of measurement in the north was the
436 *chok*, one and a half times the circumference of the hand. In the
804 south the *chok* was somewhat shorter, and was reckoned as half the
184 *hista*, two times the circumference of the hand.

Long perforated cylinders, perhaps made from the columellæ of
436 univalves or from clams of unusual size, were called *humna* or
[439] *humana*, and were exceedingly valuable. They came from the south, probably from the Chumash.

GREETINGS.

576 There was little or no handshaking before the white man introduced the custom. Kissing was another undeveloped greeting. Mothers kissed their children, and lovers each other in seclusion; but no one else. The usual greeting is *hileu ma tanin*, "where are you going?" An old form, now less used, is, in foothill dialect, *ma-wit hide*, "you, hello"; more literally, "you, where?"

805 Like some other Californians, the Yokuts call the years "worlds." *P'a'an tanshi*, "world went," denotes the lapse of a year.

BIRTH.

844 A woman about to give birth sat on the ground grasping a stake set up before her. At the moment of parturition she was raised by an assistant who grasped her from behind. The umbilical cord was tied with one of the mother's hairs, and severed with a knife of cane or elder wood, according to locality. The Chukchansi buried the
[184] cord; the Tachi preserved it by having the child wear it over its abdomen.

Husband and wife were under equal restrictions after the birth of
846 a child. They ate no meat or hard food, and did not cook, hunt, work, or touch tools. The Yokuts attached the greatest importance to these observances, some of which were continued until the remnant of the cord dropped from the child's navel, and others for several months.

841 The monthly condition of women—which was thought to be con-
[821] nected with the dark period of the moon—was viewed with less scrupulous abhorrence by the Yokuts than among many tribes.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock [412] mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 648 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse [726] Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] 727 J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not 276 positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 323 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it 324 was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe Nokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied 171 themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

847
278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

844 Some women had a child every year. Of
163 twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six,
165 maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 If parturition was difficult, scrapings
278 from a bear's claw were put in water for the
237 woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul´wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood
278 water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

<u>Naming</u>.--"It was one year or so, sometimes
842 longer, before a young couple had their first
163 baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 The infant was named shortly after birth,
852 according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824]

[119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (ʻ ʻ ʻ). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

834 man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native con-
837 dition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one
[181] time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and
[648] that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

192 Their language has what is generally considered a good indication,
834 separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

591 We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

● 847 Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's
648 River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis
567 Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

764 If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every
494

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS BABY CRADLES

One of the most interesting phases of Yokuts culture is 854
their method of handling and carrying their children. Many 285
of the things to be discussed here vary slightly among the 352
Yokuts tribes, but the general scheme was once much the same from the Cosumne River and Martinez on the North to Tehachapi and Paleta on the south. By far the most effective Yokuts artifacts, at least as regards the rearing of children, are these baby cradles, or baskets. The most detailed account concerning this interesting piece of equipment was that furnished by a prominent family of the *Wukchumne* tribe.

Among the Wukchumne it was customary to hold a cere- 851
mony, or meeting, practically identical with the modern baby 854
shower. Even though many of the primitive customs have held 352
over into civilized life, and persons who have studied primitive 285
life are more or less accustomed to such parallels, it comes as a surprise to everyone to find that such an interesting custom was so well established among the primitive inhabitants of the San Joaquin Valley.

The materials used in the construction of the baby cradle 854
varied slightly among the numerous tribes. The Tachi, who 352
occupied the north shore of Tulare Lake, wove a very inter- 285
esting cradle of tule. It was soft and pliable and formed a good mattress for the child. The *Choinok* and *Wolasi* attached a tule pad to the bed of a wicker cradle.

The plains and foothill tribes made a very light and strong cradle. Some tribes used slender willow wythes. In the construction of their cradles the Wukchumne used cottonwood twigs.

Among the Wukchumne two separate cradles were used for each child. The first cradle was sometimes made by the mother, although a grandmother, or some other old lady of the tribe, often made it and sold or presented it to the mother. This cradle was about thirty inches in length and so woven of cottonwood twigs that it could be rolled up like a piece of matting, the cross stitching being made of pliable cladium roots. This was a temporary cradle and the baby was kept upon it for a matter of three or four weeks.

As soon as the child was born, materials were assembled and construction started on a large, permanent cradle. This was not possible before, because the design used in weaving the

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwis "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 553 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little party" (wiči lonu 'iwis) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa'tsas hu'toñ). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

847 278 medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

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842 There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

844 Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

845 278 237 If parturition was difficult, scrapings from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wul'wul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

844 278 The baby was bathed at once in wormwood water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

842 163 Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

553 852 The infant was named shortly after birth, according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

[824] [119]The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-wili (♩♩♩). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120]Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

553 whom the baby was named was dead -- and names
852 of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about
553 the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" be-
551 cause she quarrelled all the time. The name
177 had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one
846 month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was
852 held for the mother by both parental families,
783 said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at
431 which the paternal and maternal families were
846 preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food,
852 baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives,
783 and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away.

846 When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set
852 her on her feet. A large washing basket
783 ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other

846 women relatives of the man's family did the
852 same for the wife's attendants (mother and
783 sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was
[292] arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deerskin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a
[825, 237] more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place.
431 The young mother's family had assembled quanti-
846 ties of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries,
852 etc., while the young father's family had pro-
783 vided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth,
[178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

W Y 846 meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

W ● Y 553 ● 852 [551] The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a ´ktač (S.O.); called we´čɛp if a boy, and wi´tɛp if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

W Y 846 783 The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´ho¹ unu´malo², washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put

[172] The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat
[553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was
[853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the
[314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro-
[177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O´mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[242] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[242] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or
three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
had reached the age of at least two months. The
[856 purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though
nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
(informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʻoša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, W Y pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his 845 talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkʻd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akhʻ ʻlʻč). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead- Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o ʻdi) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te''ena ʻočita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Tsudamhi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

846 not resumed until after the first menstrual period following on the birth; the diet was exclusively warm cereal food such as acorn mush, sopas seeds, etc. J.A. said a Choinimni girl, a daughter of Sumtiwas "nearly died" because she ate gooseberries, raw and cold, after having a baby..."she should have waited longer."

852 The baby was named about three or four weeks after birth. The parents gave a "little
553 party" (wiči lonu´'iwas) at which food was served to guests who came with gifts. There was no singing or dancing. J.A. does not know who selected the child's name, but believes that names could be chosen among those from either parent's lineage; her daughter Yuki'at is named for her paternal aunt.

854 The infant's first cradle was the soft tule mat (wa´tsas hu´ton). The second cradle (watsas) was the type with forked-stick frame, upon which the child remained until it was able to walk and then sleep on the ground as adults did.

844 A prospective Tachi mother ate no meat, only roasted roots of the flat tule. Delivery took place in the home; afterward the woman lay face downward on a bed of hot ashes. The placenta and cord were put in water. The navel stump was worn on a neck string by the child until it reached puberty. Kroeber states that the Tachi preserve the cord by having the child wear it over its abdomen. Surely the navel stump was meant.

551 The Tachi had different names for men and women, but M.G. could give no rule by which they were distinguished, "You just knew." She said that a girl might be named for her maternal aunt, and a boy for his maternal grandfather. This stressing of the maternal side may be accidental, nevertheless Gifford mentions the bestowal of names by maternal as well as paternal relatives, as follows.

[553] Children were named by old relatives for dead relatives, sometimes for living relatives also. Nicknames were also bestowed and in the course of one's life he might be labeled with five or six appellations. Informants professed to know the meaning of none. If a person's namesake dies, the person goes by one of his other names or else he is renamed. In the case of the young chief Kanti, however, such was not the case. He continued to be known by this name after his namesake (his father) died.

The younger chief Kanti is a good example of a person with a plurality of names. He had two other names applied to him, also in infancy. They were Ha'čau and Wallo'. For none of these names could the informant give meanings. The chief José also had two additional names: Siwulik, bestowed by his father, and Osowoii, bestowed by his father's father.

The woman Yawata was named by her mother's mother in infancy. Motsi was named by her mother.

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, x, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

285 all coiled shapes save the flattish trays the working edge was that nearest the maker, which was the outside of the basket. On the open flat trays whose upper side was the seen or "best" side, the work was done on the far edge of the basket, the work still progressing from left to right. On a certain type of small flaring bowl, the inside and outside of which were about equally visible, the work might be done either way the maker preferred. The fact is that most Yokuts workmanship was so skilled that both sides of a basket were equally perfect. Split stitches were the mark of poor workmanship; it was also claimed that the coiled stitches were never interlocked.

Ornamental materials were split redbud bark (a´nep), which varied in color from a rich maroon red to a chestnut brown, and a black root (mono´hič). When a pattern was to be introduced, the plain wrapping was cut off and fastened, and the colored wrappings replaced it. This method was always followed even if only one or two turns of the colored binding were needed. In other words, there was only one layer of wrapping. No double-wrapping, [237] overlay, or imbrication was used. An especially fancy ornamentation was that of quail topknot feathers applied at the edge of the shouldered or bottleneck basket. The quill end of the feather was inserted under the turn of the wrapping with its tip to the left where it was held down with the thumb of the left hand while the binding stitch was drawn up. In this way it slightly overlaid its predecessor and did not project forward in the way of the worker's fingers.

531 285 Kroeber shows eighteen basket designs to which I can add only one called "waves" which is said to represent the billows of Tulare Lake.[201] This may be seen in plate 1 in the feather-edged basket toward the lower left and in a large flaring basket directly above it. The pattern at the bottom is the more usual rendition.

Cradles

854 335 In old times the cradle, with forked-stick foundation and tule mattress, was used exclusively in this region. The tule mattress, [184] which has been thought of as a separated cradle by ethnographers,[202] functioned as such only on the borders of the lakes, where sound wood for frames was scarce. A permanent twined tule mat was affixed to the frame, but another, larger one, was added with the baby when it was on the cradle. This larger mat was really a mattress in which the baby slept at night, still lashed in it. When put on the frame, the

[201] Handbook, 533. A story of the origin of basket designs is recorded by Latta, California Indian Folklore, 75-79.

[202] Kroeber, Handbook, 534, pl. 40, g.

854 baby and mattress were both lashed to it by means of one set of cords. The cradle frame
335 (with its permanent mat) was called a'hi:'l:č; the separate mat (mattress), even when the infant slept in it, was still called mat (ṭ:ñi, the usual word for a tule mat). Such a cradle is shown by Kroeber.[203]

If the cradle needed a hood, a broad band of tules, vertically twined about every inch, was fastened on as an addition. Apparently it was not thought of as an integral part of a normal cradle.

[177] The fan-shaped hood and lattice-twined cradle of willow are a recent introduction from the Mono. This information on cradles from M.L., Wukchumni, and M.S., Yaudanchi.)

According to M.L. and K.G. the forked-frame cradle was lathed differently for girls and boys; the boys' cradle had two crosspieces, the girls' but one. The single crosspiece arrangement permitted a bulging of the soft mat so the baby girl's buttocks would not be confined and would grow large. It is to be noted that no such arrangement is made in the recent twined-frame cradles. These, however, carry markings in accordance with the sex of the occupant, zigzag for boys and diamond for girls.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

436 The foothill people probably never manufactured money, although the intermediate Gawia would do so when they could obtain the raw material -- unbroken clamshells. A few pieces could be made out of the freshwater oyster shells available at Woodlake and in the slough region, but the greater part of the shell was said to be "too rough." Clamshells and money came from the Chumash, Salinan, and perhaps Costanoan peoples, passing through the hands
[439] of the intervening lake and valley tribes who in turn bought mountain and foothill products -- bows, fire and digging sticks, salt, and fine baskets. The various shell moneys were as follows: home'ṭ:n (humna, humana, pl.), a long tube (1-1/2 to 2-1/2 inches) made from the hinge of large clamshells; koikoi:č, a short tube (1/2-inch) of white, probably also a "hinge" and used in ornamental belts; močo'ko, the small disc of clamshell which, in strings, was the common currency. European beads have
[177] acquired Yokuts names: in Wukchumni, hoi'yo is a small red glass bead;[204] and tedi'diduš is a glass bead with the surface planed to represent cut facets.

436 The descriptions of the method of measur-
804 ing strings of clamshell discs and the values
435

[203] Ibid., pl. 40, m; mattress, pl. 40, m.

[204] Called in English "pomegranate seeds" by M.P.: pomegranate trees are grown abundantly in the Visalia-Lemon Cove district.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their 616] neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846 infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the 843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the 843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first, her mother or grandmother made the first cradle 854 for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177 is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come i. vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´´ˌč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (akiˈlˌč)ˈ was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo.
[184] said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču˜ša). The pieces used

[286]Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287]For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by
[198] Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kɨč; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.--White paint (ho´sot) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the
[439] Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kɨl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11]Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12]This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13]Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14]Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [237] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam- [823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 [603] When the baby was born its paternal grandfather brought the first cradle (bi´'ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] [553] The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the [856 child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree 789] so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line. [611]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 188 9] Chuckchansi

343 J.R. described a granary covered with pine
251 needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack
[171] or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa´ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

265 Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets ('tewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (k'olis 'tewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (po'o¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool orna--mentation (toward upper right, second from top);
[272] the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

525 Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grand-
352 son, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938).
● 854 All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered
[824] with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle
284 was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

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[103] Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104] A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

352 The top was bound with the water plant
531 root. About four inches from the top was a
854 horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating
831 the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 The first cradle had a band hoop extend-
854 ing forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight;
[237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge
[482] of the frame with milkweed string. Large cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about [177] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, [602] the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the Y W blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets, Infants might be [854] carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W 423 S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. táveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gamia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 2346] Western Mono NS25

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akhıl:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ǎa' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [854] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

W Y [841]

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (ıpla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

283 The commonest string material was milkweed, *Asclepias*, called *shah* or *chaka*. The stems were collected in early winter, the bark or covering peeled off, and shredded by rubbing between the hands. The thin epidermis was then removed by drawing the mass of fibers over a stick. The fibers were not separately disentangled, but loosely rolled together as they adhered. Two of these rolls were then twisted tight, on themselves as well as on each other, by rolling on the thigh with the spit-into hand, the other hand holding and feeding the loose ends. The exact process of adding further material is not known; it consisted probably of rubbing together the ends of a mass of fibers, perhaps with some twist. String was two-ply. This is a practically universal rule for California. Except for a few ancient fragments, every piece of three-ply rope or twine in the State is of American provenience or obviously modern.

The other great string material of the bulk of the Californians, wild hemp, *Apocynum*, has not been reported from the Yokuts; but this is likely to be only an oversight. The inner bark of a large shrub called *hoh* was made by the Yokuts into rough rope for withes, pigeon cages, and similar bound articles.

CRADLES OF THE YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIANS.

854 The Yokuts cradle shows three types. The first is a flat rectangle or trapezoid of twined basketry with a curved hood. The hood is 352 loosely or not at all attached to the top edge of the base, and is car- 285 ried by a basketry hoop or side supports. (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*.) This type is found also among the western Mono, and, with some modification, among the eastern Mono. (Pl. 40, *k*.) The latter run the rods of their base across instead of lengthwise, and set a smaller and rounder hood on more snugly. The Miwok (Pl. 39, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) and western [171] Mono (Pl. 40, *l*) sometimes use the base of the Yokuts, without the hood. The Washo cradle is substantially that of the Yokuts.

The second type is built up on half a dozen sticks lashed across a large wooden fork. A layer of string-twined tules is put over the sticks. (Pl. 40, *m*.)

The third form is a mat of twined tules, with loops at the edges to pull the lashings through. (Pl. 40, *g*.)

The hooded basketry cradle seems to predominate in the north, the forked stick type in the south, and the soft frameless tule form on Tulare Lake; but this distribution is not altogether certain, and it is possible that the age of the child, or the season of the year, may have been of influence.

The Maidu cradle is often made on a forked framework, and in [171] summer carries a basketry hood. It differs, however, in carrying numerous light transverse rods, in having the ends of the fork united

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

by a stick loop, and in often lacking the point of the fork. (Pl. 40, *n*, *o*.) None of the Yokuts cradles, clearly, is made for hanging, except perhaps by a strap. The Maidu cradle may be described as a combination of the Yokuts first and second types; among the latter people no such combination or transitional type has been found. 854 352 285 [171]

The southern California cradle, so far as known, has a ladderlike foundation of a few short sticks on two long ones. The two long rods are, however, joined at the top instead of at the bottom: that is, there is a loop at the top instead of a fork below. The hood is also a separate hoop of wickerwork. (Pl. 39, *b*.)

The cradle of northeastern California, northwestern California, and the Pomo region is, in spite of much local variation, uniformly of a different order. It is of basketry, not of sticks; it is hollow instead of flat; and a rounded bottom is an integral part of the structure, while the hood is clearly a subsidiary feature. This northern cradle is built essentially for sitting (Pl. 35); that of central and southern California only for lying.

FIG. 48.—Cradle types of central and southern California. *a*, Diegueño, Mohave; *b*, *c*, Maidu; *d*, Yokuts, Kitanemuk; *e*, northern Miwok; *f*, Yokuts, Miwok, western Mono; *g*, eastern Mono. (Cf. Pls. 39, 40.)

[171]

The stiff cradles of central and southern California may be schematized as in Figure 48, *a–e* being types with a wooden frame, *f–g* basketry forms. It will be seen that there is a complete transition from *a* to *d*: *b* differs superficially from *c* only in lacking the point of the latter. Structurally, however, the gap in the series comes between these two, *b* being only *a* with the ends of the frame rod joined, whereas *c* is *d*, namely, a natural fork at the bottom, with an added hoop. That form and consequent use may be of more importance than structural plan, so far as connections go, appears from the fact that *b* and *c* are the winter and summer types of the same people, the Maidu.

Even the stick and the basketry types shade into each other: *b* and *c*, whose transverse rods are close and slender, need only the substitution of a few courses of twining for their underlying hoop or fork frame to become *g*.

In Miwok basketry pieces of type *f*, like Plate 39, *e*, the strengthening hoop seems secondary, but may be a vestige of a former wooden foundation.

The hood is primarily associated with the basketry cradle, but again there are exceptions on both sides that make transitions. *B* and *d* are always hoodless, so far as known, and the hood of *a* is [171]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 structurally separate. *C*, however, is hooded; on the other hand, *f* is found without a hood as well as with it.

352 Finally, the soft tule-mat cradle of the Tachi (Pl. 40, *g*) is the
285 same in plan as Mono stiff basketry specimens like Plate 40, *l*, differing only in its pliability.

171 An aberrant type is *e*, so far reported only from the northerly Miwok. The frame is wooden, but distinctive in not being in a single plane. The two rods curl up from the base. This enables them to serve at once as hooks for hanging and as a hood frame. (Pl. 39, *f*.)

The historical interrelations of the several types can only become known through ampler material than is now available, both from within California and without. It is only possible to say that in spite of transitions the basketry and the wooden-frame types seem fundamental.

The former has its rods running longitudinally and is intra-Californian, or rather cis-Sierra, the northern sitting cradle linking with it in this feature of direction of the elements.

The wooden-frame cradle with cross rods is trans-Sierra, including southern California. On this interpretation the hill and mountain Maidu cradle has been shaped by Shoshonean influences from the Great Basin, and the Yokuts have been infiltrated to some extent by the same influences. On the other hand, the Shoshoneans within the Sierra Nevada, such as the western Mono, and presumably the Tübatulabal, follow the Californian method of construction at least as frequently as do the neighboring native stocks.

171 An interesting minor feature of Yokuts cradles is the expression
854 of sex in the decoration. The Chukchansi put a band of parallel diagonal lines on a boy's hood, a zigzag on a girl's. A number of the
352 Yokuts cradles from other localities show the same designs; several
285 have the twining of the frame analogously disposed (Pl. 40, *h*, *i*, *j*).
531 Diamonds may be the equivalent of the zigzag, in which case a genital connotation is possible. Eastern and western Mono hoods show patterns of the same kind (Pl. 40, *k*); the Washo denote sex in their hood ornamentation; the Miwok may therefore be guessed to follow the principle also; and the Mohave use distinct patterns for boys and girls in the braided bands with which the child is lashed to the frame, besides putting feathers only on a boy's hood. The device is therefore of some geographical extent, and may represent an eastern influence into California. It is of special appeal because of the rarity of symbolic expression in California outside of ritual; and even in ritual the symbolism is scant compared with the habits of the Southwest, the Plains, and the East.

While the same patterns probably occur over a large area with the same symbolism, the sex denotation itself is expressed in other ways

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS BABY CRADLES

One of the most interesting phases of Yokuts culture is 854
their method of handling and carrying their children. Many 285
of the things to be discussed here vary slightly among the 352
Yokuts tribes, but the general scheme was once much the same from the Cosumne River and Martinez on the North to Tehachapi and Paleta on the south. By far the most effective Yokuts artifacts, at least as regards the rearing of children, are these baby cradles, or baskets. The most detailed account concerning this interesting piece of equipment was that furnished by a prominent family of the *Wukchumne* tribe.

Among the Wukchumne it was customary to hold a cere- 851
mony, or meeting, practically identical with the modern baby 854
shower. Even though many of the primitive customs have held 352
over into civilized life, and persons who have studied primitive 285
life are more or less accustomed to such parallels, it comes as a surprise to everyone to find that such an interesting custom was so well established among the primitive inhabitants of the San Joaquin Valley.

The materials used in the construction of the baby cradle 854
varied slightly among the numerous tribes. The Tachi, who 352
occupied the north shore of Tulare Lake, wove a very inter- 285
esting cradle of tule. It was soft and pliable and formed a good mattress for the child. The *Choinok* and *Wolasi* attached a tule pad to the bed of a wicker cradle.

The plains and foothill tribes made a very light and strong cradle. Some tribes used slender willow wythes. In the construction of their cradles the Wukchumne used cottonwood twigs.

Among the Wukchumne two separate cradles were used for each child. The first cradle was sometimes made by the mother, although a grandmother, or some other old lady of the tribe, often made it and sold or presented it to the mother. This cradle was about thirty inches in length and so woven of cottonwood twigs that it could be rolled up like a piece of matting, the cross stitching being made of pliable cladium roots. This was a temporary cradle and the baby was kept upon it for a matter of three or four weeks.

As soon as the child was born, materials were assembled and construction started on a large, permanent cradle. This was not possible before, because the design used in weaving the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Left: A **Wukchumne** infant cradle, used until the larger cradle was completed, and then tied high in an oak tree until the child learned to walk. Right: A **Yeudanchi** infant cradle with hoop to support the covering over the face of the baby.

cradle for a boy differed from that used in weaving a girl's cradle.

At the time when construction of the large cradle was started, all the grandmothers and older women of the immediate family group held a meeting. They called upon the mother and her child and brought with them all sorts of materials, including toys and play-things for the baby.

The mother never constructed the larger, permanent cradle. No reason is given for this, except that the mother had many other duties in caring for the child. It is said that the maternal grandmother took a considerable pride in preparing this permanent cradle and I have observed this always to be the case among the Wukchumne.

When the temporary cradle was discarded it was rolled tightly and tied securely, high in an oak tree. It is explained

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

by Indians that this was done in order that nothing would happen to the child. 854 352 285

After the child had learned to walk, the small cradle was taken down and burned. It was thought if anything happened to the small cradle the child would never learn to walk. This accounts for the scarcity of the temporary cradle in basketry collections.

As soon as the permanent cradle was begun, the grandmother devoted all of her time to its construction and had generally finished it at the end of a week or ten days. It was from two and one-half to three feet in length, about eight inches wide at the bottom and about eighteen inches wide at the top. This flat, rigid base was constructed of two layers of cottonwood twigs. The upper layer was placed length wise and the under layer cross wise. These twigs were lashed together in an interesting pattern by the common stitching material, the cladium root called *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

It is the design used in lashing the twigs together that determines the difference between a cradle for a boy and a cradle for a girl. The design generally extends across the cradle diagonally. In the boy's cradle the design always ends at the opposite side pointing in the same direction in which it it starts from the first side. It may have several off-sets or "Z" shapes like our conventional form for lightning, but it ends in the same direction in which it starts. 854 352 285 531

The design for the girl's cradle may start out the same as for the boy but changes its direction and ends in the opposite direction from which it starts. Whether this feature of the design is to be understood as a Yokuts recognition of any well fixed feminine characteristic will have to be settled by the reader.

The flat, rigid base, which has just been described, is strengthened and covered at the upper end by a sunshade made of the same material. This sunshade is formed in a very interesting way. A hoop of several cottonwood twigs is sprung across the framework, about eight inches from the upper end. From a point in the middle of the top of the base other cottonwood twigs spread in a fan shape to the hoop, where they are securely lashed. The sunshade is then stiffened by stitching with hupud in the same design which characterizes the base. 854 352 285

In order to make this shade sun and water proof, the pulp from the common soap root is pounded to a paste and applied

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

854 to the outside with the hands. This paste dries to a hard, smooth surface and shuts out both sun and rain.

352 285 The upper part of the sunshade, which is attached to the top of the base like the handle of a fan, forms a convenient handle, or grip, by which the cradle and the child can be moved from place to place.

Along the sides of the base are loops of buckskin. In the old days soft moss or grass was placed under the child. It was then wrapped in a small rabbit skin blanket, or buckskin. The child was then placed upon the cradle and lashed to it by means of a long milkweed fiber strap, laced through the buckskin loops at the side and criss-crossed over the child much as a shoe is laced.

[531] From the sunshade directly over the child's face are hung short strings of beads, at the ends of which are suspended bits of abalone shell, periwinkle shell, or keyhole limpet shell. These are not to be played with—only to be looked at. The hands of the child are strapped down to its sides under the wrappings.

Originally the Indian mother carried this burden with her by means of a milkweed-string band which fastened to the base of the cradle on either side at a point near where the hoop of the sunshade was attached. This looped band was placed across the forehead of the mother and the burden was distributed between her forehead, back and shoulders. In some tribes the name for this cradle was *shaw'-nil,* the same as the word for burden.

Some of the foothill tribes made a crude baby cradle of a forked stick with other sticks lashed across it by means of sinews, or string.

Yoi'-mut, the aged *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) Yokuts quoted on other subjects, furnished the following most interesting story concerning one of the articles carried with all Chunut cradles:

"Chunut mothers kept a piece of *kodis* [soapstone, steatite, or talc] hanging from the sunshade of the baby cradles. When they changed the baby they scraped some powder from this soapstone to put on the baby. It was just like your talcum powder."

I have in my collection a forked-stick Yokuts cradle which was collected from the *Yaudanchi* Yokuts about 1868 by Wilco Mentz, of Porterville, and which has had one of these soapstone talcum powder cans suspended from it for more than eighty years.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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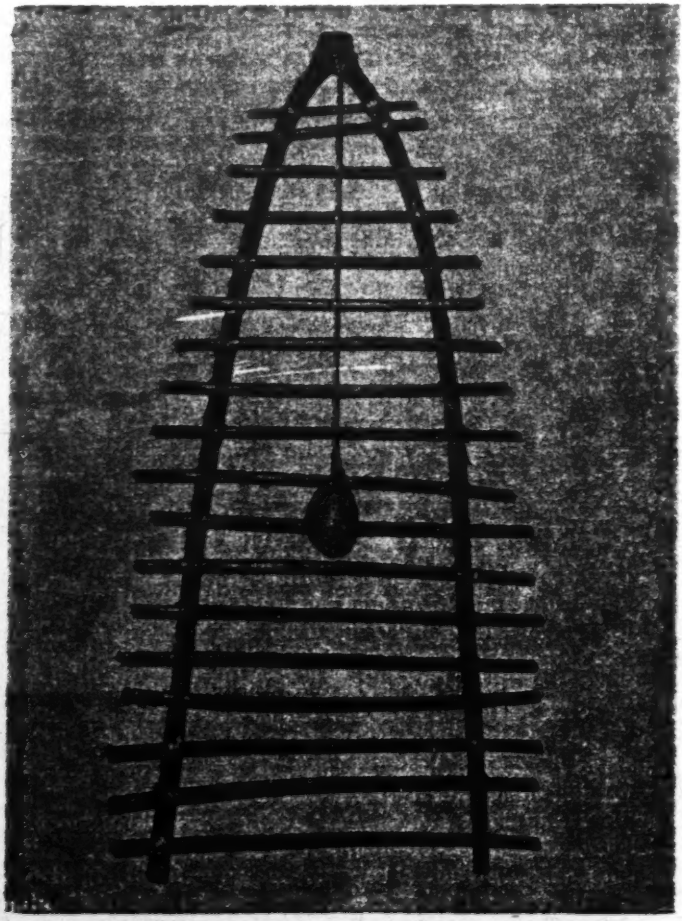

Type of baby cradle used by the Koyeti Yokuts on Tule River. Suspended by the string is a piece of soapstone from which was scraped talcum powder to put on the baby when the grass or moss diaper was changed. This cradle, together with the soapstone, was collected in 1868.

Verily, there is nothing new under the sun.

The *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, could leave her baby cradle leaning against a bank, a rock, or a tree, and be gone for hours with the certainty of coming back and finding the child

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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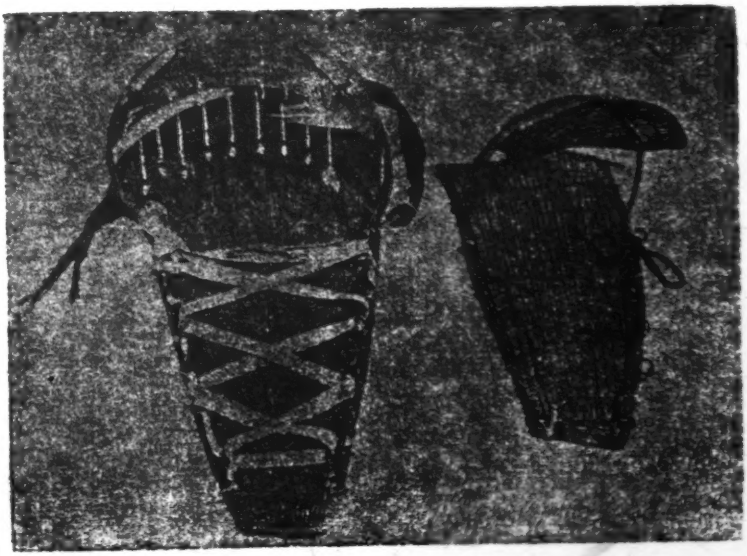

Left: A **Wukchumne** Yokuts baby cradle with milkweed fiber tie-strap and hemp fiber carrying-strap. Suspended at the right of the sunshade is a steatite reel-shaped stone from which talcum powder was scraped for use when changing the baby. Right: A **Nutunutu** Yokuts baby cradle padded with tules.

exactly where she left it. It is said by persons who have been close observers that it was often customary to keep the children on these cradles long after they were able to walk. Why the white persons who first settled this country failed to appreciate and appropriate this effective article of primitive culture is beyond understanding.

Probably more interest is shown by whites concerning the Indian name for baby cradle than concerning any other thing relating to Indians. Among the Wukchumne and other Kaweah River Yokuts tribes, the name was *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se). Almost every other tribe of Indians in the western hemisphere had a different name for this article. So did they have different names for *moccasin, squaw, tepe,* and every other primitive article.

The word squaw, was adopted from the Narragansett Indian dialect. *Papoose, chuck* (meaning food), *moccasin* and *tomahawk* were taken from an *Algonquin* dialect. Tepe was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave
[868] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I
[854] do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

I was about six years old when we moved from Watot
159 Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about
769 two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol*, a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke*, who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne*. He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit*. One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let*.

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a
825 turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong.
854 We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wuk-
352 chumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice
854 and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the
854 baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 From the time [illegible] a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I
361 heard them talk abo[illegible] West Side and I remember a few things over there. T[illegible]lvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to
439 trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes[1] and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken. [855]

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.--Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley. [285 415]

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938). [263]

222 Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider. 252 252

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse. [251]

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[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

[1] [i.e., of acorn meal dough. —Analyst]

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her husband's relatives. The mother-in-law and
[602] sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´'ˌč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´lˌč) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
● [856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (hučuˈ´ła). The pieces used

[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

After the birth occurred, the
846 mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

[843] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this [232] point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 When the baby was born its paternal grand-[603] father brought the first cradle (bi´´ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 787] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name 553 selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. 846 But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on [611] the male line.

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or
three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
[856 had reached the age of at least two months. The
825] purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though
nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ´oša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, W Y 845 pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals 844 with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkıd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W to a forked-stick cradle (akıı´lıč). The use Y of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as [853] was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead- Y decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were 846 not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (ṭo'o´di) Y was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman [824] sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´'ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

W Y [841]

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (:pla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about [177] 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

● 857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

Some children had dreams of supernatural 787 significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 147 a] Choinimni

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302 Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. [304 Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a 301] bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

286 A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, 301 but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

481 Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and [868] creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small 501 tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, [502] usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

482 According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the [282] conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasion-

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[8]Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9]Ibid., 29, 12.

[10]Ibid., 29-31, 37.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 103 b] Wukchumni

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if
862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O´mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[842] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[842] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwıš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

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[164] [243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 Primitive tradition contains numerous mention of peoples living in continual fear of invading forces. This is the old story of humanity from the present time back beyond the very beginning of history.

The story of an invading host spread like wild-fire. In silent terror a few belongings were snatched from their accustomed places. Light packs of food were prepared and women and children fled to the hiding places about them. After the invaders were gone, these people returned, often to find their homes in ashes and all of their belongings destroyed.

Occasionally they were caught without warning and had no time in which to flee. They were then attacked in their dwellings. The tremendous confusion and hurried flight on such occasions is one of the most powerful forces in developing and controlling the instincts of primitive people.

861 648 White people are surprised to find that Indian children obey their parents without question and that they do not cry, except upon the most exceptional occasions. These characteristics are the direct growth of the conditions which have just been mentioned. The Indians of the San Joaquin Valley were much like their brothers, the wild animals, whose young by instinct will remain perfectly quiet when hidden by their mothers, even though they are almost trampled upon. Mere anxiety on the part of the parent is infectious.

Indian children were reared upon stories that recounted the many invasions which the tribe had suffered, and which kept ever before them this peril which might at any moment envelop them. They had no way of knowing that they would be safe for any certain length of time. The lookout on a nearby peak might at any moment signal that an invading force was distant only a few hours', or a few minutes' travel.

In this way the protection of the parent was much more a real necessity to the young child, to the young man and young woman and even to grown individuals, than is the case among civilized races. Because he knows that it is made safe for him to travel to almost any place he pleases, the young boy of today does not have this feeling of dependence toward his parents. Because of this the children of white parents are more prone to disobey than the children of primitive people. Undoubtedly this close dependence and fear of a common enemy was responsible for the fact that it was seldom if ever necessary to whip Indian children.

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862 a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

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1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or
three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
had reached the age of at least two months. The
[856 purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though
nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
● 862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

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[P. 194 a] Chuckchansi

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grandchildren?].

882 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

"The mother would tell the girl about
864 having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had
583 to marry the man she refused.) Money and other gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

settled; next a season of warmth with stream, river, and lake floods, and stirring plant growth culminating in the massive blooming of field flowers and foothill shrubs; and then the long hot dry season of harvest seeds bringing a constant drift to temporary camps which ended with the gathering and storing of the staple acorn crop.[10] 221 132 805

The ceremonial round of Yokuts culture was closely fitted to the seasonal cycle of plant and animal activity. There was no winter ceremony unless possibly the oho´wiš, an indoor curing ceremony and shamanistic display involving fish and water animals.[11] This was a time for evening instruction by the telling of myths and by the forcing of boys and girls 10 to 15 years of age to rise in the night and bathe in chilly waters. Austere men concerned about their supernatural power and spiritual vigor would do the same. Indoor occupations flourished, although men hunted daily unless the weather were excessively wet and cold. Houses were patched against winds and soaking rains. Acorns were brought from main storage bins to individual store houses, thence to the dwelling to be shelled as needed. Men and women gathered in houses at dusk to drink the lime and tobacco emetic, then retired home to dream and secure supernatural benefits. By mid-December prospective datura-drinkers began to refrain from meat-eating. Shamans danced to prevent general sickness or to predict the next summer's seed crops. 221 796 [866] 221 [276 787]

In late February or early March came the first public ceremony, the drinking of tañai *(Datura meteloides)* by youths and others seeking special knowledge: dream help, second sight, or a view of their future life. This was never held later in the year because the plants were "too strong." The spectacle was attended by people of the local and adjacent communities. For the participants, the critical period was the twelve days prior to the drinking, in which a semi-fast was maintained, and the twelve following days during which meat was still tabu; at the conclusion of which time, as with all Yokuts festivities, a feast was given and meat eaten. 221 796 787

Soon after this (late March, April, and early May) the lavish, colorful blooming of wildflowers engaged Yokuts attention. Crowns of flowers, constructed like the shaman's feather crown, were worn by young and old of both sexes; armloads of flowers were plucked and danced to with special songs. 221 301 824

10 Twelve "moons" were counted and named by both Yokus and Western Mono, but no ethnographer has the complete record.

11 Described by both Kroeber and myself, not fully understood by either in description, meaning, or extent; not listed by Driver (A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925, p. 507; Driver, *op. cit.*).

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were t:pni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declara-
584 tion of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ič) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separa- [55] tion. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

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[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
for some reason they could not be nursed, said
846 N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel
(warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth,
as it was thought to aid the production of milk.
She did not resume a full normal diet until
about two months had passed. She could, how-
ever, have quail soup, which was also a special
infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or
three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it,"
though usually it was not given until the child
had reached the age of at least two months. The
[856 purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth
825] and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the
child will walk early. A bird was pounded up
and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm
broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though
nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as
a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years.
Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who
had been out hunting, would come home and go to
the mother's breast, as would girls of equal
age, said N.W. From two years on, children
were permitted to have any type of food they
cared for and could manage. From a month on a
baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing
amounts. To start the child on solid food the
mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it
to the young one. "They look at the mother,
then open their mouths, just like little birds."
After the meat the child would have acorn gruel,
the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips.
By the age of five the child could hold its own
basket when drinking from it. Sometimes child-
ren were given ground rabbit meat, but it was
thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk,
they were trained to go outside to urinate
[they were in the cradle a good part of the
time up to two years of age, of course]. If
they did not learn readily, a medicine was
prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?].
This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing
two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of
verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure
[informant could not elucidate]. A child would
be about five or six when this was done;
"accidents" occurred as late as the age of
thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
walk, the mother or someone of the family would
789 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed
868 with it. If the little one looked back and
showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks
away. After that he keeps right on walking
[sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her
grandchildren?].

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave [868] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I [854] do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

159 I was about six years old when we moved from Watot Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about
769 two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwu-trah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a *Wowol*, a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke*, who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winnat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne*. He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a *Kaweah* man named *Yah-pah'-kit*. One was a Chunut woman named *Moos'-took* and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named *Mun-oi'-let*.

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[text continues on p. 230]

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

W
Y
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778

doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

W
Y
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779
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There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɨ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɨč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

W
Y
787
[869]

Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

[p. 9-A]

538 773 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the narrator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are be- [173] lieved to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 178 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic, neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case [171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical [173] information. The myths are repeated to the young as historic fact--this was the way land [869] was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is [182] frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

Puberty

[841] Menstruation was called paiya´h·n (pai´ya, blood; lit., "to be blooding"). A little cere-
●881 mony was made for a girl at the termination of her first menses. J.A. recognized her own puberty as neglected due to disrupted native life; however, her mother made "a little party" for her after her first menstrual period. She was washed, and dressed with beads and earrings for the first time. She abstained from meat throughout the ensuing month and for six days of her next period. Then she was washed with a decoction of "some kind of weeds" and was permitted to eat meat. She was informed that to eat meat at this time would cause a hard ball to grow in her abdomen and that, if she attempted to steal meat to eat in secret, she would die. J.A. regretted that she had not been sent out to swim at night as part of her puberty training or taught "to mind her dreams" as she should have been.

Marriage

584 A young man went to a girl's house and re-
591 mained there if she accepted him. For about a year he hunted and helped his father-in-law. Then the couple removed to his parents' home where, if there was room, they remained permanently. The function of the moiety in marriage is discussed under "Social Organization."

582 The lineage was primarily a nuclear ex-
613 ogamous group and secondarily, the moiety. Though it was usual to marry without one's moiety it was not compulsory, as is evidenced by the genealogies. No cousin marriage was permitted, and a couple known to be remotely related could not marry without unfavorable comment.

On Tachi marriages and affinal usages Gifford has some remarks.

[606] The term nukatmin means "my relation." Mother-in-law and father-in-law tabus were in force. There was also a partial tabu against a man talking to the wife of any man he called agas (mother's brother, mother's brother's son, etc.). Cross cousin marriage was not practiced, though it was said that anciently it was and that a man might marry either his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. I have no genealogical evidence to support this statement.

Death

764 The Tachi informant had lost a grandson about a year before my visit and wept when
[152] mourning ceremonies were discussed, although the child's mother, one of the interpreters, showed no outward distress. Consequently no information on death or burial was obtained from the Tachi or Chunut informants, beyond the

302 tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: [171] the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

301 It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary oc-
304 casions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma´na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

292 An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a
281 long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin [202] with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

<u>Women's dress</u>.--Women also wore a buckskin
291 breechclout. There was no distinction in the
281 cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned un-
[881] til first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču´niš, Wukchumni; ṭo´hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by
291 Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163]
286 The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

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[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

601 cousin) had no special term but were all lumped as ta'ati (relatives).

A stepparent was called, according to sex, by the term for father's brother or mother's sister regardless of whether he actually was such or not. When it was necessary to distinguish a related stepparent from a blood uncle or aunt the word ni''udi (another) was added; thus, ni''udi komo'dis (another father's [587] brother). The levirate was of frequent occurrence, the sororate known but less common. A stepparent addressed his stepchildren by the usual terms for offspring, although it was said he more often applied the general term a'hit (child), which was used by true parents for their children too. Step-grandparents were addressed by the regular grandparent terms.

The word no'či (male friend) was used by a man for his wife's sister's husband. This was a general term for friend and was used rather indiscriminately. (It was used mutually between most informants and myself.) The word ta'naič (female friend) was used by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. It applied only to women and was used between M.L. and myself.

Puberty

881 During her first, second, and third menses, a girl ate only "soft food" (acorn and seed mushes) and drank only warm water. She did not retire to a separate hut, nor was the warm pit used. She was equipped with an old breechclout in which was a layer of shredded willow bark: the bark was buried as it needed replacing, and the clout washed. A scratching stick, which M.L. said was "just any little twig or stick," she used to scratch her hair or body. Her mother combed her hair each day; if she touched it herself it would split. Pre-adolescent girls could not eat quail: "quail would nest in their hair if they ate quail before their [757] hair grew long" (M.L.). Poultices of hot mashed tamik were laid on the abdomen and back to relieve menstrual pains.

881 The girl's mother invited another woman and her son to come to the house: these guests 584 remained one or two days. They brought with them gifts for the girl, perhaps a rabbitskin 431 blanket (later Spanish blankets, pinshala [sic]), [301] and beads which they hung about the girl's neck. The woman combed the girl's hair and gave her quail-feathered ear plugs. In return the visiting pair received a large quantity of food. This little ceremony (witi lonuwis) was a kind of tacit betrothal: the boy and girl usually married eventually, but there was nothing defined, nor was there any return of gifts if they did not marry.

881 At the end of six days the girl swam in the river and resumed her normal diet. She returned to soft food and warm water during her next two periods. At ensuing periods only the

881 meat tabu was observed. Girls who drank cold water and ate meat got overly fat.[243] Like M.L., M.P. said "girls followed the moon, and boys
841 the sun," but added that "girls were always sick on the full moon," which is, of course,
805 impossible. Girls gauged the expected arrival of their periods by the condition of the moon from month to month, as explained by M.L. In the old days, said M.L., a menstruant cooked for the family as usual, but she slept on the opposite side of the house from her husband and intercourse was strictly tabu.

881 During adolescence both boys and girls were sent to swim at night. The informant J.B. gave this practice a name, pa´duwiš, and defined it more rigorously than others. For thirty nights during the coldest, frostiest weather (December-January), a lad or young girl was sent out three times each night, once just after he had fallen asleep, again halfway through the night, and again near dawn just before the other members of the household would be arising for their own swim. The youngster who slept soundly was given a vigorous poking until he got up and went out. The swimmer ran back wet to prove he had immersed himself; he dried and warmed himself by the low fire and jumped back into his bed. The purpose of these efforts was to produce a physical and mental hardiness. After adolescence a person of character continued the practice, though not quite so rigidly, i.e., one dip a night was sufficient. It took some fortitude on the part of the parent who himself must waken to see that his sons or daughters were roused each night three times: J.B. said, "old men some-
[751] times lost their children because they wouldn't see that they did this right each night." People often did the same thing in the summer-
[515] time and those who did "never got sick." Such bathing was of an extra and special sort: it was taken as a matter of course that one swam at daybreak every day merely as a matter of decent behavior and personal cleanliness.

861 J.B. added that every man talked to his own children, especially his sons, telling them how to behave, to be industrious, and to be respectful toward supernatural manifestations. Both boys and girls learned their duties and techniques of work from their father and mother by association, emulation, and specific instruction.

Marriage.

582 The only regulation of marriage was a restriction based on blood relationship. All Wukchumni informants claimed that a relationship as distant as third-cousinship was a tabu to matrimony. A marriage with such a relative

[243] M.P. attributed the obesity of a certain old woman, who was obviously tumorous, to infringement of the meat tabu.

[164]

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš
553 ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[854] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[286] The first (bi´'ıč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it only ten days. The second (aki´ıč) was the
[177] larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown, which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four
[856] months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

● 881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[287] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.M. described the women's dice game (huču ža). The pieces used

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[286] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[287] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

845 could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were t:pni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

867 The training of children "just came natu-
868 ral." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

● 881 A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

881 The actual puberty ceremony, which was
584 looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ič) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

584 When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P 2346] Western Mono NS25

W Y 846 783 the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it. The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

W Y 352 854 The cradle (akh:l:č), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

W Y 854 The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

W Y 881 [856] When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

W Y [841]

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (:pla´ša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chapter 34.

THE YOKUTS: CULTS.

The Jimson weed initiation, 502; the rattlesnake ceremony, 504; other ceremonies, 506; ceremonial paraphernalia, 508; prayers, 509; mythology, 510; shamanism, 511; Mana, 512; source of the shaman's power, 513; disease and cure, 515; bear shamans, 516; rattlesnake shamans, 517; weather shamans, 518.

THE JIMSON WEED INITIATION.

Next to the great mourning ceremony of the Yokuts is to be ranked a boy's initiation, which centered around the narcotic, and therefore supernatural, effects of a drug pervading the roots of the Jimson weed, *Datura meteloides*, commonly known in California by its Mexican name, toloache.[1] The Yokuts called the plant *tanai* and the rite *tanyuwish*, which might be translated as "Jimson weeding."

The initiation was into manhood and tribal status, rather than to membership in any organization. It was therefore in a sense a boy's puberty ceremony, which was given a distinctive character by intoxication. The same type of ritual prevailed among all the Shoshoneans, and perhaps the Chumash, of southern California. Its occurrence among the Yokuts is only one of several instances of customs shared by them with the groups to the south.

To the west there are reports that the Salinan villages followed the cult, although it is unfortunately not wholly certain that they possessed the custom before the missionaries introduced Yokuts among them. To the north the Miwok did not drink Jimson weed: in fact, it probably grows little in their habitat. The northernmost Yokuts hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi, practiced the rite feebly, if at all, and the Chauchila are said to have refrained from it altogether. On the other hand, the Miwok declare that their Yokuts neighbors of the plains of Stanislaus River had a Jimson weed ceremony. The cult may have gone farther north than this, to the extreme tribes of the lowest San Joaquin, since the plant occurs as far north as Stock-

[1] W. E. Safford, Daturas of the Old World and New, Smithsonian Report for 1920, 537–567, 1922, gives the following Daturas: *D. meteloides*, Mexico, Utah, California, used by the Zuñi, Walapai, Luiseño, Yokuts; Aztec name, *coatlxoxuhqui*, "green snake weed," *ololiuhqui*, its seed. *D. discolor*, closely allied to *D. meteloides*, Mexico and southwestern U. S.; *toloache*; more common at Yuma than *D. meteloides* (and therefore probably the species employed by the Yuma and Mohave). *D. innoxia*, Mexico; Aztec name, *necaxcui* and *toloatzin*. *D. stramonium*, Jamestown weed, Mexico and eastern U. S.; Aztec name *tlapatl*.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ton in the hot plains. Among Maidu and Wintun there is a complete lack of reference to the plant, its use, or any similar ritual. The Yokuts thus were the only Penutians, and virtually the only central Californians, to adhere to the custom. It is hard to believe that they acquired it otherwise than from the south, and that it can be anything but a form of the religion which had its presumable origin among the Gabrielino, among whom its manifestations are most elaborate. 171 [174]

Indians find it difficult to fix the age of the participants, but these are always described as boys, except among the Dumna and San Joaquin tribes, where young men and middle-aged men are specifically mentioned. The estimate of 12 to 15 years, or before sexual intercourse, made by one ancient southern Yokuts is therefore likely to be correct. It is of interest that this man himself never took the drug until in manhood he broke his arm. He then drank the decoction 12 times on alternate nights, remaining throughout in a stupor. The advantage of such a period of quiet during the setting of a bone must have been great. Evidently, however, the intoxication as a pure rite was not considered so overwhelmingly essential as to be enforced on every individual. On the other hand, another old southern Yokuts took the plant ritually three times, his father speaking the requisite prayer before the drinking. On the first occasion the boy was stupefied for six days; the second time three days; the third time he did not "sleep" at all, but walked about as if drunk. 881 276 [752]

The drug is not only a narcotic but produces visions. This is unquestionably the cause of the tremendous supernatural power ascribed to it, and of its selection as the foundation of an important public ritual. The vision producing effect must also have been enhanced by the preceding period of fasting. Expectation, based on current folkways, would lead the novices to see even inanimate objects as persons, as is said to have happened. 881 276 787

There was no formal structure erected for the ceremony. The root extract was drunk outdoors. During the period of fasting the participants were withdrawn from the public, usually remaining in a separate house or booth. They ate, in conformity with usual Yokuts ceremonial practice, no meat or solid food, and drank no pure or cold water, subsisting on thin acorn soup. The duration of the fast seems to have varied; six days may have been a common period, six being the number most frequently employed by these people in ritual connection. During this time the old man in charge of the ceremony directed the boys' actions, spoke to them of the origin of the world, and preached to them regarding their own future. He himself was expected to sleep little, but to go out at night, deposit eagle down on the ground, and pray. 881 276 [262] [782]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

881 The Jimson weed roots were crushed and soaked for some days.
276 When the time for drinking came, the old man took the basket of liquid and said:

[539]

> Drink this water for Tüüsiut;
> Drink this water for that Pamasiut;
> Drink this water for that Yuhahait.

Twice he moved the basket toward the novice; the third time he held it toward the novice's mouth. When all the boys had drunk, they were taken away from the village, to places where they would be undisturbed, by older men who watched over them. The boys seem to have slept off their intoxication outdoors; as an open-air affair, the ceremony was made during the dry season, apparently in spring.

The participants underwent the rite for their own good. The Jimson weed would give them health, long life, ability to dodge arrows in battle, and general prosperity.

If a boy vomited his dose of drug, it was taken as a sign that he would die, and his relatives paid the old master of ceremonies for praying to avert this threatening fate.

184 Such was the ritual among the southern Yokuts. The Dumna,
881 among whom the participants were men, practiced it somewhat dif-
276 ferently. The roots were shaved instead of pounded. The master of ceremonies is mentioned not as having prayed, but as singing, before giving the liquid. The drinking took place in the sweat house and was followed, before the intoxication took effect, by a brief dance of the participants. Men would experience or obtain
[787] what they saw in their visions; the sight of beads would make the dreamer wealthy.

THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY.

796 Other public ceremonials of the Yokuts were in the hands of medi-
756 cine men. They were not performed by participants following an anciently established ritual learned from preceding generations, nor by initiates into an esoteric cult or priesthood, but by shamans who, in their own persons, held communication with the source of the supernatural. The ceremonies were in essence a demonstration of the *tipni*, the magic power, possessed by these men—sometimes for the public good, at others merely as exhibitions.

The most spectacular of these shaman's performances was a rattlesnake ceremony, somewhat suggesting the famous snake dance of the Arizona Hopi. The Yokuts called this institution, according to dialect, *Daidangich*, *Datela*, or *Datlawash*, namely, "stepping on."

[787] Early in spring, before the snakes had come out, the *tüüdum* or men to whom a rattlesnake had spoken in their dreams, executed

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 196 not processed]

CHAPTER XII

STORIES AND CEREMONIES

THE BOYS' INITIATION CEREMONY

881 Undoubtedly one of the most interesting customs of the Yokuts Indians had to do with their initiation of the young men into the tribe. Among small tribes it is probable that this was not held at regular intervals, but was performed at any time when a young man was considered to be of an age mature enough to take up the full duties of citizenship. In larger tribes it appears that in order to reduce the number of times that the initiation ceremony would have to be performed during the year, it was held only once and at a regular season. At that time several young men would be initiated.

[184] Old Yokuts men state that some tribes required the initiate to kill a deer single handed before he would be taken into the tribe. An old *Wukchumne* stated that his people often required the boy to break the ice and bathe in the Kaweah river before he would be admitted. This test is also reported from the *Yowlumne*. These are the only reported requirements which involve a test of courage or hunting ability.

881 276 Among scientists the initiation performance among the southern Yokuts was known as the *Toalache*, or *Jimson Weed Ceremony*. The plant used was the Datura Meteloide. The southern Yokuts called this plant *Tani*, and the ceremony *Tani-yu'-wish*. The ceremony was centered about the drinking of a tea made from the root of the Jimson weed and the period of intoxication which followed, during which the unwritten work of the tribe was imparted to the new members.

The Jimson weed will be readily recognized by natives of the San Joaquin as a large, low, bushy bluish-green plant which at the proper season of the year produces a large white bell-, or trumpet-shaped flower. This flower is about six inches in length and three inches across at the opening. It is possessed of an objectionable odor. The root when reduced to a tea is a strong narcotic.

For several days before the drinking of this tea the young men refrained from eating any solid food. Acorn soup or other liquids were the only things partaken of during this week of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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[412
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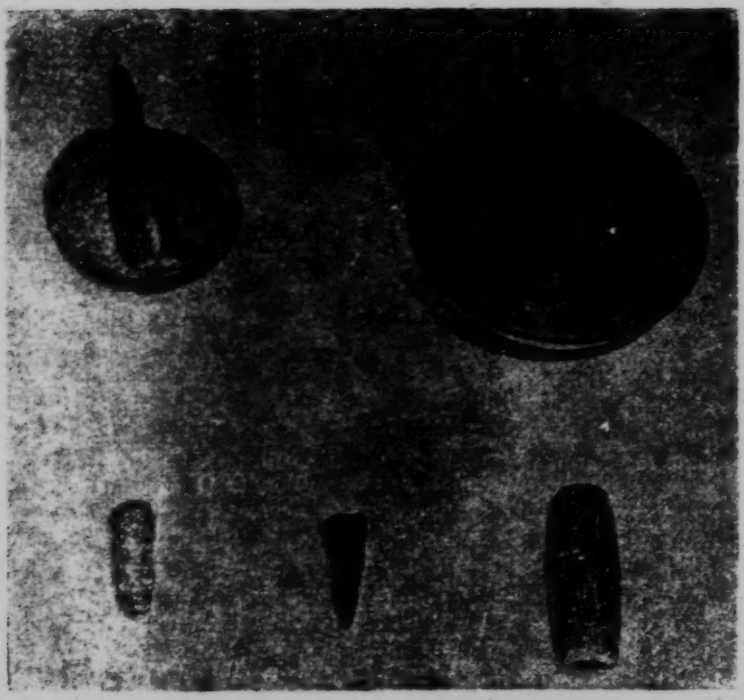

Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Comeliao Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief and other important members of the tribe, including sometimes the medicine man. Among some tribes the drinking took place in the open after the talk by the chief. 881 276

Immediately after the drinking of the tea, which was very bitter and often caused repeated vomiting, necessitating the drinking of large quantities of it, the young initiate was given into the care of some old and respected member of the tribe. It is said by some Indians that this man was generally selected by the father of the boy because of some attachment which the boy had formed for him. He became a sort of godfather or counselor. This relationship often continued throughout life. It is said by early American settlers that, before entering into a bargain, it was not uncommon to see a Yokuts seventy-five years of age go for advice to his godfather, who was ninety. [608]

When given into the charge of this godfather the boy was taken into the hills beyond, or along a stream, and watched over and counseled until the period of stupefaction had passed away. This is known to have lasted several days. During this time the initiate was instructed in the tradition and history of his tribe and was given such advice and instruction as was calculated would make him a good citizen among his people.

Among some tribes this ceremony was the most elaborate of any they performed. Ceremonial equipment of the most spectacular kind was exhibited to the young tribesmen. This equipment was often never seen by him again and was calculated to impress him with the importance of his duty to the tribe.

The visions produced during this exhibition, due to the nature of the narcotic taken, undoubtedly created a deep impression and lasted throughout life. I have in my possession three large spear points which are thought to have been a part of such initiation equipment. The largest is approximately eleven inches in length and two inches in width. The smallest is about nine inches in length. These would undoubtedly have been wrapped in protecting moss and buckskin and given to the care of the property man of the tribe, who guarded them between the times of their use. [787]

It is of interest to know that even the seeds of the Jimson Weed were thought by the Yokuts to have supernatural power. The seed would keep off sickness and prevent bad dreams. I have in my historical collection a necklace of these dry seeds made in 1932 by a Tachi woman and presented to a member of my family for the purpose of warding off influenza. 751 824

882 After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

864 "The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

584 Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) Money and other gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

583

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried

5335. aiyama´t:n na pa´n:n
539 worthless I country [it is understood Coyote is speaking]

he´y:n do´mto pan:n aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu [name of spring]

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
incoherently by M.L. She could give it no
883 name and said it was participated in by young
people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was
a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want
to take part would be seized by winatums,
laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information
from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in
agreement on all essential points. Not one of
these informants, however, admitted taking jim-
sonweed and no subsequent information led me
to doubt their veracity. A participant would
have been preferable as an informant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
(taña´y:n; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
262 in the early spring about February to March;
"while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.).
276 Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would
go through the village saying that all those
who wished or intended to participate in the
next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only
did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu
but also "their parents and everyone connected
with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the
ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter
only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until
twelve days after the rite had taken place --
roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
under compulsion. The general purpose was an
787 insurance of future good health and consequent
long life; some youths hoped to obtain super-
276 natural helpers by this means; much secret
knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g.,
who were evil shamans and who their prospective
victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic
illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eat-
[262] ing of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strend of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani' yokoṭs) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same
[574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[863] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Kiwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit)[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) ".....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

796 It was said that an evil shaman who feared dis-
276 covery through this means would try to render
787 the narcosis ineffectual, i.e., blank, and
754 drinkers who failed to have visions always blamed this cause.

On the twelfth day after the ritual a
796 general celebration took place. The children
276 dressed in their best. Fathers provided meat and fish, mothers, baskets of acorn mush. The leader, relatives, and children, "all who had anything to do with the drinking," took part. The chief made a little speech recapitulating the events and causes that led up to this literal "break fast," for none of these persons had as yet touched any meat. Even at this time those who had actually drunk tañai took only a minute piece of meat, which they invariably vomited.

This little feast provided an occasion for
796 betrothal if any families cared to take ad-
584 vantage of it. This is the only indication that the ritual was an induction into anything,
●864 and even this was only into maturity, so to say. Even this is inferential, for informants denied the ritual any formal aspect of initiation into tribal life, ceremonial participation, or even spiritual experience, for many of the drinkers already had dream helpers. The betrothal preparations were no different from those normally made by a boy's parents. On such an occasion, at the time of the feast, if one of the girls who had drunk tañai was desired as a daughter-in-law by some family, they would go to her home before the feast and array her for it with gifts which they brought. Even if the offer was accepted, the young couple would not marry at once but "waited until they were grown up" (M.P.).

276 Jimsonweed was well known as an anaes-
757 thetic. It was used both internally and as a poultice. When jimsonweed was drunk, the meat
[262] tabu was observed in so far as circumstances permitted. A twenty-four hour fast was the minimum, but two or three days were preferred. When so used, the jimsonweed was thought to have a power for healing, a quality beyond mere
[752] anaesthesia. Fractures were set and bound while the injured person was in a coma. Poultices were made of mashed leaves of the plant and tied over sprains and flesh injuries that were excruciatingly painful (see Holo'anši's experience, p.72).

M.L.'s first husband took jimsonweed to help severe rheumatism. His mother's sister suggested it and her husband prepared it. The sick man drank only gruel and water for six days; then he drank the decoction. He got up and walked to his aunt's house. He ran and jumped; he was led around by the arm. His head ached. He saw things flying about which terrified him. Then he took an eagle-feather brush and brushed off his aunt. When he recovered, his rheumatism had disappeared.

[P.6-B]

192 xapapwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling, which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is the sense of violence and bizarreness which these verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic consciousness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form, as well as their content, is anomalous in the Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus," being added to another stem defining the nature of the activity. The technique of stem composition, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs nowhere else in the language. Furthermore, a number of the "do" verbs, particularly those referring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle," tuhwiyi, "spit," 'uhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make a hiccuping sound," niwwiyi, "whistle through the air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts. In their meanings, in their form, and in their phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a few petrified noun derivatives are left in these dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a fully operative and productive set of verbs. But they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my informant's eight-year-old son was addressing to himself. Only with the greatest difficulty could I coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which his child had used and to give me further examples of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
● [885] discussion and totally out of keeping with the essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some time later did he tell me that these words were used primarily by children. But even after he had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do" verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously. A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the
538

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [740] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one 184 pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by [887] old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture [787] was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin 481 River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [201] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

276 took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oyster-shell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

276 Old people made a practice of eating to-
887 bacco and lime frequently. They would gather
[574] at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

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[787] [116]Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater,
[171] Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

854 Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [177] (both sexes?) clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

857 Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined [illegible] separation. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., [55] 601 plural, form of address between the sexes.

868 Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' [602] fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. [593] The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not (by what means?). The [861] constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

867 Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, 887 old people taught songs and stories.

787 Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

584 During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not [582] take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 211 b] Chukchansi

276 drug's influence, but sat up, talking to him-
756 self. He said that he had seen his mother take
it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit
787 there, see something, know something, talk to
herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young
[887] person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates
[184] Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

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[154] Handbook, 502.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 213 c] Western Mono N525

Y M 101 Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

Y M 192 M Y 361 231 M Y [487] The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

M Y [887] The people of Tuňao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tuňao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O´polo´o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´´ (Local Map E, no. 36). M Y [484] When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

324 inchoate arrow-head is laid on this pad along the thick of the thumb, the
411 points of the fingers pressing it firmly down. The instrument used to shape the stone is the end of a deer's antler, from four to six inches in
[237] length, held in the right hand. The small round point of this is judiciously pressed upon the edge of the stone, cleaving it away underward in small scales. The buckskin, of course, is to prevent the flesh from being wounded by the sharp scales. The arrow-head is frequently turned around and over to cleave away as much from one side as the other, and to give it the desired size and shape. It is a work of no little care and skill to make even so rude an instrument as an arrow-head seems to be, only the most
[887] expert being very successful at the business. Old men are usually seen at this employment."

Mr. B. P. Avery, in an article entitled "Chips from an Indian Workshop", published in the same magazine, gives a very pleasant account of a visit made by him, near the summit of the Sierra, to what had evidently been the spots selected by the aborigines for the manufacture of these arrow-heads. They were generally so chosen as to show that the Indians had an eye for the picturesque and the romantic, on bold, overlooking promontories, commanding prospects far and wide down the mountain slope and over the plains; and the brilliant-colored chips of obsidian, jasper, chert, cornelian, and other flints, lying in piles, completed a very pleasing picture.

291 Most California Indians go now, and always have gone, barefoot; but some few were industrious enough to make for themselves moccasins of a very rude sort, more properly sandals. Their method of tanning was by
281 means of brain-water. They dried the brains of deer and other animals, reduced it to powder, put the powder into water, and soaked the skins
[237 therein—a process which answered tolerably well. The graining was done
291] with flints. Elk-hide, being very thick, make the best sandals.

436 The usual shell-money is used among them, and a string of it reaching from the point of the middle finger to the elbow is valued at 25 cents. A section of bone, very white and polished, about two and a half inches long, is sometimes strung on the string, and rates at 12½ cents. They uniformly undervalue articles bought from the Americans; for

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there [887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of [361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this ranchería [of Telame] I found 14 old women [497] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Ranchería of Tontache with guides which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and [133] sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their ranchería in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache, [361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback]. [162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 57a] Wukchumni

221 166 621 the families in Diapnuša would move within about two weeks of each other. They went in groups: some were related families, others just bound by friendship. Infirm people did [888] not go, being left with food and occasionally visited. The summer encampment lasted until late summer or early fall (wusa´o), the villagers returning in time to prepare for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Following on that was the season of acorn gathering.

J.B.'s family went with a group of other [131] families to Šiye´du, a seed-gathering camp near the present site of Moffett (no. 39), a distance of about four miles. It was near Yokod territory. The original source of the water [312] there now, unless a spring, was not known to J.B., for even in his childhood an irrigation ditch flowed near by. Referring to their own [342] house there, J.B. said his "father put up the frame while [his] mother made and tied on the grass skirt. No one helped with this; everybody made his own house." Necessary and [412] valuable belongings were taken along. The women of the camp kept mortars buried there as no bedrock was available.

342 There were six houses at Šiyedu, all of the conical, grass-thatched type, of sound con- 542 struction so that they were merely repaired from year to year. Two of the later were 621 permanently occupied by two men who worked on a neighboring ranch [Hangton's?]. There was no special arrangement in the location of the dwellings.

The house occupants were:

1. The chief, Muṭoñi (J.B.'s father's sister's husband); Waohet (Muṭoñi's daughter) and her husband Ya´ni (J.B.'s half-brother through marriage [does he mean brother-in-law because it is a cousin's husband ?]). Yani and Waohet later lived there permanently.
2. The winatum, Pokoi (J.B.'s father), his wife Mo´muč (J.B.'s mother), To´pːno (J.B. himself), and Kiwi´ya (J.B.'s half-brother) "when he wasn't working."
3. Ka´osos (J.B.'s mother's sister's son) and his wife Po´o´tao (a Yaudanchi, Čamčusan's daughter). They had no children.
4. Pono´to (Bill Garfield), his wife Huisa´na, and their son Wi´aleče (Sam Garfield). Other children not known to J.B. These people were not related to any of the families mentioned above.
5. Itːmwi´´iyu (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and his Patwisha wife (name not recalled).
6. Wati´sti (a Bankalachi shaman), his mother Poi´´iːn[142] (also Bankalachi), his Yaudanchi wife (name not recalled), and her son Čamu´ma (Charlie, of a Yaudanchi father).

J.B. said that for all there were only these six families at Šiyedu in his youth, in his father's time there were many, many more.

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[142] Consistently pronounced Po´wiyan by J.B.

W Y 264 574 from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

W Y 576 A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani ´'iwa'ü ´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

W Y [888] Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

W Y 521 517 During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

W Y [869] During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

W Y [525] The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

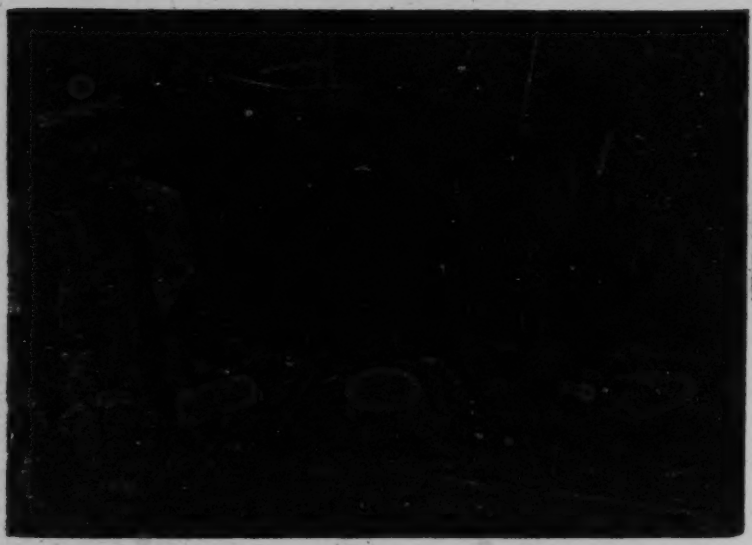
W Y [276] Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

W Y 285 [177] According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29



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Wah-puk'-in and Ne'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chawmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kota, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and auta.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were used for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361 162 768

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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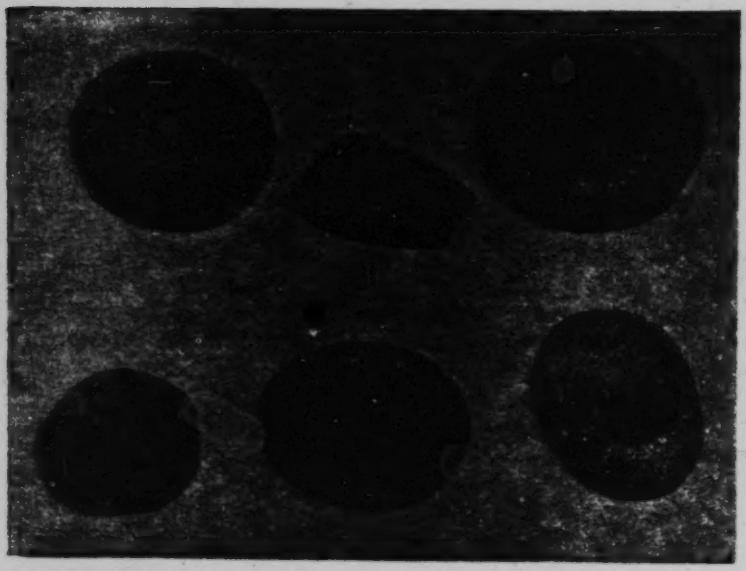

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the perma-
342 nent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from
797 it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?]
[622 that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he
888] is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of

000 *Thursday, 11.*—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutuaiju. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

797 *Saturday, 13.*—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.